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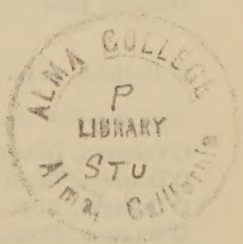

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The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Messiah

by KEVIN SMYTH, S.J.
Professor of Fundamental Theology, Milltown Park, Dublin

THE stone which an Arab boy threw into a cave by the Dead Sea, in the early summer of 1947, sent up an unexpected echo. The sound of rattling pottery led him and his companions to investigate : they found a number of old manuscripts, in covered jars, which they sold to a dealer in Bethlehem. After passing through the hands of the Syrian Patriarch of St Mark's in Jerusalem, the scrolls finally came to rest in the Hebrew University, now the possessor of most of the important manuscripts. Organized explorations in the region of the discovery yielded more finds, mostly of fragments ; these belong to the Government of Jordan, for which Père de Vaux, O.P., and G. Lankaster Harding, of the École Biblique and the Jordan Department of Antiquities respectively, have been officially working. Publication of the manuscripts and fragments has been going on for some years ; a certain number of conclusions as to their date and significance are on their way to being established. The scrolls are the remains of the library of a Jewish sect which had a sort of monastery at Khirbet Qumran, in the region of the discoveries. When the Romans closed in on Jerusalem, A.D. 66—70, the community cached its books in caves in the neighbourhood. They never returned to reclaim them.

Some seventy-five books, biblical and non-biblical, have been identified. Since the community was in occupation of Khirbet Qumran from at least 100 B.C., it gave us some biblical texts of extraordinary interest, because the earliest known manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible, before these finds, dated from about A.D. 800. Thus the new Isaiah manuscripts show us a text a thousand years earlier than the rabbinical (" Massoretic ") text of our standard Hebrew bibles, and deserve in a sense the adjective of sensational, which has been so freely lavished on the Dead Sea Scrolls. But they have not thrown any sensational light on the Bible, since the Hebrew text, late as it had been, was always known to be reliable from comparison with the ancient versions. The non-biblical texts include four works produced by the sect itself, which give us some new information about a dissident branch of Judaism which flourished from about the time of the Macchabees, *circa* 175 B.C., to the fall of Jerusalem. The

group had at one period a leader whom it revered as the " Teacher of Righteousness", that is, the legitimate teacher, a rather vague figure whose name and date remain unknown. Some fantastic hypotheses have been built up about him, chiefly by journalists whose knowledge of the scrolls was second or even third hand. He has been depicted as a sort of Christ before the Christ of Galilee, and the sect as a sort of Christianity before the Church. As these views have received wide publicity, they demand some attention.

Some Strange Theories

While the angels of the schools were treading delicately among texts only partially published and hardly studied, Professor Dupont-Sommer of Paris rushed forward with a gospel of the sect. The Teacher was not merely a messianic figure ; he was God incarnate who had been put to death by a certain " Wicked Priest", but rose again and appeared in glory to the discomfiture of his enemies. This happened about the time of Pompey's capture of Jerusalem, 63 B.C., and, though it did not leave even a ripple in history, would have been enough to justify the Professor's claim that the scrolls provided not merely a revolution, but a cascade of revolutions. The revolution, however, consisted in Dupont-Sommer's re-writing a few lines of one of the texts. He translated the Hebrew preposition *el* (meaning to, towards, at) as if it were the noun *El* (meaning God) ; then a text which ran : " And he (the wicked priest) appeared to make them violate their holy sabbath " was given a new subject and made to read " But he (the Teacher of Righteousness) appeared resplendent," *etc* ! The proceeding was so crude and outrageous that, after refutation in form, scholars ignored it.[1] But the *New Yorker* revived it in an article by Edmund Wilson which gave a lively and often reliable account of the actual story of the finds ; this article was afterwards expanded into a book, *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea*, one of the best-sellers on the Christmas book lists. Mr Wilson, acclaimed in the *New Statesman and Nation* as " perhaps the foremost living literary critic," tells the world, according to the editor, that the Scrolls " contain what appears to be an account of the life and teaching of a Messianic figure whose career and martyrdom are in many respects similar to those of Christ." He said also that " the characteristic doctrines of Christianity must have developed naturally and gradually in the course of a couple of hundred years out of a dissident branch of Judaism". We must give New York and London credit for their caution : the words " what appears to be " and " developed " in the quotations above leave at least some margin of doubt. Paris, at least the journalists of the left, greeted the new theories with Gallic exuberance. " Henceforth we know that

[1] The late Fr E. Power, S.J., reviewed Dupont-Sommer's book in *Studies*, June, 1952.

the Messiah of Galilee put forward nothing, absolutely nothing, that was not known long before by the believers of the New Alliance. The first Christ perished under Aristobulus II ; the second Christ only copied him. But this fool of God's love had the wisdom to copy the ideas, the moral values, the theology, the discipline of his predecessor, the first Christ of our history " (*Les Temps Modernes*, January, 1951). " Between 67 and 63 B.C. will have been executed a first Christ, almost identical with the second " (*Le Figaro Litteraire*)[1].

Mr Wilson has an eye for a good story and tells it well. But he has a better memory for a story than for an argument. In one part of the book he describes the almost feverish activity with which learned articles were being poured out about the scrolls. And indeed, they run into thousands ; only the professional bibliographers can keep abreast of them. But later on, he is shocked to be forced to say that New Testament scholars have practically boycotted the scrolls. (The only explanation one can imagine of this sentence is that by the scrolls he means Dupont-Sommer ; who is in fact not looked on as *sérieux*). He can tell us that Christianity " is nothing else but " a sort of Essenism, and can still quote, with outspoken admiration, a Mr Flusser as saying : " There was nothing of Jesus in the morality of the Teacher of Righteousness, for Jesus had taught people to love their enemies, and the Teacher felt nothing but hatred for his and expected the Lord to avenge him. Nor was there anything, he pointed out, in the doctrine of the Teacher's followers, of the Christian idea that salvation is to be gained by believing in Jesus who will take all our sins away " p. 108. And this after saying on the previous page that " the scholars who were mostly, on the Christian side, either Anglican divines or Roman Catholic priests " were badly upset by the scrolls! On page 131, however, " it is precisely the more 'liberal' scholars in Britain and the United States who have been most reluctant to deal with the scrolls ".

Mr Wilson's book is able journalistic gossip about scholars and their theories, though he does not get Dr H. H. Rowley right, for instance ; and he can go on cheering for Dupont-Sommer after quoting Dr Brownlee as saying : " a careful study of the texts adduced by Dupont-Sommer himself proves the tenuousness (if not the impossibility) of the constructions that he had placed upon them ". But he confesses that scholars' debate is not for a layman like himself to decide. No one will hold this against him. His fundamental defect is that he takes from his memories of the New Testament no more than a vague impression of a general humanitarianism and pacifism, which leaves him short of one term of his comparison. Whether the other term, the Dead Sea scrolls, provides even humanitarianism, is another question.

[1] Both quoted from Dr H. H. Rowley *The Sadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls.*

A modified version of Dupont-Sommer's theory has recently been given wide and prolonged publicity on the BBC Home Service, and also in the columns of the American weekly, *Time*. Professor J. M. Allegro finds that " evidence is now forthcoming for the well-formed pattern of Messianic Expectation of the time, in the light of which the person and work of Jesus must now be viewed afresh. The expectations of the early Church concerning His second coming are extraordinarily like those of the sect about their own teacher, persecuted and crucified, and expected to rise again as priestly Messiah " (*Radio Times,* 6 January, 1956). *Time* quotes a pathetic picture of the disciples of the Teacher burying their master. Crucifixion is a new piece of imagination, which Dr Dupont-Sommer must be sorry he did not think of first. The ground has shifted too in the opposite direction. The sect merely *expected* their Teacher to rise again as priestly Messiah. This implies that they did not look on him as Messiah during his life-time ; that no apparition actually took place ; that he was not expected to be the royal (Son of David) Messiah, but a priestly (son of Levi) adjutant.

It may surprise some readers to hear that in the Dead Sea scrolls there is no word which says that the Teacher was looked on as Messiah, or that he was expected to return, or that he even died a violent death, or that he was crucified. And it is not enough to suggest that one can deduce these things from hints in the text. Such devastatingly important matter is not to be hidden away in doubtful allusions which need to be deciphered : it is either there plainly affirmed or it is not there at all. Secondly, on Professor Allegro's own showing, guesses and deductions are not enough, because he asserts that there is a *well-formed* pattern of messianic expectation. A well-formed pattern should be in the text, not in hypothetical deductions from the text. We hope to show that the pattern in question is anything but well-formed ; further, that it is in radical opposition to the New Testament. In the meantime it is well to remember that the BBC speaker is not really as downright as at first he sounds. He ends by saying that " it now seems probable that the Church took over the sect's way of life, their discipline, much of their doctrine, and certainly a good deal of their phraseology". In this sad context of blustering affirmation and *sotto voce* cautions, the " probable " and the " certainly " need to be watched. The parallels in doctrine and discipline between sect and Church are only " probably " there, and therefore incapable of proof. The only thing " certain " is the use of " a good deal " of common phraseology. And that proves nothing: the common phraseology goes back to the religious and cultural milieu of the Old Testament.

Journalistic talk and even some more serious work on the scrolls have suffered from inconsidered judgments which have not taken into

account the general literary and religious background of the sect. We have mentioned already, apropos of phraseology, the need of recalling the Old Testament in general ; for messianic expectations, the same is true. But in particular, there are three important groups of writings which belong to the same period as the scrolls. These are the later books of the Old Testament, such as Macchabees, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Daniel and Tobias ; then there are the " Apocrypha," those marginal comments on the Old Testament mostly in the form of symbolic visions, such as Henoch, Jubilees, the Testaments of the Patriarchs, with which must also be considered some apocrypha of the first Christian century, such as the Apocalypse of Baruch and 4 Esdras. Finally, there is the vast mass of rabbinical writing, of which a mere selection, mostly in small print, occupies over 4,000 pages in Billerbeck's famous work.

The comparing of the scrolls with these highly relevant writings has been done only fitfully and partially, and in any case must be a cautious process, because the apocrypha have come down to us mostly through Christian scribes, who have worked over them to an extent which is still debated. And the rabbinical writings incorporate " the tradition of the ancients " from diverse strata of antiquity, in proportions which must be carefully assessed in each case ; in the main the rabbinical writings reflect the most influential and basic stream of Jewish thought. To compare the scrolls with the New Testament without reference to these other writings is like comparing a fish and a man because both are wet after coming out of the sea.

Here is one concrete instance of how misleading it can be not to check with these sources. To identify the Qumran sect with the Essenes (a sect mentioned by some ancient writers along with the Pharisees and Sadduccees) some have used as an argument that, in both groups, the quorum for a meeting or a ritual meal was ten members. This sounds significant until one recalls that ten was the usual quorum for the religious meetings of all the Jews. For instance, ten must be present to start a service in the synagogue ; the paschal rite, which had ceased to some extent to be a family affair, had to be performed by a company of at least ten. So the quorum of ten is simply Jewish custom, and not a distinctive mark of Essenes and Qumran. Luckily, perhaps, there were twelve apostles.

If scholars have been slow to court publicity outside the learned periodicals, one reason is that the scrolls add surprisingly little to our general knowledge of the doctrines current among the Jews from say 200 B.C. to the Christian era. This is true even with regard to the sect which has now been belatedly advertised. Belatedly : because the

existence and the tenets of the sect have been well known since the publication, nearly fifty years ago, of some documents (which really make up one) found in Cairo in 1896. They were first edited by S. Schechter, at Cambridge, under the title of *Documents of Jewish Sectaries : Fragments of a Zadokite Work.* The sectaries have been often called " the Covenanters of Damascus ", because the work speaks of an emigration to Damascus, which may, however, mean no more than that the sect broke with the central authorities in Jerusalem. Damascus may be only a symbolic term for withdrawal, e.g., to the Judaean desert. Most of what we know of the " Teacher of Righteousness " comes from the Zadokite work, and most of the guesses now hazarded about his messianic qualities are based on it. The only document from the Dead Sea, apart from a few fragments, which refers to this personage, is the " Commentary on Habbakuk " and it adds little save some fierce denunciation of the opponents of the teacher. The other documents, a " Manual of Discipline " which supplements the rules given in the Zadokite work; " The War of the Children of Light against the Children of Darkness", a doctrinaire, pietistic military manual for the Holy War; and the " Thanksgiving Hymns", mosaics of Old Testament reminiscences, sincere but not very original, do not speak of the Teacher at all. Since then we are thrown back on a document known for the last fifty years, we can rest assured that no startling revelations or revolutions are on the way.[1]

We propose to show that the Teacher of Righteousness was not a messianic figure at all, and indeed occupies in the popularized presentation of the scrolls a place quite out of proportion to the significance he had for his school ; secondly, that the messianic hopes of the sect differed radically from the Christian reality ; thirdly, that the fundamental doctrines of the sect are also in radical opposition to the New Testament.

The Sect's Teacher

First then, to speak of the Teacher of Righteousness. He was not the founder of the sect, but an organizer who came to its rescue " twenty years after the time of God's anger " in which the sect was formed. The time of God's anger was probably the religious persecution and economic oppression of the Greek overlords of Palestine, from 175 B.C., against which the Macchabees led the revolt of 165 B.C. He gave the

[1] For convenience, we adopt the manner of referring to the scrolls which is common among American and British scholars.

CDC (Cairo : Damascus Covenanters) : The Zadokite Work edited by Schechter, Cambridge, 1910. The latest edition is by Chaim Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents*, Oxford, 1954.

DSD (Dead Sea Manual of Discipline), edited by Millar Burrows, New Haven, 1951.

DSH (Dead Sea Habbakuk), edited by the same, 1950.

DSW (Dead Sea War), DST (Dead Sea Thanksgivings), edited by E. L. Sukenik, Jerusalem, 1948-1954.

sect perhaps its constitutions for the reception of candidates, meetings, ritual and so on, certainly much of its casuistry and jurisprudence. He was, in fact, looked on as the divinely-authorized commentator who could give the "true interpretation" of the Law of Moses, as well as, perhaps, the true interpretation of the misfortunes of the country, namely, laxity in observing the minutiae of the Law and the traditions. But though CDC is free enough with the title of "anointed" (Messiah), which it applies e.g. to the ideal, nominal founder of the sect, the high priest Zadok who lived under David about 1,000 B.C., the term is never used of the Teacher. As a priest, he could have been called an anointed of the Lord, as were priests, prophets and kings throughout the Old Testament. But *the* Anointed, *the* Messiah, meant for the Jews, as it does for us, not just one carrying on God's work, but the uniquely-endowed bringer of the great and final salvation. The Teacher was not looked on as this, the Messiah, because among other things, he lived "in a time of depravity" and according to our documents the time of depravity went on long after he had passed away. But with the coming of the Messiah, sin was supposed to cease. So far from being the Messiah, the Teacher was not even a prophet, strictly speaking. He was merely "the priest whom God has given to explain all the oracles of His servants the prophets: for it is through them that God has told all that is to come upon His people and His land" (DSH). He was a highly esteemed commentator who lectured on the prophets as well as on the Pentateuch; to call this a messianic role is an abuse of ordinary language.

Was he perhaps expected to come again? The only text on which one could base such a conjecture (and at best it would be a conjecture) is CDC, which has been published, as we have noted, for fifty years. In a commentary on Numbers 21 : 18 it reads: "The Chief is he who scrutinizes the Law; the nobles of the people are they who have come to dig the well according to the rules which the Chief has given, to which they must conform during all the days of perversity; otherwise, they will not arrive (be saved), till the coming of him who teaches righteousness at the end of the days" 6 : 7–11. The chief is possibly the organizer of the sect, the Teacher of Righteousness. But he, and the people who adopt his interpretation of the law, seem to be quite distinct from the Teacher who is to come in messianic times. The words used for Teacher in the two instances are not quite the same. The promised teacher is probably the Messiah of Aaron (of whom later) who appears definitely as another person. He may be "the Prophet" who was expected to usher in the Messiah. This expectation was current in the first century, as John 1 : 21 shows ("Art thou the Prophet?").

A text from DSD promises the coming of "the prophet and the Messiah of Aaron and Israel". But from this, the only text, there is no

real evidence that the Teacher was expected to return. Even if he were, and the sect said so unambiguously on every page, it would have been nothing remarkable. That great figures of the past were to come again to play a role in messianic times was a commonplace of Jewish belief. Everyone knows that Elias, on the basis of the prophet Malachy (*c.* 450 B.C.), was expected to return as herald of the Messiah. Some traditions held that he would be the priestly Messiah himself. A too literal exegesis of the Old Testament also gave rise to a belief in the return of David. The Apocrypha added to Elias men who were also supposed to have been rapt to heaven without dying, Henoch, Esdras, Baruch. In this context, a belief in the return of the Teacher is hardly revolutionary. In any case, the process of " rapt-returning " is radically different from that of " death-resurrection".

The death of the Teacher seems to have made no particular impression on the sect. DSH speaks only of his exile, where the hatred of the " wicked priest " followed him in an effort " to swallow him up (or, lead him astray) in the house of his exile", 11 : 4–6. There is no mention of a violent death, and this seems to be positively excluded by the two passages of CDC which speak impassively of his passing away with no hint of anything exceptional. Apostates from the Alliance, according to CDC 20:1, " will not be counted among the assembly, from the day of the passing away (literally, being gathered in [to his fathers]) of the Teacher of the Community, till the coming of the Messiah from Aaron and Israel ". A little further on we read : " From the day of the passing away of the Teacher of the Community till all the men of war perished who had marched with the man of lies, there is nearly forty years." There is not only no hint of the Teacher's return : he is expressly *contrasted* with " the Messiah of Aaron and Israel". The latter expression occurs, with no hint of a returning figure or any reference to the Teacher, in CDC 19, where we read : " The poor of the flock will be saved at the time of God's visitation, while the rest will be put to the sword, at the coming of the Messiah of Aaron and Israel".

THE SECT'S HOPES

This brings us to the second main point : the messianism of the sect, that is, their theory of the role and person of the Messiah. It will be enough to recount it to show that there is no continuity between the sect and the Church. Indeed, its messianism falls far short of the hope of Israel, as promised in the Old Testament. The Qumran sect expected not one, but two Messiahs. When CDC speaks of " the Messiah of Aaron and Israel " we should read " the Messiahs of Aaron and of Israel". The medieval copyist of CDC corrected his text to make it

read normally, but the original sense is clear, and is expressly stated in DSD 9 : 11, where the Community is told to keep the rules " till the coming of the prophet and the Messiahs from Aaron and from Israel". The sect was essentially an upholder of the priesthood, and called itself " the sons of Zadok". It could not conceive that the privileges and functions of the high priest could be exercised except by a legitimate descendant of Aaron, from the tribe of Levi. As the Messiah " from Israel ", however, was not of the line of Aaron and Zadok, his dignity was diminished and all priestly attributes were denied him, to be ascribed to another Messiah. The two Messiahs were not even of equal dignity. In a description of the ideal banquet of the last days, the Messiah of Israel is subordinated, not merely to the Messiah of Aaron, but to the priests in general. He takes his place at table below them, according to a recently published fragment.[1]

Dr Allegro stresses the theory of the two Messiahs as something novel and exciting. But the problem of reconciling the Mosaic Law with the messianic promises exercised others besides the Qumran sect. The apocryphal " Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs ", from about 100 B.C., arrived at the same solution, and also distorted after splintering the hope of Israel : " The royalty of the priesthood is greater than the royalty (of Israel)", as another Qumran fragment says, quoting the " Testament of Levi", with which the " Testament of Juda " agrees. The same difficulty disturbed rabbinical theology, which had as a principle that the prophets give way to the Law. To the credit of the Rabbis, it must be said that when the question arose, whether the Messiah of Aaron was loved more by God than the Messiah of Israel, they upheld the precedence of the latter (Billerbeck IV p. 457–460).

The messianic pattern of the sect is further warped by the elimination of " the son of David," at least in an essential document, CDC. Given the force of the Old Testament prophecies, the Messiah of Israel could hardly have been conceived for long as coming from any but the tribe of Juda ; some fragments (from Qumran Cave I) do speak of the son of David. But CDC comments unfavourably on David himself, 5 : 1–6. It had no time for the royalty, then held by the Hasmonaean (Macchabaean) dynasty, which had usurped, in their eyes, the high priesthood. Positive rejection of the Davidic Messiah seems to be expressed in the remarkable warning : " When this age shall have run its course, they must rally no more to the house of Juda, but each one shall stay in his stronghold " (stick to the sect), CDC 4 : 10. To say the least, the Davidic Messiah is obscured, and the sect wavered in its allegiance ; if it retained it, under the perhaps deliberately ambiguous title " Messiah of Israel", it deprived the Messiah of half his standing, and made the Priest lord it

[1] *Discoveries in the Judean Desert, I,* edited by D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik. Oxford, 1955.

over him. What an odd reading of the Old Testament is here, and how far from the superhuman wisdom of Jesus, who alone knew how to be Son of David and a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedek!

Grappling with, and distorting, the Davidic element of Messiahship was as far as the sect could go. For the three other great lines of prophecy which Jesus used to reveal his person, the veil was indeed on their heart, as St Paul said. And these were the real pattern of Jesus's Messiahship: for he revealed himself as the Servant of Yahweh, described with such —as we should think—unmistakable clarity in the four great chants of Isaias 42–53, as the man of sorrows who laid down his life for sin. He also revealed himself as the mysterious Son of Man, prophesied by Daniel as coming from a remote celestial region on the clouds, God's own throne in the Old Testament. And he revealed himself as Son of God, in an unique and absolute sense. But there he surpassed the highest hopes of the prophets, even when they said "God himself will come and save us", because that meant to them a theophany, not the Incarnation; a resplendent divine action, not the Son. Of all this the Qumran sect, like the Jews in general, had not an inkling. Even the minor, though patent element of the Messianic hope, the Davidic Kingship, suffered badly at their hands.

Their Messiah was in reality the Law. In the full and final enforcement of the Law, as given in the five books of Moses, lay the real hope and the salvation of Israel. Since the coming of Christ, who was himself the Kingdom of God and the New Law and Covenant, it is hard for us to realize the manner in which the Law held the eyes of Judaism, whether Pharisaic or Qumran. For all of them the horizon of hope was filled by the Law. This was the Sun of Justice round which circled the Messiahs, like planets in its imperative orbit. The Qumran sect looked on itself as "messianic," that is, as the remnant of the true Israel which was to inaugurate, in its descendants, the messianic times. But its role was to uphold the Law, in its "true interpretation", until the princely Messiah cleared the way for its universal imposition by the sword (DSD 7:21) and the priestly Messiah gave the Law its full commentary. "The books of the Law are the tabernacle of the king, as is written: 'I will raise up the fallen tabernacle of David' (Amos 9:11); the king is the congregation," CDC 7:15 ff.

If we forget the legalism of the Dead Sea scrolls, we have no concept of their messianism. The Law was the supreme blessing. The rabbinical tradition held that certain classes of men would have "no share in the world to come". The New Testament warns against being excluded from "life everlasting, or the Kingdom of God, or of Christ". Exclusion

from the messianic blessings is described in the scrolls as " having no share in the House of the Law". This is almost an apotheosis of the Law, including what we would call the canon law and rubrics contained in the Pentateuch, plus the casuistic jurisprudence of the Teacher. A " New Law " was not envisaged. The New Covenant already inchoate at " Damascus " was the Mosaic Law with the Teacher's comments. The Messiahs would come only to modify and complete the provisional jurisprudence of the " sons of Zadok ". They would give authentic interpretations, like the Commission on the code of canon law ; but they could no more change it than the judges in a modern state can change the constitution. How the messianic hope of Israel had foundered in the sea of legalism can be seen by the sect's comment on the " Star that will rise out of Jacob," Numbers 24-17. " The Star is he who studies the Law," CDC 7:18 ff.

The most pathetic travesty occurs at a point where we can recall the New Testament easily : " They will separate themselves from the midst of the dwelling of men of iniquity, and shall go out to the desert to prepare there the way of the Lord, as it is written : In the desert prepare the way of the Lord, make straight in the wilderness the path for our God ' (Is 40 : 3) ; this is done by the study of the Law which God prescribed through Moses " (DSD 8 : 13 ff). Study of the Law prepares for the coming of the Law, the real Messiah.

The sect was at one with the main stream of Judaism in giving this preponderant and definitive place to the Law. The rabbinical tradition listed several things as existing, either actually or ideally, before the world. The lists vary, but one thing was always there, and always first, the Law. " Six things preceded the creation of the world ; some were really created, others came into God's mind, to be created later. The Law and the Throne of glory were actually created. The Patriarchs, Israel, the Temple and the name of the Messiah came into God's mind only." The pre-existence of the Law was only a corollary of what was an axiom in Judaism, the eternity of the Law. The only comparable value was the " tradition of the ancients ", which was also supposed to have been revealed by God—like the " true interpretation " of the Qumran sect, for whom the Law was " the fountain of living waters," CDC. We emphasize this " nomism " (nomos = Law) because it explains the enfeebled and disintegrated messianism of Qumran ; and we recall its background, because if the nomism of the Pharisees was the worst possible preparation for hearing Jesus's message, Qumran was no better disposed. As far as the facts of history can guide us, the sect could not have listened to, much less produced, the Christ who denounced the tradition of the ancients as ungodly, swept aside as worthless the

inadequate Mosaic edifice of ritual purity, and proclaimed a new moral order in place of the Old Law. An organism cannot produce a foreign body.

The Separatism of the Sect

The third illness of the sect, which further paralysed all development towards a Christian outlook, and of which it ultimately died, without issue and without a history, was its " separatism ". Its sense of being the elect of God hardened into a self-centered aloofness towards outsiders of which the core was undying hatred. In the " War of the Children of Light against the Children of Darkness ", the sect identifies itself with Israel in a militant and aggressive nationalism. This is all the more intransigent because the sect sees God and His angels fighting its wars, and looks on the non-Israelite world as a *massa damnata*, " doomed to destruction " because Belial and the angels of wickedness are its leaven. The Zadokite work (CDC) breathes the same spirit of merciless exasperation towards all who refuse or abandon their alliance. Its principle is " to hold aloof from the children of perdition," its hope is that they " will be given over to the sword when the Messiah(s) appear ", that they " will be exterminated when the glory of the Lord appears ". The Thanksgiving Psalms likewise pray for vengeance on the opponents of the alliance. God is to judge them, not according to His mercy, but " according to their idolatry and the multitude of their crimes " and to " destroy as is just all the traitors and exterminate the deceitful seers for ever ".—Is this perhaps only the Old Testament prayer against the kingdom of sin ?

A basic document of the sect, the Manual of Discipline, may settle the question. Here, as in CDC, the community is ordered to " love all that God has chosen and to hate all that God has rejected. " If the object of love and hatred is neuter—" all the things "—the sect would remain within the limitations of the Old Testament. But the object should certainly be translated as " whom " : they are " to love all the children of light, each according to the measure of his co-operation in the counsel of God, and hate all the children of darkness, each according to his sin in view of God's vengeance ".

This seems to go beyond a hatred of sin to a personal hatred of sinners. And the set liturgy of the entrance and annual ceremonies, fortified by a developed doctrine of predestination and immortality, declares that the vindictiveness of the elect must pursue their enemies into eternity : " The Levites then curse all men of the company of Belial, reciting in turn, ' Accursed be thou in all the works of thy impiety. May God hand thee over to torment in the hands of all (the evil spirits) that wreak

vengeance. May He bring upon thee, after death, destruction at the hands of all that take revenge. Be thou accursed, and may thou not find mercy, on account of the darkness of thy works. And be thou bound with a curse in the darkness of eternal fire. May God refuse thee mercy when thou criest, and may he reject the expiation of thy sins. May He show the face of His anger on thy punishment and may there be no peace for thee from the spirits of the bonds' " (DSD 2 : 5–9). This is very far from the pacifism and humanitarianism which has been predicated of the sect.

In view of all this, the BBC broadcaster must be given credit for the most preposterous and misleading statement of all that have been put out about Qumran. He said that " the suffering of the Master and his followers atone (*sic*) in some way for the iniquity of the world." That the sufferings of the just could be expiatory was a commonplace of the religion of the Old Testament, and passed into Judaism in general, as one can read in 2 Macchabees, or verify in Billerbeck or in Kittel's *Theological Dictionary*. But the expiation was only for Israel, never for the sins of the world, and the expiatory death of the Messiah for the sins of the world remained totally foreign to Judaism.

How the Qumran sect understood its expiations is quite clear. It followed one of the many aspects of expiation in the Old Testament, namely that its merits should hasten the purging of the Land by God : the community was there to " pay expiation *for the Land* and to render retribution to the impious " DSD 8 : 6f. It was the unfortunately too common theory of " redemption " in Judaism, that sin would be destroyed by the destruction of sinners, not by their conversion. In the end this is how they understood the tribulations which squared so little with the idea of God's chosen people : " These are the laws : As you love, so must you hate . . . Eternal hatred against the men of perdition, in a spirit of secrecy . . . so that they may provoke God to anger without fail and that their time when it comes may be a day of vengeance " DSD 9 : 15–23. Even their patient silence under oppression becomes a prayer for the eternal ruin of their enemies. This was not just an exasperated reaction. It was the logic of the sect, which saw the elect under the dominion of the spirit of truth and sinners under the dominion of the spirit of perversity (DSD 3 : 14 ; 4 : 26) so that sinners were predestined by their very make-up to damnation, and so were, strictly speaking, irredeemable.

It was not from such a sect that "Jesus learned how to be Messiah", as an headline in the *Illustrated London News* saw fit to put it. Rather, it was from soil such as this that sprang the thorns which tried to choke

the seed of the Gospel. This is not to condemn individuals, but to judge a system, which no doubt embraced many men of deep and serious religious aspirations. If we have dwelt on the distorted messianism, the nominism, the separatism which show the sect as almost the direct antithesis of the New Testament, it was not to deny the good in Qumran but to show that it was good only in parts. Unnecessary polemics have been forced on those who wished to study the new finds patiently, by " the over-hasty conclusions which have been deprecated " by scholars everywhere (*The Times*, 7 February 1956). Were these unwarranted conclusions merely due to haste ? One can leave the high road by being too hasty to read the sign-posts, but also because one wishes to arrive elsewhere. And most of the theories that we have had to expose seem due to wishful thinking more than to anything else : the famous wish to find in Christianity " nothing else but " some natural phenomenon.

We are grimly used to this by now. Not long ago, *The Golden Bough* was proclaiming that Christianity was nothing else but an amalgam or an echo of every myth from Polynesia to the Samoyeds. A little later, the " Eschatologists " were telling us that Jesus was nothing else but an apocalyptic visionary of the " Apochryphal " school. Dr Bultmann has been telling us for some time that Christianity is existentialism plus a concert of Oriental gnostic myths. Only a couple of years ago, the BBC was broadcasting that it was nothing else but the Hellenistic myth of the dying god. Now it is nothing but the Judaism of the Qumran sect. It is all very easy, because with enough wishful thinking and little enough scientific method, the New Testament can be read back into most of the religious aspirations of humanity. Or at least parts of it can be. But its uniqueness, in its totality, its centre and its impact, remains, foreshadowed only by the prophets of Israel. And even they only longed to see ; they did not see.

Wages and Prices

by EDMOND A. GRACE, A.C.A.

OUR experience in the " fifth round " must have brought home to all thoughtful men, whether employers or employees, the need of a rational basis for wage negotiations. It is fair to say that the fifth round had not a rational basis. Even Trade Union leaders have conceded that the situation was out of their control and that no arguments would change the views of their members. On the other hand many employers have expressed the opinion that they could do nothing but bend before the gale. Altogether there was a terrifying resignation to fate and a cynical and hopeless policy of drift, with very few and very faint calls to reason.

I believe that the confused state of public opinion was by far the greatest influence in the last round of wage demands. In the search for a rational approach to the subject it is, therefore, necessary to consider some of the formative influences on public opinion in recent years. The advances of science have occasioned, not merely in this country but throughout the world, an intemperate optimism ; people assume that the wants of all mankind can be readily satisfied and that Utopia is round the corner if all will but use their intelligence. Unfortunately, that last important qualification is frequently slurred over ; instead the man in the street assures himself and his neighbour that only the incompetence of the Government prevents the beginning of an era of untold prosperity.

Much can be achieved by higher productivity, but in this country the limit will be reached at a considerably lower level of income per head than in America or Great Britain. With equally effective use of resources we in Ireland must realize that we must be satisfied with lower material standards than wealthier countries can enjoy. The word " productivity " is used to soften the harshness of the warning to live within our means. Unfortunately, the qualification " without higher productivity " merely serves to deprive such warnings of their effectiveness, since there is no evidence that an increase in productivity of the order required is likely in the near future. As it is unwise to spend in anticipation of an improvement, public spokesmen would do a service to the community by dropping this distracting tag from their pronouncements.

Inflation has produced in Ireland a most unhealthy pre-occupation with prices and living costs. In this sphere of prices we seem to have lost touch completely with reality : it has been accepted as inevitable that because of the fall in the value of money the general body of the public is necessarily much poorer. The fact is that the great majority of the people of this country are better off than they were before the war.

In this connection, I am reminded of a story which illustrates in a simple way the effect of inflation. The Mount Street Club uses tallies—tickets about the size of a bus ticket stamped " One Tally : Mount Street Club"—for the exchange of services between the members ; one tally represents one hour's work. At one stage in the development of this Club, representations were made to the management to increase this allowance to two tallies for each person for one hour's work. In the relatively simple economy of the Mount Street Club it was not difficult to demonstrate that while the work done by the members remained the same, no one would be better or worse off by using two tallies instead of one in every case. The members readily recognized the common sense of this.

Unfortunately, in the case of this country as a whole, it is not so easy to convince people that, if prices have risen and earnings have risen, the comparison of prices alone, as they existed before and after the last world war, has little significance. Wages and prices are merely a mechanism for allocating the available resources of the community between classes and persons. Industrial workers, farmers and farm labourers are better off to-day than they were in 1938, while salaried workers and the rest of the community are poorer. The effect of price and wage changes has been to redistribute income. Yet the last election was fought on the issue of prices and it was implicity assumed that it was possible by government action alone to reduce the general level of prices. At one stage or another almost every political group has entered this price controversy—accepting the implication that the Government was or could be responsible for effecting significant changes in the general level of prices.

The Press has been another powerful influence in forming an unhealthy attitude towards prices. Newspapers have done little to produce an informed public opinion on this subject. On the contrary, they have clamoured for action which could not possibly have the effect which they suggested. In recent years they have carried on a campaign calculated to convince people that the cost of living was getting entirely out of hand and that the great majority of the Irish people were enduring poverty of a degree previously unknown.

It is not, therefore, surprising that people generally, whether employers or employees, should have taken for granted this misleading view of prices. Indeed, there can be few of us who have not made our contribution to this price and poverty fable in the course of thoughtless chatter. It has become part of our everyday conversation that prices are rising to disastrous levels. How often do we precede our remarks with the introduction " at the present level of costs ", or " at present prices " ? If sufficient thought were given to the problem by individuals, and if they also expressed their views even in their own circles, a more healthy and realistic public opinion would soon emerge. Perhaps the saddest part of this survey is the realization that the ordinary intelligent citizen has played so poor and inadequate a part ; we should consider whether we leave too much of the thinking and the policy formation to the officials of Unions and Associations and to our politicians.

Despite the spate of propaganda on prices, there is no doubt that personal expenditure on food, on drink, on clothing, on fuel and light, on other goods and services has increased substantially since 1938, even if allowance be made for rise in prices. The average Irishman eats more, drinks more, buys more clothes, uses more fuel and light and other goods, than he did in 1938. We as a community are better off by about 25%.

It seems to me that most people who complain of the general level of prices really mean that they as individuals or as members of a group of breadwinners are not getting enough or a fair share. It would make for clearer thinking if they said so ; for it must be clear that, unlike prices which are regarded as a national disease, a complaint of unfair shares can apply only to a section. Are there in fact substantial groups in the country getting less than their just share of the national product ?

Let us, therefore, consider whether a further re-distribution of income will substantially improve the lot of any major group or whether such a re-distribution can be effected only at the expense of other groups who can afford it no better. First, let us recognize that there has been a social revolution—briefly, the lower paid workers are paid substantially more, the moderately well off, the salary earners particularly, are less well off, the wealthy are much less wealthy than they were in 1938. This is due, not only to a very severe level of income tax and sur-tax at the higher levels, but also to a tendency to give much lower increases *pro rata* to those who previously had more than average incomes.

I think we should face the fact that in discussions of this nature, there is commonly an implicit belief that a section of the community the well-to-do or the relatively well-to-do, still have huge resources

of income which should be distributed to an even greater extent among the rest of the population.

There are approximately seven thousand people liable for sur-tax in this country. The liability for sur-tax attaches to all personal incomes over £1,500 per year. If all personal incomes in excess of £1,500 per year were entirely confiscated, they would yield only another six or seven million pounds approximately for distribution among the rest of the community. This would enable everybody's income to be increased by not more than 2%. To look at this in another way, the last round of wage increases absorbed between two and three times this amount: according to An Taoiseach the cost is £15 to £20 million. An increase in wages of the dimensions secured in the fifth round cannot come from the pockets of those with taxable incomes of over £1,500.

There can be no doubt that other workers have benefited at great cost to the salary earner, and this group too can contribute no more.

If this wage increase cannot come from the pockets of the well-off or of the moderately well-off, could it come from the savings of industry? The undistributed profits of all public and private companies in Ireland are estimated at approximately twenty-seven million pounds *before paying tax*. It will be readily seen that fifteen to twenty million pounds of a wages demand would practically wipe out the funds necessary for replacement and development of our industrial resources. In 1953 for instance, manufacturers spent ten million pounds on new buildings and plant. Obviously even a much smaller wages demand would reduce the ability of industry to extend buildings or acquire new machinery with consequent disastrous results on employment.

It has been said—though not loudly—that Trade Unionists recognize that industry is hard pressed and cannot afford to pay increased labour costs without increasing prices and that the demands of labour are truly a demand for a share in the greater prosperity of agriculture. It is, therefore, well to notice that although both the farmer and the agricultural labourer have increased their real income, the earnings and profits in agriculture remain below the level of income per head of the rest of the community. It can hardly be claimed, therefore, that the agricultural community has a surplus of incomes available for distribution among other groups.

It must be recognized that without an increase in the supply of goods any section can benefit only at the expense of the rest of the community, and, unfortunately, the greater part of that benefit must be

derived from the incomes of people not earning much more than average incomes and in many cases earning much less. Already, the differentials in income even between the better paid and the lower paid workers have been greatly reduced ; between the lower paid workers and the salaried and professional workers the differentials have been reduced still more. Even if continued reduction in the differential were just, it must be recognized that it would constitute a serious danger to necessary incentive. Salaried workers even now have to accept greatly reduced standards of living which may be affecting adversely the community as a whole.

It must further be recognized that even if this levelling up of incomes were pursued regardless of justice, little benefit would be derived for the average worker. To promise at this stage significantly greater incomes or greater purchasing power to the general body of workers by a re-distribution of income is to deceive them.

I do not suggest that all wages and salaries are adequate. There are people earning very low wages but this can be remedied without rounds of wage increases to all workers. It is also true that the average worker with a young family has to budget carefully to rear them decently. But we must not be misled by sensational and irresponsible special pleading. The U.N. report on food and agriculture quoted in the I.B.E.C. report shows that the calorie intake per head in Ireland is the second highest in the world and this is so in a country with an average income per head rather lower than that prevailing generally in Western Europe.

In the period April to August, 1946, a food survey was made in Dublin in the homes of people living in slum houses, artisan dwellings and middle-class houses. The compilers of this report state that " broadly, the intake of nutrients with the exception of calcium, was satisfactory at all levels of income, food expenditure and family size ". Standards of living have shown a marked improvement since 1938. National Statistics indicate that while consumption of food has increased about ten per cent, consumption of drink, clothing and other goods and services has increased over thirty per cent in the same period. No small well-to-do group of the community could possibly be responsible for such increases.

As already indicated, neither the higher personal incomes nor the savings of companies offer any realistic possibilities for affecting significant increases in the earnings of the general body of workers. If this be so, profits generally cannot be exorbitant. Nevertheless, like the popular story of high prices, there is an equally popular story of high profits.

In the retail trade, the Census of Distribution reveals that after paying for goods and wages, only 10½ per cent of sales remain to cover advertising,

insurance, rent and rates, depreciation, bank interest and leave something for profit. The comparable figure for the British retail trade is 13½ per cent.

In the wholesale trade in Ireland, the margin to cover expenses other than labour and materials is only 7 per cent. In industry, the margin is only 12 per cent.

It will be obvious that there is no room for a substantial reduction in prices in the light of these figures. Not only have prices, and accordingly profits, not become unreasonable, but the history of prices in Ireland in the last seventeen years demonstrates to a remarkable degree the well known tendency of retail prices to lag behind price movement of raw materials. Business has, by increased productivity and reduction of profit margin, cushioned the people of this country against the level of world prices. This is illustrated by the fact that import prices have increased by 230 per cent since pre-war, while retail prices have risen by approximately only 140 per cent to the most recent figures.

The truth is that businessmen generally are slow to pass on to their public the full effect of rising prices, and only do so gradually, as they are compelled to, in order to remain in business and, if possible, show a small margin of profit. In times of rising prices, this tendency may develop to an extent that militates against proper provision for the future by adequate savings and reserves.

I have referred at the outset to productivity as a factor in the wage and price situation. Productivity in industry generally has increased by about 25 per cent per worker engaged.

When considering increased productivity it should be remembered that productivity is not necessarily attributable to the efforts of the workers, nor is the charge of low productivity necessarily a reflection on workers. High productivity is largely due to the greater mechanization which has been introduced since 1939 and these machines and equipment must be paid for out of profits.

This increased productivity has made possible the present level of prices of consumer goods and helped to cushion the consumer against much higher world commodity prices. In this way the benefit has been distributed among the community as a whole, but it has also enabled industry to pay more to workers whose average earnings at the end of 1954 were 157 per cent above those prevailing in 1938 ; this figure compares with an increase in retail prices of 132 per cent at that date.

The last remark that industrial workers' wages have increased on average more than the general level of prices may seem inconsistent

with the most publicized argument in favour of the " fifth round "—that it was conceived to bring the wages of workers up to the 1939 standard.

The argument for the 1939 standard is, however, fallacious as it uses the index of *basic rates* of wages which shows an increase of only 110 per cent since 1939 as against an increase in *actual earnings* of 157 per cent ; this increase in earnings has been achieved without an appreciable change in the hours worked. It must be remembered that the basic wage index takes no account of piece work nor does it take account of extra allowances or increased overtime rates. Earnings, " take home pay ", is the real test and for this we must refer to the index of earnings. This index shows that the workers are on average 10 per cent better off than they were in 1939 in terms of real wages. However, even this index does take account of the fact that an extra week's holiday has been granted to the majority of workers in industry since 1939.

It must also be remembered that the lower paid workers are much better off and the higher paid workers and salary earners relatively worse off than in 1939. For this reason alone a general increase of 12s. 6d. per male worker could not have the effect of bringing everybody back to the 1939 standard. Indeed, if every worker were brought to the 1939 standard, it would be to the detriment of the lower paid employee. There has been a social revolution since 1939 and unless it is proposed that it should be undone, the restoration of the 1939 standard is a completely fallacious argument to use in support of national wage increase.

This leads to consideration of the significance of the national demand as such. A national demand of the type to which we have become accustomed, which has no regard for the relevant circumstances of each case, is inherently unjust. It narrows the differentials between skilled and unskilled workers. If everyone continues to receive in a series of wages demands an equal sum of money, it is inevitable that at each step these differentials, already narrowed to a dangerous extent, will tend to disappear. The incentive to serve apprenticeship for the skilled trades and professions will fall off and existing members of these trades and professions will leave the country to a disproportionate extent.

The policy of national wage increases paid indiscriminately to all workers has become a thoughtless habit for which the community may pay dearly. Moreover, a national wage demand is not only the fruit of irresponsibility, but it is encouragement of irresponsibility ; the branch or the firm feels itself divorced from all responsibility for a national

wage demand ; as far as the average worker or employer is concerned, it happens. We must realize, whether we are members of Employees' Unions or Employers' Unions or whether we are individuals unrepresented by any association, that wage adjustments for the future must have regard to the circumstances in each case—to the level of wages of the worker concerned and the ability of the business to pay.

If there is to be a rational approach to wages and prices, it is essential that the public should be better informed on the subject ; for public opinion is profoundly influencing the outcome long before negotiations begin. I have attempted to show that the Irish people have accepted fallacious ideas on prices and this seems to indicate that public pronouncements on the subject have not been guided by reference to the available statistics. Indeed comment on this subject tends to be emotional rather than rational.

There is no use in crying over spilt milk ; no good can come at this stage from recriminations ; there is no use in laying the blame exclusively at the doors of organized labour. A state of opinion was allowed to grow up in this country which influenced the vast majority of people and induced organized workers to take action to remedy what they believed to be their grievences. Very few of us can be free from responsibility for the failure to correct that state of public opinion.

Trade Unionists may regard the correction of the public point of view on prices and profits as a matter exclusively for businessmen. I do not agree with this ; Trade Union officials are too powerful a factor in public life to take an exclusively one-sided view of these subjects. At the same time, this does not relieve businessmen of the responsibility of making their case honestly, clearly and effectively.

Free discussion in an atmosphere of goodwill must discover greater common ground between management and labour ; at least a greater degree of agreement on the facts is possible. I feel that it has come to be accepted that when labour and management meet, a crisis is upon us. If this be true, meetings between management and labour can be but a signal for what will probably be injudicious and irrational action.

Atomic Structure and Atomic Energy

by T. S. WHEELER, D.SC., M.R.I.A.

Professor of Chemistry, University College, Dublin

THE Bikini bomb of 1 March 1954 is believed to have had an explosion energy of about eight hundred times that of the first atomic bomb dropped on Japan, that is to have had the energy of sixteen million tons of T.N.T. A bomb of this type would destroy any city in the world. Further, the radioactive dust formed could be carried by the wind, and the "fall-out" might, dependent on weather conditions, produce lethal effects for weeks in a belt of 7,000 sq. miles, 220 miles downwind, and up to forty miles wide. A similar bomb dropped on Liverpool could kill in Dublin. Also, radioactive material formed could be transmitted from vegetation, through farm animals used for food, to human beings. In November 1955 the Russians claimed to have exploded a similar bomb, and it is said that the U.S. will build a 60-megaton bomb. (One megaton is equal in explosive force to one million tons of T.N.T.)

Speaking at Christmas 1955, His Holiness the Pope said of nuclear war :

> The spectacle offered to the terrified gaze is of entire cities, even the largest and the richest in art and history, wiped out, a pall of death over the pulverized ruins, countless limbs burned and scattered, the groaning of death agonies.
>
> Meanwhile the spectre of the radioactive cloud hinders the survivors from giving any help, and inexorably advances to snuff out any remaining life. There will be no song of victory, only the inconsolable weeping of humanity, who, in desolation, will gaze upon catastrophe brought on by its own folly.

A Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy organized by the United Nations Organization was held in Geneva in August 1955. It was attended by 1,400 delegates and observers from 73 countries, including Ireland. The manner in which the great powers presented information hitherto highly secret indicates that the advent of the hydrogen bomb has convinced governments of the folly of atomic warfare. Normal methods of communication in the scientific world are now in process of re-establishment among atomic research workers. A few months previously it would have been impossible to hold useful discussions on many of the topics raised at Geneva.

Twenty-five years ago it was fashionable to believe that the pursuit of science would bring a new heaven and a new earth. The war and its aftermath shattered this illusion and showed that science, for all its brightness, casts also a dark shadow on mankind. Now the application of atomic energy promises more plenteous peace and even more terrible war.

This article is an attempt to explain simply the structure of the atom and the production of atomic energy. It is necessary to begin by showing what an atom is and what are its component parts. To understand this we must know something of the chemical elements.

Elements, Compounds, and Mixtures

In 1661 Robert Boyle " father of chymistry and son of the earl of Cork " wrote[1] " And to prevent mistakes, I must advertize You that I now mean by Elements, as those Chymists that speak plainest do by their Principles, certain Primitive and Simple, or perfectly unmingled bodies ; which not being made of any other bodies, or of one another, are the Ingredients of which all those call'd perfectly mixt Bodies are immediately compounded, and into which they are ultimately resolved ". The prose may lack the clarity of the modern tabloid press, not more than ten words to a sentence, but the passage marks an epoch in the development of chemical thought. It is the first real approach to our present concept of an element as a pure (unmingled) substance, which cannot be chemically decomposed into simpler substances. Over one hundred elements are known. A compound can be chemically broken down into two or more elements ; for example, the compound sodium chloride (common salt) gives on chemical disintegration the element sodium, and the element chlorine. A mixture is, to copy the legal mode of definition, a mixture of elements, or of compounds, or of both ; thus air is a mixture of the elements oxygen and nitrogen, and a mixture of sand and sugar is a mixture of the chemical compounds sand and sugar.

The Dalton Atom

In 1789, the Irish chemist, William Higgins,[2] who believed that chemistry could only advance when it was cultivated by " men of genius, fortune and leisure," developed previous rudimentary ideas on the atomic constitution of matter derived from the Greeks, and applied them to the interpretation of chemical phenomena. His work did not attract attention, and it remained for John Dalton in 1803 to set out the atomic theory in a systematic manner, so that it was easily grasped

[1] *Sceptical Chymist*, 1661, p. 350. See Partington, *Short History of Chemistry*, 2nd ed., 1948, p. 70.

[2] See *Studies*, 1954, *43*, pp. 78, 207, 327.

his contemporaries. Elements are composed of tiny particles, called " atoms" from the Greek word meaning " indivisible." The diameter of an atom is of the order of 0.00000001 inches (10^{-8} in.). The atoms of a particular element have identical physical and chemical properties, which differ from those of other elements. Nature is not simple, however, and there is an additional complication which puzzled Dalton. The atoms of many elements are, normally, not capable of independent existence. And so the smallest particle of an element capable of free existence is called a " molecule." The smallest free unit of a compound is also a molecule. The molecule is, therefore, formed of atoms of one or more elements. For example, a molecule of the element oxygen contains two atoms of oxygen, and a molecule of the compound water is composed of two atoms of hydrogen and one of oxygen.

Atomic Structure

For nearly a century the atom was regarded as a simple solid ball, the billiard ball atom.[1] But a distant homogeneous landscape takes on a structure as it is approached and studied. Similarly, with the accumulation of experimental results during the nineteenth century, it gradually became clear that the atom had a structure and was not an indivisible entity. In 1874, G. Johnstone Stoney, professor of natural philosophy in Queen's College, Galway, and secretary of the Royal Dublin Society, suggested that experimental results obtained in the field of electrochemistry indicated that there was at least one fundamental unit quantity of electricity associated with each atom. He later called this quantity an " electron." In 1897, J. J. Thomson, by a study of the phenomena associated with the discharge of electricity through rarefied gases, proved that an atom contained particles of negative electricity, Stoney's electrons, with a mass (quantity of matter) about 1/1837 that of the hydrogen atom. Further information was obtained by the discovery and study of radioactivity, emission of particles and radiation by certain atoms, by Becquerel and the Curies in and after 1896.[2] Eventually, in 1911 Rutherford suggested that the atom contained a central positively charged nucleus of diameter only 1/10,000th the atomic diameter. Electrons, sufficient in number to neutralize this positive charge, are arranged around the nucleus ; indeed they may be regarded as circulating about the nucleus much as planets revolve around the sun.

Isotopes

As originally conceived by Dalton, the atoms of the same element were identical in properties and weight, so that it was possible to establish a scale of relative " atomic weights," with *e.g.*, hydrogen approximately

[1] See *Studies*, 1950, *39*, p. 1.
[2] Radioactive disintegration is further explained at the end of the section on isotopes.

one, oxygen 16, carbon 12. In 1869, the Russian chemist Mendelejeff showed that when the elements were arranged in order of these atomic weights (periodic table), there was a regular periodic repetition of properties. For example, if the 10th element is like the second, the 11th element will resemble the third, and so on. This statement is oversimplified, but the background is correct. Later, it was found that a more rational order of the elements is determined by the positive charge on the nucleus rather than by the atomic weight. This charge expressed in atomic (positive electronic) units of electricity is, since the atom is neutral, equal to the number of the electrons in the atom, and is known as the atomic number. The new order does not differ greatly from the old atomic weight succession. It is the positive charge in the nucleus of the atom, that is its atomic number, which establishes the chemical properties of that atom. The atomic weight is, as has been said, less important, and indeed, contrary to the ideas of Dalton, the nuclei of atoms constituting an element need not all have the same weight.

To develop this statement we must consider the structure of the nucleus. That of the hydrogen atom of atomic weight approximately one unit (the lightest atom) has one unit of positive charge. This nucleus, called a "proton," is present in all atomic nuclei, and the number of protons in a nucleus fixes the total positive charge and the atomic number and, hence, the chemical properties. There is also present in the nuclei, other than that of "light" hydrogen, an uncharged particle, the "neutron," which is approximately equal in mass to the proton. It was discovered in 1932 by Chadwick working in Cambridge.

To recapitulate, we have in the atom a miniature solar system in which "planetary" electrons (particles of negative electricity) circulate, as it were, around a positively charged nucleus (atomic sun). This nucleus is composed of protons (nuclei of hydrogen atoms) and uncharged particles (neutrons). We summarize as follows :

FUNDAMENTAL PARTICLES OF MATTER

Name	*Relative Mass*	*Charge*	*Location in Atom*
Proton	1.00	+1	Nucleus
Neutron	1.00	0	Nucleus
Electron	0.000545	—1	Orbits around nucleus

The total mass of the nucleus is the sum of the atomic number (number of protons) and the number of neutrons in the nucleus. A change in the number of neutrons in a nucleus alters the mass of the nucleus (atomic weight) but not the nuclear charge, so that the chemical properties remain unaltered. Atoms with the same chemical properties (atomic numbers) but with different masses are known as "isotopes" because they occupy the same place in a modern periodic table based on atomic numbers.

There are three isotopes of hydrogen ; (1) the most plentiful—ordinary or light hydrogen ($_1H^1$) of atomic weight one (nucleus formed of one proton) ; (2) " heavy " hydrogen or " deuterium " ($_1H^2$ or D) of atomic weight two (nucleus contains one proton and one neutron) ; (3) tritium ($_1H^3$), the nucleus of which contains one proton and two neutrons.[1] The position may be summarized :

KNOWN ISOTOPES OF HYDROGEN

Protium	Deuterium	Tritium
Hydrogen	Hydrogen 2	Hydrogen 3
H or H^1	D or H^2	T or H^3

To repeat, isotopes differ in their nuclear structures ; thus for hydrogen we have :

Isotope	Nucleus	
	Protons	Neutrons
Hydrogen	1	0
Deuterium	1	1
Tritium	1	2

Uranium-235 (symbol $_{92}U^{235}$) and uranium-238 (symbol $_{92}U^{238}$) are different isotopes of the same element, the metal uranium (atomic number, 92), with the atomic weights shown.[2] Elements with atomic number one to 102 are known. Those with the higher atomic numbers tend to be unstable. This increasing instability is indicated by the number of large nuclei which spontaneously undergo " radioactive " disintegration to yield nuclei differing by one or two units of atomic number. In this type of disintegration, nuclei emit α-particles [helium nuclei ($_2He^4$) carrying 2 positive charges] or β-particles (electrons). Loss of an α- particle decreases the atomic number by 2, loss of a β-particle increases this number by one. Radiation (γ-rays) is also emitted.

[1] As indicated, $_1H^1$ represents an atom of hydrogen with nuclear charge one unit, and atomic weight one atomic unit. $_{92}U^{238}$ indicates an atom of uranium, atomic number 92, and atomic weight, 238. U-235 and U-238 are used as abbreviations for the corresponding uranium isotopes.

[2] The uranium isotopes found in nature may be summarized thus :

$_{92}U^{238}$	$_{92}U^{235}$	$_{92}U^{234}$
+92 n, 146	+92 n, 143	+92 n, 142
99.29%	0.71%	0.006% in natural uranium

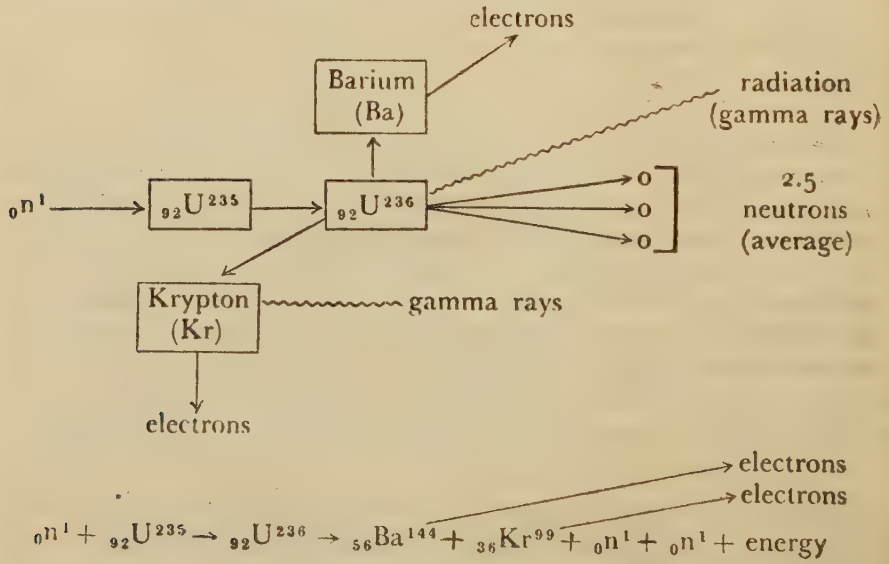
+ = a proton ; n = a neutron.

MATTER AND ENERGY

For many years it was believed that matter and energy (power of doing work) were separate entities, and that each was independently conserved in chemical reactions ; that is, neither matter nor energy could be created or destroyed. In 1905 Einstein showed that matter is, as it were, crystallized energy. Further, if matter is converted into energy, the relation between these entities is such that the " matter " energy of a quantity of coal is about three thousand million times the chemical (thermal) energy emitted on combustion. It should be noted that chemical reactions involve only the external electrons of an atom, and do not affect the nucleus.

NUCLEAR FISSION

A few large nuclei show instability of a kind differing from radioactive instability. They are fissile, that is a nucleus of this type when struck by a neutron may split into nuclei of atomic number round about one-half the original number. There is a loss of matter in the fission, and this lost matter appears as the equivalent amount of energy. The nucleus of uranium-235 is fissile, and its fission may be represented as follows :

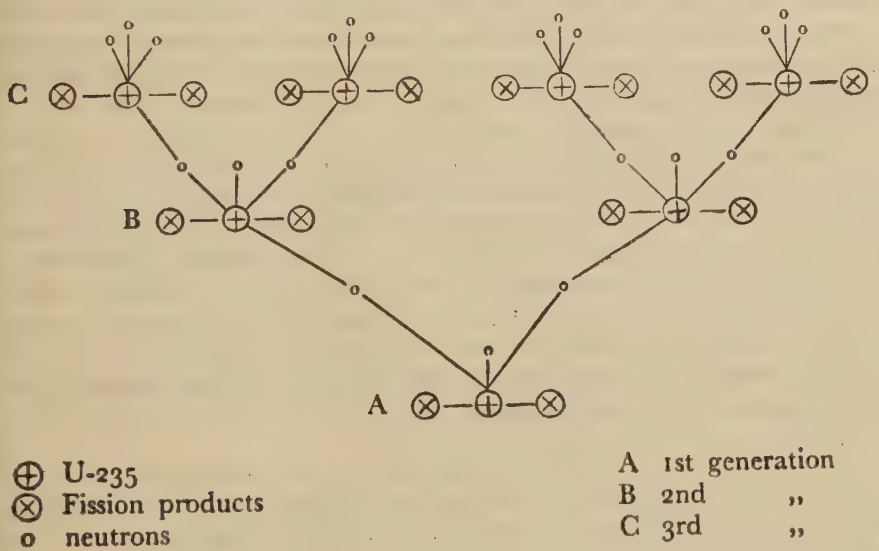


About 1/1,000 of U^{235} mass (quantity of matter) is converted into energy (1.15×10^7 kilowatt hr. per lb. of U^{235} fissioned). Heat of combustion of 1lb. of coal is about 5 kilowatt hr. $_0n^1$ represents a neutron of charge, zero, and mass, one atomic unit.

The diagram is to be read from the left. A neutron $_0n^1$ is captured by a nucleus of $_{92}U^{235}$ to form the unstable nucleus of $_{92}U^{236}$. This splits into atoms of lower atomic number (barium and krypton are shown as examples), electrons, and two or three neutrons, and there is a conversion into energy of about one-thousanth of the matter present. This energy appears as radiation and as kinetic energy (energy of motion) of the particles present. Nuclei formed in the fission range from atomic number 30 (zinc) to atomic number 64 (gadolinium). More than one-third of the known chemical elements are present.

It will be observed that an average of 2.5 neutrons result per fruitful collision between a neutron and a U-235 nucleus. If the number and concentration of U-235 nuclei are sufficient to ensure that more than one of these resultant neutrons finds a U-235 target, an expanding series of reactions, that is, a "chain reaction" with a multiplication factor greater than one will be set up. There is a very rapid increase in the rate of fission. For example, if the multiplication factor be two, then in 90 "generations" requiring say 90×10^{-9} second, over 10^{27} nuclei will have fissioned. In a twinkling an atomic explosion occurs. The output of energy may be equal to that produced by detonation of say 100,000 tons of T.N.T. The diagram shows three generations of a chain reaction with a multiplication factor of two :

Chain Reaction with a Multiplication Factor of Two.



Uranium Atomic Bomb

Ordinary uranium contains about 0.7% of U-235. To produce a self-propagating atomic explosion the U-235 isotope used must be substantially pure, otherwise fission-producing, neutron-generating collisions between neutrons and uranium-235 nuclei are insufficiently frequent. U-235 must therefore be removed from U-238. Since isotopes have identical chemical properties they cannot be separated by chemical means, and a physical process is necessary. That mainly employed depends on the fact that in a quantity of the gaseous compound uranium hexafluoride (UF_6), which is prepared from uranium ore and the element fluorine, the molecules of $U^{235}F_6$ will move somewhat more rapidly than

those of $U^{238}F_6$. The molecules of a gas at a given temperature have on the average the same " kinetic " (motion) energy, so that the mean velocity of the lighter molecules ($U^{235}F_6$) is greater than that of the heavier ($U^{238}F_6$). The separation process based on this phenomenon involves pumping the hexafluoride into a chamber on one side of a porous barrier (sieve) with holes less than one two-millionth of an inch in diameter. A pressure gradient is maintained so that about half of the gas diffuses through the barrier into a corresponding chamber on the other side. As the lighter molecules diffuse more rapidly, the concentration of $U^{235}F^6$ is increased in the gas which has diffused. The change in concentration per passage is small, so it is essential to repeat the process some 5,000 times to obtain U-235 fluoride of 99 per cent purity. This involves elaborate arrangements to compress and return for re-diffusion diffused gas still containing $U^{235}F_6$ from later (U^{235}-richer) to earlier (U^{235}-leaner) stages of the process. Uranium-235 is recovered from the $U^{235}F_6$, obtained pure after many months of diffusion. The highly corrosive nature of uranium hexafluoride posed many difficult problems to the chemical engineer.

The first diffusion plant was erected in 1943-45 at Oak Ridge in Tennessee. The steam power plant is one of the largest ever built. To operate its thousands of pumps the diffusion plant consumes as much electricity each day as New York City. It uses barriers with a total area of many acres, connected by thousands of miles of piping, and is the biggest continuous process plant in the world. Its main building covers an area half a mile long and a quarter of a mile wide. A town of 35,000 people was built to house those working on the project. The U.S. separation plants are ten times larger than the British plant.

If a piece of uranium-235 is less than a " critical mass " (perhaps about 40 lb.) [1], too many neutrons escape through the surface and the multiplication factor does not exceed one. If the mass is greater than the critical, then though the multiplication factor barely exceeds one, an atomic explosion occurs, almost instantaneously, for each generation requires, as indicated above, a time of the order of but one thousand millionth of a second (10^{-9} sec.).

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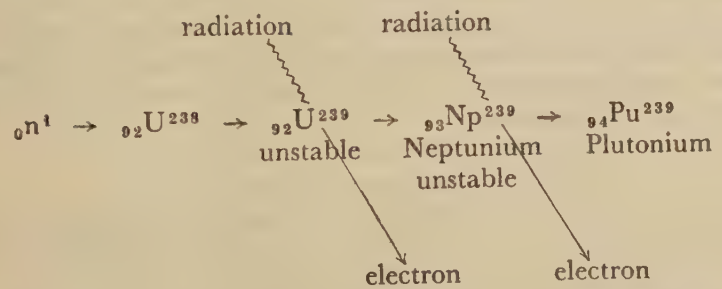
[1] The approximate figure can be calculated from published data. We are told that the explosive energy of the first fission (U-235) bomb dropped on Japan was equal to that of 20,000 tons of T.N.T., that is to the thermal energy of 9,500 tons of coal (later bombs were more than five times as powerful). The fission energy of one ton of U-235 is roughly equivalent to the heat of combustion of 3 million tons of coal, so that in the first bomb some 7 lb. of U-235 was fissioned. If we guess that 10% of the U-235 was fissioned, the rest being lost during the explosion by dispersion, and assume that the bomb contained originally 1.75 times the critical mass, we find for this mass a notional figure of 40 lbs., and for the U-235 charge in the first bomb, 70 lbs. The figure for the plutonium bomb would be approximately the same. Twenty lbs. of U-235 represents a sphere about 3.8 in. in diameter.

A U-235 bomb, therefore, contains two, or possibly more, pieces of the element, each of less than the critical mass ; detonation is effected by bringing the separate units together within say one millionth of a second, for example by means of a chemical explosive. There are always stray neutrons, formed by the action on matter of cosmic radiation from outer space, to initiate fission, but explosion is rendered more certain if the bomb contains a neutron source, *e.g.*, a mixture of radium and beryllium ; the radiation from the former causes the latter element to emit neutrons.

The existence of a critical mass limits the size of an uranium bomb to a small multiple of that mass. This follows because only a few " subcritical " (i.e. less than critical) units can be made to collide simultaneously to form a supercritical explosive mass. It is perhaps possible to have three women at a rendezvous at the same time—it is practically impossible to find twenty punctual ones.

Plutonium Atomic Bomb

There is available another approach to an atomic bomb. Fast neutrons can fission U-238, but neutrons with somewhat less energy (resonance neutrons) are absorbed by this nucleus, and then a new element " Plutonium " is produced as shown below. An unstable element " Neptunium " is intermediately formed.



The diagram indicates that a neutron is captured by $_{92}U^{238}$ to form the unstable nucelus of $_{92}U^{239}$, which emits an electron to form the unstable nucleus, $_{93}Np^{239}$. This nucleus in its turn loses an electron to produce $_{94}Pu^{239}$. Plutonium is fissile like U-235 and can replace it in an atomic bomb. Further, as a different element it can readily be separated chemically from uranium.

Manufacture of Plutonium

We now enter a region of some complexity. To manufacture plutonium it is necessary to set up a system containing U-235 (fissile material) and U-238 (fertile material). Fission of U-235 nuclei produces neutrons, some of which are captured by U-238 nuclei to form plutonium. In order that the process may be continuous it is essential that at least one of the two or three neutrons formed in each fission should be captured

by a second U-235 nucleus. To achieve such continuous nuclear reaction with natural uranium containing only 0.7% of U-235 requires careful control of external conditions—indeed the concentration of U-235 in natural uranium is only just sufficient to render possible the manufacture of plutonium.

The production of this metal is mainly carried out in " nuclear reactors," containing natural uranium and a " moderator " such as graphite. The " heap " of uranium and graphite is sometimes known as a " pile." The function of the " moderator " is to " moderate " the velocity of the generated neutrons, that is to slow the fast (6,000 miles per second) neutrons formed in the fission through the intermediate " resonance " velocity down to a " thermal " velocity (one mile per second). This is the velocity corresponding to the temperature of the enclosure containing the neutrons. At this velocity, which is less than the resonance velocity suitable for the production of plutonium from U-238, neutrons are readily captured by U-235, which then undergoes fission and provides more neutrons. If there were no moderator, a large proportion of the neutrons would be captured at above thermal velocities by the relatively abundant U-238, and the chain reaction would cease for lack of neutrons unless uranium enriched in U-235 were used.

To recapitulate, fission of U-235 and U-238 can be produced by fast neutrons. Slow (thermal) neutrons fission U-235 not U-238. Fast neutrons have a lower probability of causing fission in U-235 than thermal. At certain intermediate velocities neutrons are captured by U-238 to form plutonium (see Table). In a pile there is some fission of U-238 and of plutonium.

BEHAVIOUR OF NEUTRONS OF VARIOUS TYPES IN A NUCLEAR REACTOR

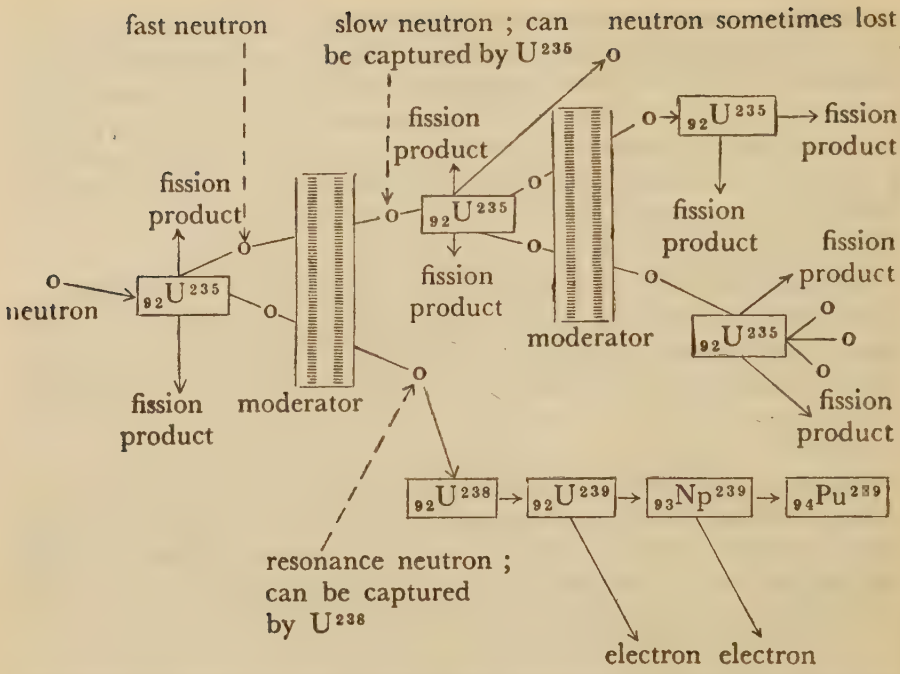
Neutron Type	U-235	U-238
Fast	Some probability of capture and fission	As for U-235
Intermediate (Resonance)	,,	Probability of capture with formation of plutonium
Slow (Thermal)	High probability of capture and fission	Little probability of capture

A graphite-moderated thermal reactor will normally consist of a pile of bricks of graphite free from neutron poisons (neutron-absorbing impurities). The pile is several stories high and contains some hundreds of equally spaced uranium slugs or rods about 1 in. in diameter running the whole length. Some 25 tons of uranium should be present to give a workable pile volume to reduce loss of neutrons through the surface. There is, as it were, a critical or minimum pile volume below which the pile will not function.

The uranium rods are enclosed in cans of a light metal such as aluminium or zirconium. The reactor is surrounded by a shell of steel or lead, and of concrete (biological shield) several feet thick to protect the operators against radiation and particles generated in the pile. Graphite at the inner surface of the steel shield reflects some neutrons back into the pile.

Control rods of a neutron-absorbing metal such as cadmium or boron are automatically maintained in the pile at a depth at which their braking effect enables the pile to function smoothly without overheating and getting out of control (running away). Such control is possible because the emission of 0.75 per cent of the neutrons set free in a fission is delayed for periods of up to a minute. This gives, as it were, a breathing space of the order of minutes in place of fractional seconds. The pile is controlled so that the normally emitted neutrons give a multiplication factor less than one. That is, once started, the production of neutrons would diminish in each succeeding set of reactions (each succeeding generation) and the pile would cease to function. But the delayed neutrons increase this multiplication factor to one (constant neutron flux and constant rate of working). The large amount of heat produced in the fission process is removed by circulating a coolant such as water through channels in the pile ; the application of this heat for power purposes is described later. The nuclear reactions occurring in a pile (nuclear reactor) are illustrated on the following page.

A neutron balance sheet for a pile of the type described above shows that of the 2.5 neutrons formed per fission of U-235, one is absorbed in U-235 to produce further fission and 0·9 in U-238 to form plutonium. When about 0.3% of U-238 has been converted, loss of plutonium by fission becomes important, and the efficiency of the pile decreases. The rods or " slugs " of uranium containing plutonium are, after say 1,500 days, mechanically pushed from the pile and chemically processed to separate pure plutonium which is used in an atomic bomb in the same way as uranium-235. Owing to the lethal radiations emitted by the products all chemical treatment has to be effected by remote control. Handling is facilitated by keeping the slugs for some weeks under water, which acts as a shield, to allow the radiation to " cool off " (decay).



A neutron is captured by U-235 and two fast neutrons are produced. They enter the graphite moderator and lose velocity by collision with graphite (carbon) nuclei and emerge reduced in speed. One is captured by another U-235 nucleus and gives rise to three neutrons, two of which enter the moderator and eventually produce further fission. The second of the original " moderated " neutrons is captured by a U-238 nucleus, and gives rise to plutonium formation with, as previously explained, intermediate production of uranium-239 and neptunium.

Atomic Energy for Power Production

Initially the manufacture of plutonium was undertaken to provide fissile material for atom bombs. No attempt was made to utilize the large quantity of fission heat produced in the process. As an indication of the output of a working reactor, each of the three original water-cooled piles at Hanford in Washington State, where plutonium was first manufactured, has a heat output of 1,500,000 kilowatts, the equivalent of the energy output of about 17 Shannon stations. This output corresponds to a daily production of 1.5 kilograms (3.4 lb.) of plutonium, so that the output of the three piles represents, possibly, one fission bomb per week. The heat produced increases the temperature of the Colombia river, about the size of the Rhine, by 1°C. Since the war American facilities for the production of plutonium have been doubled or trebled, and there is, possibly, a production of U-235 of the same order.

Increasing attention is being given to the utilization of fission energy for power production. The plutonium production piles are run at about 100°C., but higher temperatures, *e.g.*, 400°C., which bring increased

corrosion problems, are essential to obtain heat energy in an economically usable form. The coolant circulating in channels in the pile passes through a heat interchanger in which it yields its heat to water, producing steam under pressure which is used for electricity generation in the conventional way. In other words, the reactor is equivalent to the oil or coal burners in a thermal power station. The efficiency of conversion of heat to electrical energy is limited by the temperature at which the pile can be worked, and does not exceed 25 per cent.

It will be seen that, basically, the processes involved in the utilization of atomic energy are simple. But many constructional problems are posed, particularly to the chemical engineer. For the heat taken up by the coolant to be efficiently used it is necessary, as indicated above, that the pile be run at a temperature well above the boiling point of water. The materials of construction of the cans containing the uranium must withstand at this temperature the radiation and neutron flux generated in the pile. It is essential that there should be no leak of radioactive material into the power generating system. Only time will show how the materials of construction and fuel elements employed stand up to working duty over long periods of service.

British Plans for Nuclear Power

The first British programme for the utilization of atomic energy is outlined in a White Paper entitled " A Programme of Nuclear Power " (Cmd. 9389, 1955. See also First Annual Report of the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority, 1954-55). It envisages a ten year programme costing £300 million to provide 1.5—2 million kilowatts among 12 stations with one or two reactors each. The early reactors will have a net output of electricity of 50—100 megawatts (one megawatt=1,000 kilowatts), at an efficiency of about 25 per cent. Plutonium made in each reactor will provide enriched nuclear fuel for later plants. The electrical energy so produced in 1965 will equal that from 5—6 million tons of coal, and will represent about $\frac{1}{13}$ of the electrical energy produced in that year. The first reactors will come into operation in 1960-61. They will be natural uranium graphite-moderated piles, and will have vertical channels to take the uranium rods sealed in metal cases. The heat of fission will be removed by the circulation of carbon dioxide gas under pressure through the core, whence the gas passes to a heat-exchange boiler at about 400°C. to produce steam. The plutonium recovered from the pile can be mixed with depleted U-238 and used in the same type of graphite-moderated reactor in place of U-235. It can also be used with the naturally occurring fertile element thorium-232 which will produce the uranium isotope U-233, much as U-238 gives plutonium. U-233 is fissile and can replace U-235 or plutonium.

The total cost of a reactor plant will be, it is thought, about twice that of a normal power plant. The cost of power per kilowatt-hour will, it is hoped, be comparable with that from a thermal power station, if credit be given for the plutonium produced. The high capital cost makes it advisable to operate atomic power stations as base-load stations. Reactor-produced electric power will, it is believed, seldom be able to compete with hydro-electric power when the latter is available.

Eventually with increasing experience it is hoped to put more efficient liquid-cooled reactors into operation with about five times greater heat rating. This reduces the uranium investment. In addition a prototype station, which will be used mainly for the manufacture of plutonium, will come into production at Calder Hall, Cumberland in 1956.[1] This will probably be the first real commercial atomic power station to operate.

Although it is impossible for a pile to explode like an atomic bomb, and although the reactors are regarded as inherently safe, yet, in view of the remote hazard from radioactive materials if a reactor did get out of hand, stations will not be constructed in built-up areas. Precautions will be taken to ensure the containment of all radio-active materials, not only in normal operations, but in every possible contingency. It is not anticipated that there will be great difficulty in the disposal of radio-active products. Some are of medical or technical value.

Types of Reactors

The graphite-moderated gas-cooled power reactor is most advanced from the point of view of design. Of 900 or so possible types of power reactors, some 12 have been selected for investigation. Thus in place of graphite as moderator, ordinary (light) water, heavy water (D_2O), the metal beryllium or its oxide can be used. Heavy water is the ideal moderator, but is expensive. It is present to the extent of 0.015 per cent in ordinary (light) water and can be separated by distillation. A variety of coolants is available, *e.g.*, carbon dioxide, helium, water, mercury, or molten sodium.

When a liquid moderator (heavy water) is employed, it is possible to have the fissile material in solution as a soluble uranium salt (*e.g.*,

[1] The first Calder Hall plant contains two reactors. Each reactor (heat output 100 megawatts) consists of a cylindrical core (1,000 tons) of graphite blocks contained in a steel pressure drum of 2-in. welded plates a little under 40 ft. in diameter and 60 ft. high. The graphite core contains a lattice of vertical uranium metal rods sheathed in a magnesium or other suitable alloy to prevent the escape of the radioactive waste products. The pressure shell of the reactor is surrounded by a thermal shield of 6-in steel plate and by a biological shield of concrete several feet thick. Arrangements are provided to charge the uranium metal rods and discharge them into a " cooling-off " pond of water. The coolant is carbon dioxide which transfers heat from the pile at 400°C. to four steam boilers. The plant will cost about £20m ; uranium charge, £5m.

uranyl sulphate), and to circulate the solution through a heat exchanger, so that the moderator also serves as the coolant. This type of reactor is called a " homogeneous reactor " ; its use avoids the necessity of fabricating solid fuel elements, and permits of continuous removal of fission products.

" Fast fission reactors " are of great interest. These reactors have a thick " breeder " blanket of fertile material surrounding a central core of highly concentrated fissile material. No moderator is required and the core is very small. Spare neutrons produced by fission in the core (*e.g.*, of U-235) are captured by the blanket material (*e.g.*, U-238) forming more fissile elements (*e.g.*, plutonium). Under these conditions there is an excess of neutrons for secondary fuel production, and more than one atom of plutonium is on an average formed for each U-235 nucleus fissioned—this compares with about 0.9 atom of plutonium per U-235 fission in the graphite reactors.

Reactors in which there is a gain in fissile material are said to have a " positive gain factor " and are known as " breeder reactors." The importance of the discovery that fuel breeding is possible can be seen by recalling that in a graphite-moderated thermal reactor, per ton of uranium charged and withdrawn with about 0.3% of plutonium, one can expect an energy output equivalent to the thermal energy of 10,000 tons of coal. This corresponds to the fission of 7 of the 16 lbs. of the U-235 present in the natural uranium. By purifying and recycling the uranium and plutonium it may be possible to obtain per original ton of natural uranium the heat equivalent of perhaps 80,000 tons of coal. With the breeder pile, however, this utilization of uranium may be more than quadrupled.

Fast reactors are still more experimental than thermal reactors. Their high energy output poses difficult design and safety problems. These problems are being studied by Britain, Russia and the United States. The British, for example, are building a fast breeder reactor at Dounreay in Caithness. But while the uranium-238—plutonium-239 system can only become breeding in a fast reactor, breeding may be possible in a thermal reactor based on thorium-232 as the fertile material, and the uranium isotope U-233 as the fissile product.

Many types of atomic energy plants are projected. Much work is needed to determine whether the homogeneous reactor is better than the fast reactor for the cheap production of power. It should be remembered that nuclear power is now at the infantile stage of development corresponding to that of the automobile in 1900.

Hydrogen Bomb

The fission of heavy nuclei is not the only method available for the production of atomic energy. When certain light nuclei, *e.g.*, protons, fuse to form heavier nuclei, there is a conversion of mass into energy and indeed a process of this kind is the source of solar energy. It is necessary for fusion of two nuclei that they should collide at very high speeds so that the mutual repulsion between their like positive charges is overcome. Very high velocity particles correspond to very high temperatures of the order of 20 million degrees C. These temperatures can now be obtained by atomic fission and, so produced, can initiate a fusion (hydrogen) bomb. Such a bomb is said to consist of a fission (*e.g.*, plutonium) bomb surrounded by solid compounds of the metal lithium and hydrogen isotopes, deuterium ([H]) and tritium ([H]). The fission explosion produces sufficient energy to cause fusion of the lithium and hydrogen nuclei present.

The energy evolved per unit of mass converted is perhaps three times that liberated by a fission bomb, and there is no criticality limit with a hydrogen bomb. The only limit is the quantity of hydrogen-containing material that can be transported. Further, the neutrons emitted in the fusion have sufficient energy to fission U-238, the plentiful isotope of uranium left over from plutonium manufacture. It is said that the Bikini bomb to which reference has been made had a jacket of U-238 surrounding the hydrogen compound employed, so that it was a fission-fusion -fission bomb.

Up to the present it has not been found possible to harness fusion energy to power production. Extensive research work on the problem is in progress and physicists believe that it will be solved in, at a guess, the next 20 years. The quantities of thorium and uranium available coupled with the use of breeder reactors promise ample supplies of fission energy for the foreseeable future. If, however, fusion energy becomes available, inexhaustible sources of energy will be at the service of mankind. In this connection His Holiness, speaking in September 1955 to delegates of the International Congress of the Academy of St Thomas Aquinas, said that the Geneva Conference had

> brought before the astonished eyes of humanity the wonderful results in various countries of the application of atomic energy to industrial, biological and medical spheres.
>
> A serene prospect of peace can come from these triumphs of truth, discovered by the investigation of nature, which is providentially disposed if only the hearts of men are ready to base their hopes on faith in God the Creator, and love of all their fellow-men.

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Religion and Mental Health

by THE REVEREND E. F. O'DOHERTY, M.A., PH.D. (CANTAB.)

Professor of Logic and Psychology, University College, Dublin

THE idea of mental health means a great deal more than the mere absence of mental illness. It connotes a degree of maturity of mind and emotional development commensurate with an individual's chronological age. It demands a high level of integration of the personality ; it means judgment freed from the distortions due to emotional pressure, and consciousness freed from an obsession with self. It demands a degree of extroversion which yet leaves sufficient room for introversion in the form of insight leading to self-knowledge. And finally, for our purposes here, it demands good interpersonal relations : with oneself, with others and with God.

Traditionally, theologians have spoken of " natural religion ", in the sense that somehow an acknowledgment of, reverence for, and sacrifice to God is natural to man, together with collective ritual or symbolic behaviour springing from the same source. Revealed religion—the true faith—does not take away nature, but perfects it. So that if there is any truth in our contemporary picture of the mind and its functions, conscious and unconscious, this must have been known to God and His Revelation must have been made in accordance with it and with our capacity to receive. There can be nothing in His Revelation, and therefore nothing in His Church, its teaching, and its practice, which of itself could conflict with the exigencies of our nature or interfere with mental health in the sense defined.

Why is it therefore that one meets so many problems in practice in which religion and mental health seem to be in conflict ? It is not enough to say that the fault lies within ourselves. This is true in as much as there is some predisposing factor in the individual which produces a mental health problem. But why should religion, or religious teaching or practice, precipitate a problem ?

Religion should serve as a great integrating force in moulding the personality and producing fully healthy mature human beings. Why is it therefore that we seem very often to produce negativism in the children

to whom we teach religion? Why is it that just at the point where religion should begin to be really meaningful—the late teens, when intellect has reached its peak development—at this very point, it seems so often to lose all meaning, or at any rate to lose all efficacy in affecting behaviour? Why is it that religion, which in the words of Our Divine Lord, says to us "Fear not, little flock",[1] seems instead often to generate anxiety: —not the "fear and trembling" in which we are to work out our salvation—but the anxiety of neurotic guilt? Why is it that scruples, a spiritual trial, are so closely linked with the natural illness called compulsive-obsessional neurosis that even a good and experienced confessor fails at times to distinguish the two? Why are holy people often very difficult human beings, if religion should be an integrating and maturing force? Why is there so often a religious content in the manifestations of the mentally ill?

I suggest that among the many factors which are relevant to a solution of these problems, there are two which concern us deeply. One is the emotional charge with which we sometimes load our religious teaching, and the other is the fact that we tend to import into our religious belief and practice elements which on examination we must admit have no place there.

* * * *

In general, mental illness is a pathological condition of the emotions, or of the imagination, or of both emotions and imagination. It is not an illness of the soul or of the intellect, but it can fetter the soul and cripple the intellect: that is to say, a mentally ill person is working against a great handicap in the spiritual life in as much as he is limited in freedom to the extent to which he is ill. A neurotic condition admits of all degrees of severity from the almost indiscernible mild sort of thing which most people experience at some time or other, to the very marked condition of the major hysteric or hypochondriac. But, mild or severe, it always involves conflict—with oneself, with one's neighbour and with God. These are so inter-related, both in reality and in thought, that you cannot disturb one element without disturbing the pattern as a whole. A disturbance of this pattern produces any one or any combination of the following:—anxiety, egoism, infantile dependence, immoderate aggressiveness, depression or feelings of "despair", a sense of being "shut-in"; distrust of others, or a sense of being persecuted, or at any

[1] cf. Let not your heart be troubled; nor let it be afraid. Jn. XIV. 27. These things have I spoken to you, that my joy may be in you. Jn. XV. 2.

rate unjustly treated, and certainly misunderstood ; self-depreciation (mistaken for humility), tears of self-pity (sometimes mistaken for the " gift of tears " that spiritual writers speak about) ; and finally for our purposes here, emotional rigidity or apathy, often mistaken for strong-mindedness and self-control.

It is important to remember that neurotic conflict is (at least to some extent) unconscious, and its effect on consciousness, and therefore on behaviour, is involuntary. The result is that exhortation from without to more intense moral endeavour is very often, if not always, fruitless. The pressure of the conflict on consciousness must be eased first, either by resolving the conflict entirely, or at least by making its source fully conscious so that its relevance and influence can be understood ; or, in an older terminology, so that the individual's behaviour (including his thought-processes which are for the moment governed by irrational forces,) may be brought back under the control of reason. There is a sense in which this is much more a matter of fundamental education of the personality than of therapy applied to an illness.

According to one school of analysis, religion itself is regarded as a neurosis. According to another, neurosis is precipitated by the absence of religion. According to the former view-point, religion is generated by our inability to allay our childish and infantile fears. It is essentially, in this point of view, a refusal to cope rationally with reality, an escape, a refuge. It involves the repression of our fears and the projection of our fantasies. It thrives on rationalization, and all its solutions to life's problems are rationalizations. According to the other school of thought, religion represents the seizing of our consciousness by essentially irrational forces of the unconscious, which somehow makes life liveable and valuable, and produces mental health. Both these points of view are false, and it is hardly necessary to explain how and why they are false.

But where you find error, it is rarely without some admixture of truth. Freud's line of reasoning was that since he could discern in the genesis and practice of religion the processes of repression, projection, rationalization and the rest, that *therefore* religion was explained away and shown to be an illusion. It is equally arguable, however, that if the processes of repression, projection, rationalization and the rest are as widespread, or as connatural, as Freud claimed they were, then one should not be surprised to discover their traces, even their necessity, in true religion, and to find manifestations of them in those who believe and practice the true religion. Our nature is not changed by the act of faith : *gratia naturam non tollit.*

There is no doubt, for instance, that religion of any kind, and therefore *a fortiori* true religion, can be a very potent defence against anxieties, unconscious and childish fears, and especially the fear of death. But the truth or otherwise of religion must be established independently of its functioning as a defence against fears. The fact that we need defences against fears might bear out Jung's contention that we need some form of religion for mental health. But it certainly does not establish Freud's contention that religion is therefore a neurotic manifestation.

The fact is that our religion, like any other, can be used to allay our natural fears and anxieties, but this is not its formal function precisely as a supernaturally revealed true religion. Neither is it the essential function of revealed religion to comfort us, and ease our pain and sorrow. We recognize this in regard to bodily ills and material misfortune, so that we do not apply the false criterion of material progress as a way of deciding the merits of different religions. But we may be inclined to forget that freedom from anxiety and the comforting of sorrow are material benefits too. There is no doubt that religion can and does console and comfort and strengthen. But these are not its essential function. If we sometimes attach too much importance to these are we not perhaps indulging in a little infantilism ?

I suggest that sometimes we may be inclined to stress these " natural " benefits of religion unduly in the minds of those we teach. For some this will be helpful, even indispensable. For others, however, it may be disastrous. Many times one has heard from young adults phrases such as : —" I am not afraid to die, so why should I need a religion ? " : or " religion only increased my anxieties instead of allaying them ". It might be very important to stress the fact that religion taken seriously will undoubtedly increase one's anxieties.

* * * *

But it is the other aspect of Freud's thesis that I should like especially to stress : the fact that sometimes we may be tempted to use our religion, or to let others use it, as an escape, or as a means of projection or rationalization. There is no reason to expect among people striving to lead good lives, nor even among religious, a higher percentage of normally balanced minds than one finds throughout the rest of the population. If anything, there are reasons for expecting a higher percentage of maladjusted people, at any rate under certain conditions, and of immature personalities, or dependent personalities, who lean for support on religion.

This means that one should be neither surprised nor scandalized to find good serious-minded devout individuals manifesting strange symptoms at times. There seems to be little doubt that people sometimes use religion as a way of refusing to cope rationally with reality. The most obvious example of this sort of thing is perhaps the Christian Scientist refusing medical aid when he is ill. But it is at least possible that we ourselves may on occasion be guilty, in the name of faith, of escaping from reality in analogous ways. It is difficult at times, observing people's behaviour, to draw the line between escapism and rationalization on the one hand, and genuinely deep faith on the other. Probably the more usual thing is a mixture of all these factors since, as Professor Nuttin of Louvain says, " human motivation is never purely rational or purely spiritual ".

Let me indicate some of the ways in which rationalization may appear. If we are in difficulties, we should have recourse to prayer. This is a clear obligation of the Christian way of life. But if we leave the difficulty because it is difficult, and start to pray because it is easier than coping with the problem, we may be rationalizing in a big way. Obviously one should have recourse to prayer while trying to cope physically with the problem. Sometimes at least, our prayer savours of wishful thinking, and sometimes I fear we communicate this rather unhealthy attitude to our children. Again, in the matter of difficulties and temptations, it is important to remember that it is not only the devil who tempts us, but the world and the flesh are also active : by which is meant ourselves and our environment. I do not suggest, as non-Christians have frequently suggested, that we use the devil as a bogey-man with which to frighten children. He is very real and certainly to be feared. But I do suggest that sometimes we rationalize our own difficulties and responsibility by blaming on him matters which spring from within ourselves. The fault, sometimes at least, lies within ourselves, neither in our stars nor with the devil.

We rationalize also in other ways. It is inevitable that when the human mind reaches a certain level of maturity it will begin to seek explanations of problems and even of the Mysteries of religion. Obviously one should not confuse a difficulty with a doubt, and few in fact make this mistake. But together with the *Credo ut intelligam* of St Anselm one should remember the *Intelligo ut credam* of St Augustine. It is better to seek an explanation of a difficulty than to refuse to acknowledge that it is there. In the spiritual life there is a point at which faith is purified by the withdrawal of consolation and all temporal aids to faith, so that the will clings blindly to the fact of God revealing, and the understanding

seems to be clouded. Not all souls reach this stage, however, and it is rationalizing in a big way to account for the minor difficulties the intellect encounters by supposing one is going through a purification of this kind.

There are other ways in which we import into our religion, or at any rate into our attitude towards it, elements which properly belong in the context of unhealthy thinking. The compulsive-obsessional states for example are characterized by repetitive, ritualistic patterns of behaviour, easily identifiable when the condition is very marked. When the condition is less marked we do not notice the compulsive element and very often it is difficult to distinguish between this compulsive factor and the simple formation of habits. The difference can be put fairly simply like this : a habit is a facilitating mechanism which for good or ill makes the carrying out of an action easier and sometimes automatic. But in the compulsive condition emotion predominates, usually the emotion of fear, and it is this which determines the subsequent behaviour. Thus an action which proceeds from irrational fear of the consequences of its omission partakes of an unhealthy compulsive character. May one suggest that sometimes at least some good people exhibit a compulsive-obsessional quality in their religious practices ? Instead of praying, for example, to glorify God, or even to supplicate His Mercy, it is easy to fall into the frame of mind where one says a great many prayers because to omit a particular prayer we have adopted would be visited by dire consequences. It is impossible in a brief treatment like this to draw all the proper distinctions accurately, and I do not wish to suggest for a moment that all good people are guilty of formal superstition, but I think it is important that we should not exhibit in our practice of religion any element which even remotely savours of the superstitious. Apart from the theological aspect, it is bad from the mental health point of view.

Very few of the " difficulties about religion " which manifest themselves in late adolescence or early adulthood are really "religious " or " theological " difficulties. Most of them are either moral problems, or mental health problems, or a combination of moral and mental health. In other words, what appears to be a religious problem is a manifestation in a religious context of some aspect of mental life with much wider and perhaps deeper ramifications.

The sixth commandment is an obvious context in which an apparent religious problem will appear. The difficulty primarily is a moral one, perhaps, which precipitates an emotional one—fear, or neurotic sense of guilt, or a compulsive-obsessional attitude, or desire (desire is also an emotion). Sometimes the young person in this condition has recourse

to rationalization. His thinking might be expressed by " I cannot help it anyway ", or " it cannot be wrong because it is so natural ", but more often he has recourse to projection : the attributing to some other thing or person of the responsibility for one's own condition. Thus he may say : " I would not have this fear, or this sense of guilt were it not for God, or the Church, or the priests, etc." The next stage is easy. First fearfully, and then more consciously he begins to deny the existence of God, or to repudiate the Church. Since the rejection of God or of the Church takes place on an emotional basis, and not on an intellectual one, rational arguments for the existence of God, or lectures on the historicity of the Gospels and the notes of the True Church will often have little or no effect.

Sometimes again the process is even more " psychologically " coloured than this. A child's attitude to his father, for instance, is very relevant in understanding his later attitude to God. Freud, who drew attention to this fact, thought that by showing how the " introjection of the Father-figure " affected one's thinking about, and emotional attitude to God, he had " explained away " the existence of God. This of course is a *non-sequitur* in elementary logic. The problem of the existence of God is obviously independent both of the genesis of the idea of God in the child's mind and of his emotional attitude towards Him. But the child's emotional attitude to God is certainly affected by his attitude to his father and to authority generally, and therefore helps us to understand something at least of the religious revolt or adolescent atheism of young people. For if in the natural order we have come to dread the notion of father, to fear him, to regard him only as the source of frustration and repression, it is only psychologically natural to suppose that we may import something at least of these attitudes into our attitude to God.

Grace does not destroy nature, and the spirit whereby we cry Abba, Father, will be coloured by the affective tones which the word bears in the natural order. Thus it would appear that some at least of those who go through a period of religious revolt in the late teens are not experiencing a formally religious problem but are going through a struggle on the natural plane, perhaps in the deep unconscious, for emancipation from an emotional conflict. This is not to relieve them of all responsibility for their present attitude. Their acceptance of atheism or irreligion may still be very culpable indeed. Giving a natural cause for their attitude does not mean that their acts are wholly " determined " by such a natural cause. If it is known for instance that a young man has become a profligate because of his association with bad companions, this does not mean that we thereby relieve him of responsibility for his profligacy. But it does give us a lead as to how we might set about straightening things out. First, obviously and if possible, get rid of the distorting influences.

In the same way in the sort of case under consideration, instead of considering the atheism or irreligion as the immediate point to be tackled, the first thing to be done is to relieve the emotional pressure. Then it may be possible to deal with the theological side of things.

The father is not the only source of emotional conflict and resentment, however. The father-substitute or father-symbol, or indeed any source of authority which is feared or dreaded or despised, can suffice. Sometimes perhaps unwittingly we generate in young people an attitude of negativism by setting up the wrong emotional currents, so that while their intellect and will are with us, their behaviour is the opposite of what we and even they themselves desire. It is almost a case of *Video meliora, proboque, deteriora sequor.* Many have been confronted with the widespread phenomenon of the young person who in her own words " cannot get on with her mother, or her father, or her teacher " etc. There is very often in this sort of case, a deep and genuine mutual love, together with inability to express it, or to act in accordance with it, and this inability is due to emotional factors. Such negativism on the part of the child is a reflection of the parent's or teacher's attitude. The parent very often thinks he will achieve his purpose by telling the child what to do. But he has no real confidence that the child will in fact do what he tells him. The child in turn hears the instruction, but " feels " the lack of confidence, by a process called empathy, and it is this which determines both his attitude and his behaviour. In general, I suggest, children and adolescents behave much more in accordance with what they think we expect of them than in accordance with what we tell them to do. This parental situation is imported into the school, especially in matters of religious practice. We generate a mental revolt by colouring our instruction with the wrong affective tone, through lack of real confidence that they will rise to the level of our aspiration for them.

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The greatest difficulty in the problem of religion and mental health is to keep the distinction between the natural and the supernatural orders clear. The difficulty derives from the fact that the supernatural permeates the natural in so many ways ; that we ourselves are not departmentalized but live a natural and supernatural life as one person at one and the same time ; that our prayer is so often for temporal objects ; that we use natural means in teaching religion ; that we are sometimes not at all clear about the distinction between the will of God as manifested through secondary causes, and direct Divine intervention. Thus the typical

malaise and acute insecurity of the adolescent is not automatically "cured" by prayer. Nor is the typical anxiety state of middle age necessarily a "spiritual" trial. Both these conditions are due to natural causes: the one to the threefold conflict between physiological, emotional and intellectual maturation which proceed at different rates; the other to the awareness of declining powers, the sense of failure or futility, and the difficulty of adjusting to a new tempo of life. More marked still, because more often seemingly religious in character, is the condition of the late fifties called involutional melancholia—a condition characterized by an unbearable sense of guilt and repudiation. This condition is probably precipitated by or at any rate contributed to by the fear of death, and once again is a natural illness.

In these three typical conditions, weird and frightening mental contents will appear, welling up from the deep unconscious, or more simply, the irrational side of man's nature will become painfully obtrusive. But though guilt, sin, temptation, Heaven and Hell may play obvious and important parts in the mental life of an individual so suffering, we are not yet in the presence of a religious problem. It is inevitable that what has been or has appeared to be of very great importance in one's normal healthy life, will appear at the focus of a disturbed thought process; and since religious belief and practice are at once the most important and the most fearful elements in human life, it is clear that they will play an important part in any neurotic (or psychotic) condition. Undoubtedly, any natural misfortune or suffering can be used to advantage by the believing Christian: *omnia co-operantur in bonum.* But a natural misfortune or suffering is not *of itself* a spiritual trial. I am inclined to stress this because all too often these natural ills of mental life have been represented either to or by the sufferer as straight spiritual trials, whereas in such conditions spiritual effort may only aggravate the condition. It is important to remember that neurotic symptoms of a compulsive character may be aggravated rather than cured by having recourse to repetitive or vocal prayer, for example. It is also of the first importance to note that the emotional guilt of the adolescent, the middle-aged anxiety state and the involutional condition have little if anything to do with strict theological guilt for sin. The latter is rational judgment that one has done something, *sciens volens,* and that it was morally wrong. The guilt-feeling of the neurotic on the other hand is an emotional state composed of many elements among which we can distinguish fear, self-loathing, hatred, etc.

Thus it becomes tremendously important to distinguish properly between "scruples" in the strict theological sense, and neurotic compulsive behaviour. Both these in turn should be distinguished from

the normal fear and dread of sin. The scrupulous person is going through a spiritual trial which properly used can advance him on the spiritual plane, whereas the neurotic is, by the very nature of his neurosis and to the degree of its severity, handicapped in all that respects voluntary and therefore meritorious action. The individual who cannot get through the Rosary because he must repeat each Hail Mary until he is satisfied, is not scrupulous but sick. But the person whose conscience is troubled by each smallest imperfection as though it were mortal sin, may be genuinely scrupulous but mentally very healthy indeed. The simplest test I can think of is to look for the motive. If the motive is fear, or pride, or if one can be reasonably sure that greater and more serious matters are being ignored, one can assume either an unhealthy mental condition or straight malingering, whereas if the motive is a noble one and the rest of the personality is fairly well integrated, one may suspect a genuine case of scruples. Even here, however, one should be loth to acknowledge a genuine spiritual problem to the exclusion of a natural one, and especially one should be careful not to let adolescents get hold of the idea too easily that they are " scrupulous ". Very often a little more care in the examination of conscience would do them all the good in the world.

I sometimes think that in matters of religion we are in danger of committing the Platonic fallacy—the theory that if people know the good, they will automatically do it. It is true that if people do not know the good, or the right, it will be very difficult for them to do it. " How can they hear unless it be preached to them ? " But it is certainly not true that mere knowledge will of itself bring about good behaviour. Very often it is not knowledge, the cognitive side of mental life, which most directly influences our behaviour, but the conative side : the emotions, appetites, desires, in short concupiscence. Undoubtedly, knowledge must be given, especially in matters of the sixth commandment. But equally what cannot be given is any adequate notion of the impact of desire on consciousness and therefore on behaviour. The knowledge we impart may in fact have as one of its results the stimulating of curiosity, and thereby the awakening of desire. All the knowledge in the world will not of itself eliminate or counteract the force of desire. Clearly the adolescent or young adult should be prepared for this challenge, but equally clearly no one but himself can do anything about it when it arises. Knowledge does not allay concupiscence nor does grace eliminate desire.

On the other hand one should not assume, as many contemporary psychologists and moralists would seem to assume, that if one behaves in ways that conflict with the state and degree of one's knowledge therefore there is something wrong with one's mental health. This is simply not so. It is precisely because one can so behave that moral

behaviour is possible—that is, that man is a free and responsible agent. Looking at the matter realistically therefore, it is only to be expected (but that does not mean condoned or excused) that behaviour will at least sometimes not measure up to the degree of knowledge possessed, or again that some people will behave in unexpected ways in direct conflict with the instruction given or the standards set for them. If this were not so we would not be dealing with human beings. It is sometimes apparent that people enjoy being scandalized by the deviant behaviour of others—even, be it said, that they sometimes achieve a sort of vicarious satisfaction in contemplating and recounting the deeds of others. In this sort of case—one hesitates to say it—the unhealthy thinking is their own.

One last point : does our actual instruction in religion sometimes lead to unhealthy ways of thinking and acting ? Consider for instance the simple error of telling children that their souls are really little angels, that after death they become little angels, and so on. This is probably harmless in the vast majority of cases. But it does introduce a dichotomy into human nature which can sometimes produce severe conflict later on : the sort of conflict which reaches theological proportions in Manichaeism, Albigensianism, and all forms of extreme repudiation of matter or the organism. This may sound an exaggeration, but one certainly finds adolescents and young adults who are unable emotionally or psychologically to accept their own human nature in its fullness. Again, we are not always sufficiently careful in our teaching about sin, guilt and punishment. The notion of sin is in itself sufficiently terrible not to need a charge of emotional horror on our part to bring it home to children. Emotional horror, fear, dread, anxiety, generate not an awareness of responsibility for wrong-doing, but guilt in the psychiatrists' sense : neurotic guilt, an unhealthy state of the emotions and by no means necessarily a salutary experience. In treating of the punishment of sin, we sometimes at least give the impression that retribution follows even in this life. The evils and misfortunes which befall people are the will of God punishing people for their sins. There is no doubt that this can be interpreted in a perfectly sound theological sense, but neither is there any doubt that it is very difficult to do so accurately. To the child's mind, on the other hand, it is very often a purely literal and anthropomorphic operation.

Fortunately, the mind, like the body, has its own ways of dealing with some at least of its unhealthy conditions, so that the vast majority of people grow to maturity without meeting any of the dire problems I have been considering. But there are always the few who suffer very much, and with the apparent increase in neurotic conditions, or perhaps the decrease in the ability to rectify these conditions from within the individual himself, I think it behoves us wherever possible to lessen the precipitating causes. Prophylaxis is always better than treatment.

Secondary Education in Ireland

by SEÁN Ó CATHÁIN, S.J., M.A., PH.D.
Lecturer in Education, University College, Dublin

Part Two

CHOOSING THE CURRICULUM

IN the first part of this article I discussed the criticisms which teachers most frequently make against the present system of Secondary Education in this country ; I may sum them up in two propositions : the curriculum is too heavy ; the system of examination militates against good teaching. In order to understand better the weight of these two judgments I considered what the aim of good teaching should be : the fostering in the pupil of a right attitude towards truth, an appreciation of its value and a determination to attain to it at all costs. The means to that end are a training to habits of right learning, a reflective, critical and eminently active reception of new knowledge. What goes on in a classroom is essentially a co-operation between teacher and learner with, however, a gradual lessening of the teacher's contribution as the learner grows in mental maturity and power of independent study : a development from the master's *ipse dixi* to the pupil's *nunc video*.

Finally, this kind of teaching and learning is of its essence a slow, leisurely affair. It needs time. Maturity is the result of a natural growth under the most favourable natural conditions ; you may force a plant but the result will be a freak, an oddity, rather than a normal development.

Training in Values

There is, however, one aspect of learning which must be discussed here before we examine the present system in the light of the principles we have set up. It is an aspect closely allied to that necessary leisureliness we have just mentioned. I have pointed out already that the formal aim of classroom work is to inculcate intellectual excellence because the use a man makes of his intellect determines, in the natural order, how he will act, how he chooses and decides between alternatives that may present themselves. But in that choosing, the intellect proposes the alternatives to the will not formally as truths, but as values, as good things. So, to make a right choice, it is imperative that we not only know the truth about a thing but that we also value it aright ; that is to say that it is not enough to know the truth, we must also appreciate the good in order to do it. This appreciation in *truth* by the mind of the

goodness of its object is, in fact, the appreciation of the *beauty* of that object. Philosophers have discussed at great length the nature and the relations of these three qualities of the objects of our knowledge. To sum up briefly, if inadequately, what they have to say relative to our purpose at present : the truth of an object consists in the mind knowing all about that object ; the goodness of an object is the degree of perfection in it which makes it desirable ; the beauty of an object is its goodness when the mind knows it and is pleased by it.

The important point is that the mind, when it learns about an object, does not stop at the truth of that object. Let me put it this way : that quality in the object which arouses our curiosity, our desire to know (that is to say, the goodness of the object) starts the process ; the mind then stretches out to possess that goodness, it apprehends the object, it knows it ; finally, in the knowing of the object, and necessarily and naturally bound up with it is the delight of the mind, that satisfaction that comes from the possession of a good thing, which we call the realization of the beauty of the object. It is obvious that the degree of intensity of this process varies considerably : the beauty claimed for a bull-fight will, for example, not be appreciated to the same extent by a lady inspector of the NSPCA and by the true *aficionado* ; the paintings of Rouault or the sculptures of Moore have not produced the same degree of delight in all spectators. What is fundamental is an understanding of the object : the more one knows of the object, the more the goodness, the perfection of that object reveals itself to him and the keener his delight in its beauty.

But here again we come to the fact that all this takes time. Very few things reveal themselves fully to us at first sight. Even the act of intuition which seems to short-circuit the reflective powers of the mind and to bring us directly into contact with the beauty of a great work of art will not usually exhaust that beauty. In many cases it will prompt the question : " why ? " ; it will urge us to a deeper study, a study leading to a fuller knowledge and a deeper appreciation of the work. A system of teaching and learning, therefore, which concerns itself mainly with the collection of facts and with the problem of how best to remember them is a bad one. By ignoring the normal aesthetic reaction of the mind in the presence of beauty it interferes violently with what is natural and necessary ; its result must be either a stunted and irrational understanding of what is beautiful or even a hatred of it. How else, for example, account for the fact that so many pupils leave school with the firm resolution never to read a poem again as long as they live ?

There is no need to elaborate the truth that not all those things which appear good are good in fact. Moral evil masquerades as good to the

sinner, a hideous oleograph or statue will appear beautiful to the untrained. These and similar instances merely underline the fact that the deeper our knowledge the truer will our appreciation be of what beauty and perfection are, the surer our rejection of what is ugly and bad. We are inclined, I think, when speaking of aesthetics to regard it as a matter dealing with the beautiful in created things—nature, art, music and literature. A consequence of this attitude is a certain misgiving about the wisdom of bringing into prominence during the school years—and in particular during the troubled years of adolescence—an interest in beauty. I am not speaking now of the truculent philistine who has no time for all that nonsense, but of otherwise enlightened and intelligent people who feel that, for example, cold baths and plenty of games are "safer" than a pre-occupation with matters that have bohemian, not to say pagan, associations.

Whatever may be the origins of the attitude, it is a very regrettable one. To say nothing of the violence done to the innate pattern of the child's mind to which reference has already been made, there is the supreme truth that any created or man-made beautiful thing is beautiful only in so far as it is a mirroring, a participation of God's infinite Beauty, that it is of its nature wholly ordained to lead us to that Beauty and that it achieves its fullest significance in that ordination. We know all that, yet we hesitate to be logical in applying it in education. In Christian Doctrine class we try, if we are wise, to lead the child to appreciate the beauty of virtue, of the lives the Saints led, of Our Blessed Lord and ultimately of the Blessed Trinity. And yet we are slow to guide that same child to a love of the beauty that lies around him. Granted the essential difference between the natural and the supernatural orders, granted that we need divine grace to realize adequately the beauty of virtue, the evil and the ugliness of sin, it is still true to say that a person trained to discriminate between what is beautiful and ugly in the natural order, a person who loves the beautiful and hates the ugly, will be inclined to transfer those attitudes to supernatural objects. Finally, there is the inescapable fact that if children are not led to know and love the best they will be led to choose the standards urged on them day in day out by the manufacturers of commercial entertainment. No man can live without a vision of beauty ; for the pupil in the secondary school it rests almost entirely with his teachers to decide what the quality of that beauty shall be.

An Overloaded Curriculum

And it is precisely here (for we have come at long last to an explicit discussion of the present system) that I see the fundamental weakness in our secondary schools. Call it what you will, the overloading of the

curriculum, the cramping effects of the examination system, the simple fact is that first things are not put first, that the stress is put on things that are at best of secondary value, at worst positively harmful. Let us consider first the curriculum (though even here the examinations must be discussed). As has been said in the first part of this article, in the greater number of the six subjects which are to be studied in preparation for the Intermediate examination the courses considered singly do not seem excessive. But unfortunately they cannot be considered singly. Each pupil must study six subjects, of which four—Irish, History and Geography, Mathematics (Elementary Mathematics may be taken by girls) and a second language are obligatory. For the two years' course leading to the Leaving Certificate, the number of subjects is reduced by one, only Irish being compulsory, but the lessening of the amount to be done is, I am told, more apparent than real. Now here I draw on what I have heard in conversations with many teachers. The overwhelming majority of those who had a proper regard for the subjects they taught and who knew how much those subjects *could* give if rightly taught and learned were despondent about the present situation. They must have smiled wryly at what I wrote above about leisure in learning, the reflective mind, the delight in the possession of beauty. There is quite simply no time for all that, they would say. There is such a sheer weight of facts which have to be "learned" and remembered that there is little or no time for anything else. This seems to be the case in the Leaving Certificate course, but it is true also of the junior course. The examinations stress so heavily the repetition of facts that they determine the teaching. One has only to examine the papers, the language papers and the History and Geography papers in particular, to see how true it is. No teacher whose reputation, and possibly whose job depends on the results of these examinations can afford to ignore them in his work. There is no need, I think, to elaborate this point ; in any case, we shall have to return to it again when we come to consider the examination system.

A Too-uniform Curriculum

There is a much more serious point which must be discussed when we speak of the curriculum. The subjects to be studied in the junior course are, as has been said, to a large extent obligatory : Irish and a second language (which will, of course, be English) are already prescribed by the Department. For a number of reasons, chief among which are tradition and the requirements of the entrance examinations of outside bodies, Latin is virtually an obligatory subject for all boys. When we add French to the list we find, as I showed on a previous occasion,[1] that nearly every boy studies three languages, and some take four. Nearly

[1] Studies, December 1951, p. 449

every girl studies three languages, and more girls than boys take four. Furthermore, every boy has to follow the Mathematics course for the Intermediate Certificate and (in spite of the option of Elementary Mathematics for them) the great majority of girls do so too ; in the senior course, though the subject is not obligatory, the same proportions obtain, presumably, again, because of external requirements.

The picture our Irish secondary schools present is, to a large extent, a uniform mould to the impress of which all Irish children, no matter what their individual qualities, are subjected. Or, if you like, it is a collection of Procustean beds into which we tuck them all, soothing the discomfort of many with the assurance that father or mother, or teacher, or the Department, or somebody unspecified knows what is best for them. Every boy and every girl in our schools is supposed to have a special aptitude for languages (and, as I have said,[1] a higher than average degree of intelligence is required to study with profit even one language in addition to the vernacular), for mathematics and for history. These assumptions of a national level of intelligence well above that of any other country have never been examined to see how true they are. The so-called Entrance Examination is not an adequate test of them. It is largely an attainment test and serves to eliminate the more obvious cases of the mentally deficient and the totally illiterate. This, apart from any consideration of the very varying conditions in which it is held. Nor, as I have said in the first part of this article, is the high percentage of passes in the subsequent examinations any guarantee of that high intelligence. We are concerned now with the idea of studying with profit, not with the lengths to which the human memory can be stretched.

Latin Teaching

Let me, as an illustration of what I have been saying, take two subjects : Latin and Mathematics. Every secondary pupil in this country is already studying two languages, Irish and English. (I do not intend, in this connection, to consider them any further. What I have already written about Irish[2] does not seem to me to need any modification. As for criticisms of the English courses, may I refer the reader to two excellent articles by Father Thomas Foy in the *Summerhill College Annual,* 1951 and 1952, and the correspondence published in the second volume ? Some of the more glaring defects mentioned there have since been corrected, but very much more still demands righting.) Now to these two is added a third : Latin. On this point, too, a good deal has been written in recent years, but I would here emphasize one point. It is clearer than

[1] *loc. cit.*

[2] *loc. cit.* pp. 449-451

the light of day to Latin teachers that, if one is speaking of real learning leading to a mastery of one's subject and a pleasure in the practice of it, well over one half of those now following the type of Latin course set down in the syllabus should never be doing it.

It has been argued that, in view of the position Latin holds in Catholic liturgy, some sort of a course in it should be given to all Catholic children. This sounds attractive, though it surprises me to hear it suggested that the aim should be the power to read the Missal in Latin. The language of the Missal is by no means easy—the Collects, for example. We should be satisfied too, before we introduce such a course, that the pupil for whom we propose it will in fact, and not just in theory, be helped in his religion by it. After all, the setting up of this Church Latin course is based on the sound idea that certain pupils, whatever their other abilities may be, have no great taste or aptitude for language study. Can we be sure that the new course, for all its " practical " bent, will bring them far enough to be of any real advantage? What I should certainly welcome would be the provision of such a course for those who are judged capable of studying classical Latin: We would not then have the position of honours pupils in their fifth or sixth year of Latin study not being able to translate even such a common hymn as the *Tantum ergo*.

For the others, the majority, Latin is a tragic waste of time, of opportunity, of energy. No doubt, if they give themselves to it doggedly and faithfully a certain moral advantage accrues, a training in perseverance and application which may, and again may not, be of permanent value. As for claims about training in logical habits, in accuracy of expression and the rest of the wishful thinking that one hears at times as a defence of what is recognized as being a very shaky position, it is time that we recognize such talk for the nonsense that it is. The study of Latin *can* produce those qualities, but only under very clearly defined conditions, namely intelligent and enlightened teaching and intelligent and appreciative learning. They are certainly not the results of grammar slogging and Kelly's Keys and slogging of another sort. I doubt if any teacher who is doomed to labour with these pupils would suggest that they are aware of, or to any extent appreciate the quality of the texts they " do ". And yet they are supposed to be studying one of the great literatures of the world. Vergil wrote great poetry no doubt, but, as the king in *Tromdhámh Guaire* said to the poet who recited for him an abstruse composition : *Is maith an dán sin, gidh bé thuigfeadh é.*

Why, then, does the farce continue? It continues, I think, for two reasons. The first is that pious tradition that I have already alluded to : Latin always formed part of Catholic secondary education, therefore

it must continue to do so. Obligatory extensions in the curriculum are ignored ; the vast increase in the number of those going on to secondary education is ignored, with the probable lowering in the level of academic abilities such an increase entails. And so, on it goes ; children with little linguistic ability having the stuff pounded into them by disheartened masters—and, sometimes, by masters whose own grasp of what they are teaching is not as firm as it might be.

The second reason is the requirements of outside bodies, and, in particular, the Matriculation requirements of the National University of Ireland. One may sympathize with every effort that is made to ensure a high standard of intelligence in entrants to University studies, and it will be readily admitted that success in Latin is an indication of linguistic ability. But three questions may be asked : why do the authorities take it for granted that such an ability is necessary, for example, for doctors and lawyers ? (The student intending to do an Arts course is in a different position, as languages are a prominent part of that course.) Secondly, do the authorities really believe that success in the present Matriculation examination, considering the actual position of Latin in the schools, is a certain indication of linguistic ability ? Finally, if the Matriculation requirement is given as a defence of the present position in the schools, why must a majority of the pupils study a subject because a very small proportion will need it ?

The Mathematics Course

The situation in Mathematics is parallel to that of Latin. A comparatively small number of pupils—engineers, accountants, scientists, architects, navigators and statisticians—will use the subject in their profession. For the rest of us we need, for the practical purposes of life, about as much Arithmetic as there is in the programme for Fifth Standard in the Primary School. On very rare occasions we may need some elementary notions in Algebra or Geometry. And so no one would object very much to a course corresponding more or less with that laid out for Elementary Mathematics for girls in the junior course (though I have yet to hear from anyone a satisfactory instance of the use of quadratic equations in ordinary life). Now there is no question in this case—at least at secondary school level—of the content value of the subject as there is, for example, in a language, so we come back again to our old friend, training value. And we meet again logical thinking and orderly, accurate habits as justifications for the wide courses laid down for general study. But we find here precisely the same difficulty that we saw in Latin. These results will follow if the conditions for them exist. At the risk of being repetitive I must state them again : a fairly high degree of mathematical ability requisite for intelligent learning and an

appreciation of the beauty of mathematical method, and intelligent teaching on the master's part. It is simply no use talking about " the mental training that Mathematics gives " unless those conditions are there.

First, a word about the teaching. This seems to be regarded as one of those subjects that " anyone " can teach, in the first years at any rate. The result is that there is probably more rank bad teaching here than in any other subject. The Department Inspectors in their recent annual reports stress this point with respect to girls' schools. I doubt if the fault is entirely confined to them. I am afraid that there is a good deal of very unintelligent teaching which confines itself to a slavish following of text-books in which the order of presentation of the matter has long since been recognized as illogical and confusing.

But the root of the trouble is that not every pupil has the ability to profit from the courses. I do not enter here into the debatable question whether girls are " naturally " weak at Mathematics. Some good authorities hold that the results of intelligence testing show, that, while more boys than girls have outstanding mathematical ability, in general both sexes have the same proportions of " good " and " bad " ability. I am aware also that the standard of passing is in general very high, (in 1952 in the Intermediate Certificate ninety-one percent of the boys passed and ninety-eight per cent of the girls, five eights of whom took the Elementary Mathematics paper), but it is probable that I will be regarded as a crank, impossible to please, when I say that I regard this fact merely as a proof that Mathematics is a subject more susceptible of teaching for examination purposes than most. I have seen too much and heard too much of the kind of teaching that is necessary to get a substantial proportion of pupils through the examination. The proportion is not as high as the corresponding one in Latin : I should put it about one third at least. But it is there. The Inspectors deplore the insistence on the learning by heart of the propositions in Geometry with little effort on the teacher's part either to make them intelligible or to apply them in the solving of " cuts ". Surely the Inspectors must be aware that it is possible to pass on a memory knowledge of the theorems alone ? Why then waste time with certain classes or certain pupils trying to make them understand what they cannot or to apply to further problems what they have not understood ? What mathematics teacher is not familiar with the dull, patient faces of his ' C ' class as he tries to make clear to them the various steps in Pythagoras's Theorem, or the even more hopeless expression that greets his most tentative excursions into the realm of " cuts " ? I am perfectly well aware that some pupils are very adept at making laziness wear the mask of stupidity, but the normally intelligent teacher will not confuse that for long with honest perplexity and bewilderment.

At the base of all good learning there must be an interest in what one is doing, otherwise you do not have that " wanting to know " that leads to the personal activity of the learner. Apart from the small number who realize the immediate relation between mathematics and their future life's work, I suppose you could say that the average good student will have the same sort of interest in the subject that he would have in solving puzzles. But what sort of interest will the dull pupil have ? Where is the personal incentive to learn, to weigh and judge and arrive at a conclusion ? Where, above all, is his intellectual appreciation of mathematical method ? Again it must be repeated that without these things there is no learning worthy of the name. Teachers are sometimes surprised at the dull secondary pupil who scrapes through his Matriculation and goes on to the University and does very well—and occasionally does brilliantly—in his chosen profession. The dumbfounded teacher may satisfy himself with talk of " late maturing ". But the explanation is surely much simpler : the student has at last found something that he really wants to learn.

Plato, for all his own liking for mathematics, would have no serious teaching of them except to such as, by about the age of twenty, had clearly shown an aptitude for such studies. Before that time, whatever mathematics they learned were to be put before them " not by compulsion but by games ", for, as he says in a phrase that we would do well to remember, " study forced on the mind will not abide there ". It is only when their reactions to these number games have been carefully observed that " you will be better able to see the natural abilities of each " and decide who may go on to the theory of numbers and geometry and the other branches.

In the Jesuit secondary schools up to the eighteenth century, beyond what the pupils brought with them from the primary schools, virtually no mathematics was taught—and this, in spite of the fact that the entrance examination to these schools was a very rigorous one. Mathematics was reserved, as were the natural sciences and philosophy, for pupils who had already followed a course the aim of which was, put simply, to learn, by a careful and leisurely study of literature how to think correctly and how best to express one's thoughts in speech or in writing. It may seem more than odd to us today, with our six or seven, or even more subjects, that these schools taught only two : Latin and Greek, though, in the eighteenth century, the emerging vernacular literatures began to be studied.

But our Department continues to assume that for all boys the Mathematics course is a necessary factor of a " well-balanced course of

general education". And our schools apparently think the same for both boys and girls right up to the Leaving Certificate stage. Of the pupils who remain on to that stage virtually all take the subject. And even in the junior course where the lower version of the course is available for girls, out of a total of 18,000 girls in the four years, only 2,500 were studying that course. And while the Department continues to demand a minimum of 4½ hours per week for the full course, many schools, I am told, give substantially more than that. Where has this idolatry of Mathematics come from?

Selecting a Curriculum

In this long study of two subjects I have been concerned to show that both the Department's courses, in their prescribed number and content, and the application of those courses by the schools take too little account of the varieties of abilities in pupils and of the conditions necessary for good learning. In other countries a great deal of research and of experimenting has been going on in the problem of selection for secondary education, in particular in the problems of intelligence and aptitude testing. I am perfectly well aware that from time to time too much is claimed for these processes, and that they can to some extent be manipulated to produce untrue results. Nevertheless a number of well-tested techniques have emerged, the validity and reliability of which have stood the test of later checking. The application of them has led to a clearer picture of the differences in abilities of children starting on secondary education, and has led to differing types of schools or to differing types of education in the same school.

I do not intend here to enter into a discussion of the particular shape which secondary education in, for example, England and Wales has taken as the result of selection techniques. The new system is barely ten years old and a period of trial and error is inevitable. Further, our system of private secondary school is radically so different from the British one of control to a large extent by the Local Authority, that any close application of it here would be impossible. I wish merely to stress the fact that there is an awareness in Britain of the need to suit the teaching to the child and not, as we do, the child to the teaching. Finally, it is not my intention to suggest that such techniques are a complete solution to the problem of good education. They are only one factor among many. It is possible, for instance, that a child with a high rating in intelligence may fail because of other factors: laziness, mental instability or a preference for an early job. Perseverance, diligence and a willingness to do hard work are as necessary for success in learning as they are anywhere else; but why should it be assumed that they are habits that are more easily acquired in uncongenial and unintelligent

work than in work in which one has a real interest? This assumption has been caricatured, not unfairly, in the phrase: "It doesn't matter what you teach a boy, so long as he doesn't like it". It may be observed that the word "diligence" derives from *diligere*, "to like, to love"; it should mean taking care about something you like; it is a wrong use of it to equate it with a desperate doggedness in doing something that you thoroughly dislike.

How, then, can we here in Ireland better suit the teaching to the child? In theory, what it implies is this: you find out at the start of his secondary course what the pupil's general ability and particular aptitudes are; you then arrange for him to get the type of course that is best suited to him. But, of course, this gets us little, if any, further on. There are three main difficulties which we must try to answer: (1) the fact that the parents have the final decision as to what sort of education their child shall get; (2) the method of differentiating the pupils; (3) the practical difficulties in our schools of a differentiated programme.

The Parents' Rights

It is, of course, for the parents to decide on their child's education. They may not indeed decide on something that is against the natural law or the law of the Church. A father may not decide to send his son to a school for embezzlers, nor may a Catholic father choose a non-Catholic school. But if they choose in a way that appears unwise, it does not seem that they can be rightly prevented from having their wish. If the tests show that Johnny will not do well in a classical school, that does not deprive the parent of his right to send him to one. The preceding two sentences refer to a situation such as obtains in Britain where the school-leaving age has been raised to fifteen and where, as a consequence of testing at the age of eleven plus, children are in fact directed to one of two or three kinds of schools, largely irrespective of the wishes of their parents. This legislation is contrary to the parents' rights, and can find only a very dubious justification in the assumption that the Education Act of 1944 expressed the will of the people, and that the parents are presumed to have agreed to this delegation of their rights. The trouble is that a parent's rights in his children's education are inalienable, and such a "delegation" is, in fact, an abdication. The parent is obliged by law to have his child educated but if he sends him to a school under the control of a Local Authority (as ninety per cent must) he has no say in that education.

In any discussion, as in the present one, of selection for secondary education this is a danger that we must be very careful to avoid. However, the actual conditions in this country are altogether different from those

in Britain. We have no compulsory secondary education (and I hope we never shall) ; parents who make the necessary financial sacrifices to send their children on do so freely. On the other side, the schools are under no obligation to take any child in particular. In effect they say to the parents : " This is the sort of education we give in this school. If you want us to take your child, and if we decide to take him, then you must agree to what we shall teach him ". It is a bilateral contract freely entered on by both sides.

Therefore, if we decide to modify our present curriculum so as to admit a variety of courses, we shall not be doing any violence to the parents' rights. And if a headmaster decides that Johnny shows little aptitude for, say, Latin and must give it up, and the consequence is that Johnny cannot go on to be a doctor, because he needs that subject for Matriculation, the headmaster is within his rights in so deciding. The parents may remove their child, but if they leave him they must agree with the decision. This sounds very autocratic, I admit ; but at the moment I am discussing the situation vis-à-vis the parents' natural rights.

The Decision

One practical difficulty under this heading would be largely obviated if Irish children entered the secondary school at approximately the same age. What is regarded as the normal age is about twelve ; in fact the age varies a great deal. Of the 14,655 who entered in 1951,[1] only 5,648 were under thirteen years, and 3,102 were over fourteen years. In the face of this variety it would be difficult to propose anything more than a very vague and in fact largely useless selection procedure, so I intend, even at the risk of being charged with turning my back on the facts, to discuss selection in what should be the normal scheme : entry at twelve with four years in the junior course and two years in the senior. Sooner or later, as I said in the first part of this article, this confusion in the entry age must be cleared up.

I suggest the following selection procedure : (1) a detailed report from the headmaster of the previous school ; (2) an entrance examination ; (3) an intelligence test ; (4) observation during the first year of secondary school for those who survive the first three steps. In general I believe that a school report, particularly if it is based on the work of a number of years and if a number of teachers contribute to it, can be the best indication both of a pupil's all-round ability and of his future progress. I say " can be ", for there probably will be cases where the

[1] In the first part of this article (Studies, Winter 1955, p. 389) I gave incorrect figures in this connection through a mistaken reading of the Department's Report.

report is, for one reason or another, not objective. But that is a situation which will soon right itself. Where experience has shown that a certain school is over-optimistic in its judgments, its future reports can be treated accordingly ; a reluctance to accept its pupils might bring about the necessary adjustment. This first component of the selection would obviously entail the keeping of cumulative record cards in both primary and preparatory schools. The Department could with profit insist on this for the primary schools ; the private schools would have to be persuaded that it would contribute to the better future education of their pupils.

The entrance examination would be on the lines of the present one, *i.e.*, Irish, Arithmetic and, normally, English. The value of this test is negative rather than positive. It will show a minimum amount of acquired skills necessary for beginning secondary work together with some indication of the pupil's general intelligence. The trouble is that the school which can afford to pick and choose will use this test rigorously ; the school that is trying to increase its numbers may be more lenient in its standards. Here is a case where the Department could well afford to be searching in its supervision. The standard of this test is supposed to be that of the Primary Certificate ; the Department gives public money to the school on the head of this examination ; no one therefore could find fault with the Department if it insisted on a careful control of the test.

In spite of its critics the intelligence test is a useful help in diagnosis. Properly used it serves both as a cross-check on the other tests and as a reasonably reliable instrument of prediction. But it must be intelligently administered : amateur use of it can be very misleading. Hence the need of at least one teacher in each school who has had some training in its use. There are very few such in this country, but if they were needed, the schools of education could prepare them. Until such time as their number was sufficient it would be better to omit this test.

The selection procedure we are talking about envisages the first year as a sort of probationary year. It would have to be made clear to parents that the pattern of their child's future schooling would not be defined until the end of that year. For those pupils who failed at the entrance examination a second test in the three subjects, of a standard approaching that of the first year at that time of the year, might be held about March. Failure at that stage should be regarded, under normal conditions, as final. There does not seem to be any likelihood of such a child deriving advantage from a secondary schooling, no matter what the type. For the rest, they would follow a course similar to the present first year : Irish,

English, History and Geography, Mathematics and Latin. In addition, I should like to see a number of other subjects introduced : Drawing, Woodwork, Science (of the present type either of Nature Study or Preparatory Agricultural Science) and possibly Music. The addition of these implies of course that the time normally allotted to the subjects of the first group will be considerably shortened. The aim of this first year, I repeat, will be rather to see how the child does in the various subjects than to start him off on a pre-determined curriculum that may have little relevance to his natural abilities. The exploratory nature of this year might not be necessary if there existed any sure tests for special abilities. But the results of work in this field have so far shown no way more certain than the teacher's observation over a period of time. And that leads to the final point in discussing this first year : the teacher's main concern will be, not how " to get the stuff in ", but how the child takes to the particular subject. This means good teaching in the best sense of the word and demands a great deal of psychological insight and sympathy on the teacher's part. In fact, the success of any scheme such as the present one depends largely on the work of this first year. And if ever the time comes for the long overdue introduction here of posts of special responsibility on the teaching staff with corresponding increases in salary, first year teaching should be among those posts. The specialist teacher is not needed at this stage ; what is wanted is one, or at the most two teachers, with occasional help from the Art master if necessary, who must of course know enough of the various subjects and of the particular teaching methods to teach them well, but whose chief qualifications will be discernment and judgment.

The Differential Curriculum

This is the crucial point of the whole scheme. No matter how otherwise excellent a suggested curriculum may be, if it cannot in fact be carried out in the schools then it is nonsense to be proposing it. It may help, at this stage, to give a picture of the general shape of what is proposed. The range of subjects would be the same as that given in the Department's programme. The basic idea is that each pupil would take a few of them for intensive study and about the same number, in any one year, for lighter work. The selection of the major subjects would be made from those for which he had shown an aptitude during his first year. The number of them should not exceed four in the junior course or three in the senior. The aim of this limitation will, I hope, be clear from what has been so often repeated in this article : to give opportunity, even in the junior course, for that study " at depth " which is indispensable to true learning. I would insist on this even for the relatively few who are first class " all-rounders " ; it is precisely these latter who are often harmed, not only intellectually but also physically, by the tendency to

drive the willing horse faster than is advisable. The duller members have a natural protection against this sort of thing. For the honours pupil who has shown no particular " blind spots " I would insist on the traditional languages curriculum in the junior course : four to be chosen from Irish, English, Latin, Greek and a modern language. The number of major subjects taken by any pupil would vary with his general intellectual level, it might be as low as one or two. Where there is a choice to be made, there should still be a leaning, at the junior stage, towards the humane studies rather than the positive sciences. The further narrowing at the senior level looks directly towards the future career. With four, or, let us hope, at least three years of unhurried and careful training in using his mind correctly, the pupil may now with profit concentrate on even fewer subjects. As for reaching let us say the Matriculation standard in two or three minor subjects, it is my confident belief that he will do that even more easily and with greater economy of time than under the present system.

The aim of the minor subjects would be to give him what I can best describe as that knowledge of those subjects that an educated Irishman might be expected to have. For some of them he may have little or no aptitude ; let us not waste time or energy knocking his head and ours against walls, no matter how venerable those walls may be. For the rest, I envisage a series of courses, varying from a one-year course, for example, in musical appreciation to a course lasting during the school period in Irish and English for those who are not majoring in these subjects. To answer the objection that these would not be taken seriously, I would agree that they will not have the same depth and breadth of knowledge as the major subjects. Less will be taught, but it will be taught as carefully as the others, and success in these subjects will be as necessary for the final result as a subsidiary subject is, for instance, in the degree examination in a University. The point of them is that they will not be carried on to a stage where they give little or no educational return.

Two Objections

There are two main objections that I can see to this scheme. The first is the fundamental one that I have mentioned above : it will be impossible to draw up a time-table to meet such a curriculum. For some time I have been coming to the conclusion that the notion of a time-table has assumed far too high an importance in our schools. We act on the idea that the *only* " working party " in a school is the class listening to the master. No master, no work. The odd thing is that while this is the fixed belief in the secondary school, in almost one-half of the total number of primary schools the opposite belief holds. In the one

and two teacher schools the child does at least half of his day's work on his own under the general supervision of the teacher. Are we then to say that children of seven and eight years can study by themselves with profit, but children of fourteen can not? It will be said that a good deal of primary school work is repetition in one form or another of what has been taught: children can be set writing lessons, or tables, or learning poetry on their own. The implication is that it is far otherwise in the secondary school: there is so much new material to be learned that the teacher's presence is indispensable, there is no time for this repetition work. But this article has been hammering away from different angles at just that "no time". My only aim has been to make time, time for proper study and personal appreciation of the objects of study, time above all for the application in one's own work of what one has learnt so that one becomes master and not slave.

I am not advocating a full-blown Dalton Plan in our schools; I know enough of its limitations and of the excessive demands it makes on both teacher and pupil not to make such a suggestion. But its author had the right end of the stick when she stressed the value of a training to independent methods of study, of working at one's own rate rather than being dragged along unwillingly to drink of the Pierian spring. The Dalton Plan errs in depressing the master's position, in minimizing the inspiration of the good teacher; we go to the other extreme and believe that learning depends entirely on the teacher. We have no confidence in the pupil; he must have somebody always standing over him with a big stick, metaphorical or otherwise, to make sure he swallows his medicine. Of course, if we treat him like that he will live up to our expectations. And yet it has been shown that once he has any sort of an interest in what he is doing he will not laze or create trouble if he is left for some time on his own.

All that is but the most general sort of an answer to the first objection, if, indeed, it is conceded to be an answer at all. But I have been more concerned to examine the grounds of the objection and to show that what has come to be regarded as the fixed pattern of secondary schooling is not necessarily the only one, or even the best one. My rebuttal of the second type of objection must be even briefer. It may be urged that this suggested type of education contains some of the worst forms of American education: selection of subjects based on the pupils' interest (notoriously fleeting and arbitrary) and a gathering up of various snippets of uncorrelated information during the school course, like the system of "credits". I have stressed formation, not information in the minor subjects; selection is based on what the pupil over a period of a year has shown himself to be good at, not, formally, on what he likes (though

naturally, he will like what he is good at) ; in the choice of the major subjects, at the junior stage at least, I have stressed the humane studies—I do not, for example, propose a choice of carpentry, local government and football training as three majors. It would obviously be necessary to make regulations to ensure that the choice of subjects would lead to a balanced education in the traditional, humane sense—at least in the secondary school. When the time comes to decide on the further education of children who are unfitted for academic work, who should not be in secondary schools, then we shall obviously have to find new standards and a new curriculum.

In the third and final part of this article (to appear in the Autumn number of STUDIES) I hope to discuss the present examination system and to propose changes in it.

Georges Rouault

by BRIAN O'DOHERTY

Georges Rouault is one of those artists who improve with age, whose graph of achievement is for the most part a steadily rising line, the single resultant of many complex forces. This sustained activity spread over a lifetime is evidence of a fundamental motive force, which provides energy for that struggle without which there can be no advance. In Rouault the source of this creativity seems to lie in an immense compassion ; his art embodies a vision of humanity suffering and lost, unaware of the possibility of redemption. This is his fundamental preoccupation, and it creates his fundamental tensions. It also determines the limits of his vision, and defines the borders of the road his art will travel. It is this moral sense or consciousness which makes him essentially a religious painter. Man troubles him.

His discovery of faith enabled him to build something positive and solid like the Constructivists, but in another way. Like them he sought an absolute value, something objective and supreme. But with Rouault this absolute value becomes flesh. This positive and constructive trend is one of the two great forces active in modern art ; the other, as in any transitional age, is destruction, the illustration of the artist's decline into despair. The remnants of Dadaism, much Surrealism, much modern Expressionism, are all in their way an angry reaction from destroyed belief. All reject discipline.

Rouault deliberately sought the anchor of a discipline. Like the oyster he slowly encysts his pearl, solid at the core. An artist like Chagall, protecting the airy wilfulness of the original impulse—following where it leads—is his opposite. Rouault's course has been unswerving and inflexible. Out of experience and belief he has slowly hammered out in isolation what is probably the only genuine religious style of this century ; undoubtedly he is its greatest religious artist. His faith has been essential to his art, yet it has not blinded but enabled him to encompass his experience in its entirety ; from it has come much of the sublimative force. Though his art has the defects of excessive individualism it is a valid utilization of the medieval tradition as it survives in stained glass, and the culmination of modern French religious art from its rebirth in such figures as Georges Devallières and Maurice Denis. But before reaching his final stratified expressionism Rouault had to pass through many spiritual and artistic phases—to him aspects of the same journey.

II

He started as so many young artists have done, with indignation and energy—things so much the property of youth and usually as perishable. Under these pressures his future vision, which though narrow is complete in itself, was adumbrated. But his deeply religious consciousness, involved in humanity, could as yet only rage blindly against the defects of the human animal. His emotional resonance, his reaction to the stimulus, is intense, and this intensity is destructive unless controlled. This early phase culminated in the savage pictures of prostitutes, clowns and judges, which preoccupied him from 1903 to 1910. They are all symbols of environmental degeneracy. The young Rouault was trying to change the world around him.

The dictum of his master Gustave Moreau that ' art is the unrelenting pursuit of expression of the inner feelings through the medium of plastic form ' equipped him to deal primarily with emotion rather than with its refinement, with his own reactions rather than with that balance of thought and action essential for their externalization as visual art. His discovery of Cézanne in the years immediately preceding this series did, however, to some extent supply the necessary balance, and out of these symbols came the *type*, the beginning of the individual style. " He created a series of types,' writes Venturi, ' that belong to the *comédie populaire,* and are like the masked figures of the Italian comedy.' Later these figures were to undergo a further reduction to a common denominator—stylized at times to a faceless anonymity.

The extreme expressionism, the brute violence, of these early pictures witness a mind stretched almost to despair. The satirist is fundamentally a moralist—satire is a double-edged weapon. When a man so savagely reacts, so savagely hates, some part of himself is perhaps identified with what he scourges. In this light Rouault's satiric phase was a purgation, a purification, part of his spiritual journey. As with all primarily intuitive painters the paintings *are* the spiritual voyage. In these early pictures feeling tends to predominate over form, the emotion over its organization. In this white heat form tended to melt, diffuse itself, and occasionally blur. But the colour was already promising richness, as glowing and as jewelled as Chartres, though without the calm bucolic serenity.

The early symbols then were prostitutes and clowns ; the former with their sad bulging flesh existed passively within their fate, monumentally obscene, full of an ancient wisdom, yet morally inert. Their degraded flesh is in itself the social protest, the indictment of the system which produced them. They suffer and, without grace, cannot rise.

It is interesting to see how Rouault uses the clown symbol. For the later Picasso the clown is more a vehicle for painting than anything

else—something on which to hang new formal and stylistic discoveries. For Jack Yeats the clown is a symbol of nostalgia, or an embodiment of the energy and wisdom of the wanderer, outside the conventions which society imposes. But Rouault's clowns, caught in this mortal web, stare sad-eyed from the canvas, aware of futility and the reality of sin. They have two of the aspects of nightmare : an awareness of their position and an inability to move. Vessels of suffering, modern scapegoats, they weep for humanity and for themselves.

Towards the end of this period he painted the magnificent *Le Clown Blessé*. There is no more moving picture in all his early work. Aided by flanking figures the Clown moves slowly across a desolate landscape lit by a hollow moon. Here is the first real note of acceptance ; the emotional pressure has begun to drop, leaving him free, to some extent, from the tyranny of mere intensity. Further reflection becomes possible ; form is more capable of holding its contained feeling ; emotion comes into a new equilibrium with structure. This slowing-up holds within it the secret of the full maturity. The change from the earlier to the later work is in a greater restraint, the heavy black swirls of paint holding more rigidly within them the captive force, the primary impulse of energy.

The most terrible symbols of the early period, into which he most completely emptied his bitterness, are the judges. They are seen without that humorous distortion and slight extravagance which Forain builds on top of his fundamental note of cynicism. They are more akin to those of Daumier, like Rouault another thinker with the blood. But they are less disciplined than Daumier's, who never forgot his sense of the monumental—a strictly formal and thus sublimative quality. Shredded and torn with violent colour Rouault's judges condemn themselves. They are symbols of the human intellect deformed by sin, usually by that of pride. Injustice, in a terrible paradox, glares out of their eyes.

III

When energy flags, youth begins to die. The consistency of vision which the assurance of youth gives begins to lose itself in the number of directions offered by a more intellectualized approach. The intellect assumes in this way primary importance. To preserve a coherent artistic unity in this diversity, a discipline, either from within or without, becomes necessary. Perhaps it was the realization of this need which induced Rouault to move from the arbitrary extreme of Expressionism to the more classical influence of Cubist and Post-Cubist painting. And it was perhaps a similar impulse which led him to undertake, at a lower emotional key and without colour, the *Misère et Guerre* series contemporary with and directly inspired by the First World War. This led

to a further typing of figures—sometimes they become faceless, anonymous, without identity beyond their formal function, this a stylistic device. Unlike the savage bitterness of a similar series by George Grosz—who saw man abandoned, lost in his own inhumanity—Rouault's series, though at times touching the extreme of indignation, reveals the gradual evolution of a vision primarily religious, of man fallen and suffering, yet a possible vessel of grace. Man is seen in relation to God, not in relation to himself alone.

Indignation is so often a sort of vacuum. When it burns itself out, as all sustained emotion consumes itself, so often there is nothing left. In this series something positive began to reveal itself, the beginnings of which can be traced to that critical time following Moreau's death in 1898, when Rouault was much influenced by the reformed Huysmans and Leon Bloy. The Catholic vision of fallen man, and the answer which that vision gives, began to combat despair, to fill the vacuum of spent indignation.

Rouault finished this series in 1918. A long spell of print-making followed until in 1929, at the age of fifty-eight, he began to paint again. 'I am a believer and a conformist,' he wrote in 1937, 'anyone can revolt. It is more difficult silently to obey one's interior promptings and to spend our lives finding sincere and fitting means of expression for our gifts.' An aspect of this statement is important in understanding the later work. The emphasis—'finding sincere and fitting *means*, etc.'—is on the method, the style. The need for expression remains ; a more perfect method of statement, of fitting the glove to the living hand, is necessary. A further discipline is sought.

From this time onwards the architecture of his pictures shows a consistent evolution during which he learned to stylize, to refine further the means of expression, without loss of substance and energy—the artist's fundamental problem. The essence of a discipline is that through it one gains more than one loses ; a discipline sternly followed can expand in a new freedom. Here Rouault was applying to his painting a whole system of discipline which gave meaning to the mindless flux of life. Through this discipline he found the freedom to explore the recesses of his own soul. The spiritual adventures of the preceding decade during which he had remained silent had ended in complete faith.

The new pictures were more spiritualized, more intellectual—everything frozen and still, but with an awareness of violence, as in the cast one can see the memory of its molten bath. All was subdued to the tyrannical uniformity of a style imposed upon, yet strangely coming from his material. The balance between thought and action, between external and internal, had begun to solidify. Many of these pictures

have a hushed atmosphere of suspense as if painted between two movements of the heart.

This reduction of all velocities, holding a world motionless in space, becomes a necessity for his vision. He finally produced a petrified fossil world inhabited only by an austere love. Landscape and figures have both the dumb strength of rusted iron. As with Cosimo Tura anything less dense and substantial would, in this world slowed down to a plastic richness, fail to survive. With such a method of expression one of the problems to be solved is that of space : the dimension within the canvas filled with a soft cushion of air which can muffle the intensity of rock and stone. Tura fused mountain, leaf, rock and man into a single metallic note and solved the problem of atmosphere by sucking all air out of existence. His figures move and have their being in a vacuumed space. Air does not exist.

Similarly at his best, Rouault. But the ambiguity inherent in the management of space is a problem of which he is constantly aware. Even in such a successful picture as *The Old King* the blue yellow-tinted area surrounding the head occasionally exists as *space* ; on looking again it becomes a dense *plane* of colour, related to other uncomplicated colour-planes. There is some slight confusion of sensation which irritates one distantly, like a faint high note where one expects silence. The famous *Exode* is however completely consistent ; here is a world from which air and moisture have long since vanished. But the same slight confusion mars another masterpiece, the *Christ and the Soldier* at Maynooth College ; to the right of the picture lies the gap, the open space which is for Rouault the source of danger. The square of the window fills it, but the slight angled perspective draws the eye inward, like a half-open door, and disturbs the picture's organization in depth. Another dimension, inconsistent with those already revealed, is added. Consistency of style demands no such complication.

But for the most part the problem of space is solved. Planes of colour are placed, usually in broad horizontals, like a series of screens at right-angles to the line of vision. The eye leaps from one to the other through the airless space between. Each new plane is easily found as it is defined by black, like the segments of a stained-glass window. But there the resemblance ceases, as glass within its leaded frames is two-dimensional—all on the one plane, and Rouault's planes of colour are set at various levels *within* the canvas. This gives one a sense of space, though of space limited as if enclosed in a box. All this is a pole removed from the tyranny of air in Turner and the Impressionists, and from the immense airiness of Chinese painting. Rouault's re-creation of reality offers itself primarily to the senses rather than to the associative properties of the mind. It is sensational rather than evocative.

IV

As with the changes in structure, Rouault's use of colour showed a direct line of development. Colour is the most direct of sensations. We experience it with a minimum of ambiguity. Unlike shapes and forms, it reminds us of nothing beyond itself. Forms always invite the distraction of association ; only rarely does the associative aura of an object become submerged in the reality of its existence. When by the accident of its shape, for instance, a coal in the fire suggests other objects, the perception of the coal has become referred to something else which *visually speaking* clouds its reality. The essence of descriptive poetry lies *in* such a transference of associations. From them are selected those which on reference back to the object, illuminate its nature most fully. From this it is easy to see that the appreciation of poetry is radically different to the appreciation of painting.

This process of transference, if one may so call it, is one of the basic human instincts. It is the ancient defence mechanism of primitive man, living in a world of hostile forces. All must be reduced to his own terms of knowledge, to his own image. Colour is less liable to this process because of its more sensory nature. It acts on the spirit in a manner at once abstract and pure, yet powerful and immediate. Emotion externalized in colour *is* the emotion.

Thus through colour, art of high emotional intensity usually directs itself to emotional levels of response rather than towards the intellect. The appreciation of emotional art has less need of the trained eye. It is the difference between appreciating, for instance, a colourist such as Matthew Smith and a formalist, such as Juan Gris—one sensuous and somatic, the other intellectual and formally intricate. There is little difficulty in appreciating the early Rouaults : colour gleams and flashes feverishly among the flail-like outlines. Though highly sensuous and pleasing, this colour has not the innocence of a hedonist like Smith, but has an acrid tang which comes from bitterness. Later as developments in structure tie it down under disciplined and static forms, it merely vibrates, no longer flashing. It seems to have lost its sparkle. Yet if one looks long enough at these later pictures the colour gains in intensity, waxing and waxing under full gaze until one seems to exist in the glow of a furnace.

At first sight then, the later pictures lack the flashing biting brilliance of the earlier. But though the later harmonies are duller and unglazed —the paint has an absorbed, wax-like quality—they are, as suggested above, more substantial and sustained. They do not fail and resolve under the eye. Because of this delayed action many of the later pictures could be killed by a bright colour nearby ; the eye must became accustomed as in a dark-room. Usually it is the varieties of orange and red

which are important. They light up slowly (like flowers opening) and glow in their caves.

This change, as with the discipline of structure, is, I think, stylistic : that is, due to a desire for consistency in the means of expression ; taking into account on one hand the self-assertion of the thing to be expressed, and on the other the whole unity of the artist as director—his prejudices, his sense of visual fitness, his moral code. Purity of style, the expression of something by means so suited that it is inconceivable that it could be expressed in any other way, is the artistic ideal. Under suitable discipline the moment of intensity becomes the moment of highest purity ; emotion and discipline enmesh and conflict. The work of art is the result of their interaction, of the tension formed between them. This tension can be infinitely varied. For artists who develop a well-marked style, a fairly definite level of tension between emotions and discipline seems to persist. It is perhaps this which gives their work a particular character, which produces a particular *style*. But in the development of any style, in life as well as in art, it is the discipline which is important. A style cannot be formed without it. I have digressed into the meaning of style and the discipline necessary to produce it, because these two things are to me the essentials of Rouault's work. Any explanation of his work involves them.

With colour and form thus united in discipline, the mature pictures, often containing figures which have become mere ciphers or symbols of man, are completely *consistent* within their own implicit terms of reference. Out of the various applications of discipline has come an unique style. All earlier phases are metamorphosed into a final static unity, as eloquent within its convention as the rich formalism of Assyrian reliefs. There is however one object or symbol which in nearly all paintings containing it is not allowed to remain immobile or static. Often in the sky in the later paintings there is a sun, black-ringed, slowly spinning : a witness, perhaps a symbol of immanence, a child's image of God.

V

It is Rouault's great achievement that he has developed a style which in its degree of discipline might be called classical, which has yet not totally subdued the colour to the form. Instead he has so slowed down the colour, while preserving its essential richness, that it remains—within a classical framework—of as much importance as the form. This is rare. Classicism in painting usually tends towards loss of colour, towards the marble of intellect. All good art is composed of balance. Maturity in visual art often consists in bringing such a balance to its ultimate equilibrium, where all exists with superb certainty just a shade off disorder. In Piero della Francesca's work, for instance, each object in the picture seems to have been weighed as in a scales.

Rouault has discovered, I think, a new and delicate balance between colour and the shapes which contain it and give it form.

Having to some extent seen how Rouault produces his effects one turns to the end result, the total impact of the finished picture. This impact can be powerful. Some of his pictures (I think particularly of the *Head of Christ* and *The End of Autumn No. 2*) exist before the eye with such certainty, such uncanny rightness in disposition of space and object, that faculties other than that of sight are stimulated and respond. The best of his paintings seem to exist in a sort of stillness ; they are surrounded by silence. One seems to be watching a stone falling through a deep pool—or one seems to hear silence as after concussion with sound. This is not reality as it presents itself to our senses, but an intensification of it, of—in terms of psychology—the sensational quality of the percept. Reality is made more real : the apotheosis of substance. It is offered to the eye as the revelation of the object's inner existence.

It is now time to consider the associations which of necessity must introduce themselves in studying Rouault's pictures. Much of his inspiration has been derived from the Old and New Testaments. Many of his pictures illustrate Biblical incidents. His particular achievement here is that they are a convincing interpretation of the Bible in contemporary terms—an exceedingly difficult thing to do. He has revitalized the Bible in terms in which the modern man can recognize an image of himself, of his faith or lack of it, of his own very texture and loneliness. The problems of suffering, of guilt, of meaning and mortality as experienced by himself are superimposed on and fuse with their counterparts in the Biblical texts. Made larger than life, they gain in authority and become universal. This continual reference to a religious system prevents sterility. It has a tonic effect on the mature style which rarely loses its tension and imitates itself. His awareness of despair creates another of his fundamental tensions which make him particularly valid for our moment in time. Without religion his art would have been another exploration of the cavern's depth. Here there is a parallel with such a modern philosopher as Marcel—a Christian existentialist, a man aware of *angst* and the Holy Ghost, of spirit and the earth-bound cage.

VI

Rouault has certain defects. He is limited, brittle, crude. His austere world becomes at times uninhabitable and sterile. His pictures are occasionally inconsistent from the point of view of style. His colour sometimes remains dry and harsh. To some extent these are the defects of consistency, intensity, and increasing stylization of visual sign. Yet, much more perhaps, are they due to isolation. An awareness of the contemporary artist's dilemma excuses much. It seems to me that in

complaining of these limitations one is complaining of the artist's present position in society, and in a wider sense of the artist's (and Rouault's) ambient world—its brutality, its indifference, its neuroticism, its fear. In isolation it is possible to control only a limited field of human vision, in contradistinction to the immense sweep and confidence of the late Quattrocento painters on a flood-tide of humanism. 'How small a fragment of our own nature can be brought to perfect expression . . . in a much divided civilization,' wrote W. B. Yeats in his *Autobiographies*. The poet's problem becomes the painter's, less urgent perhaps, but no less real. The rejection and synthesis necessary in the midst of division implies loss. Rouault's art has the appearance of something constructed under difficulties, and the painful struggle leaves its mark. But for better or worse it is the mark of the age. The failure of science as a system of belief has once again peopled the unknown with the images of fear. It is only thus that one can understand the echoes of the Primitive styles in modern art—of the art of those communities aware of vast external forces, which fused art and religion as the individual's cry against extinction.

Although Rouault is limited, he is intense ; if he is crude, he has a vision to transmit ; often sordid, he has always been fully aware that, in showing the obverse, he has held the whole coin in his hand. He is also an eclectic insofar as he has added nothing to our knowledge of the possible extensions of form, as have, for instance, Malevich, Mondrian, Klee. But he is a pioneer in that he has tackled one of the most difficult of modern problems—the relation of religion and art. His solution holds many answers. He has reaffirmed that visual art depends primarily for its effect on visual sensation rather than on the associations which its pictured objects provoke. In short, his pictures state that visual art is a visual thing—which is not so obvious as it seems. He has demonstrated that discipline is necessary for *consistent* progression. His approach to religious art definitely proclaims the value of utilizing individual experience rather than a conventional symbolism. (Most modern religious art consists of formal exercises based on abstract symbols of Cross and Passion.) The great example of his influence in this country is the late Evie Hone. Her work shows, as Rouault's does, the continual evolution which a positive faith can foster. As with the later Rouault, the bed-rock of her work is an inclusive pity. But in her, Rouault's frozen world is warmed by a vision more tender, more hopeful, less despairing than his. In her, Rouault's winter gives way to spring.

Rouault has fashioned from what he has inherited, from Moreau, from Chartres, from Hirsch, from Cézanne and the Cubists, from the Fauves, a coherent means of expression which is unique. He has ended as he wished with 'fine and subtle relationships of texture' and 'an

impressive arabesque of rhythm '—if by rhythm is meant the slow roll of colour across a fixed and static structure.

Having consistently drawn attention to the limited nature of his pictorial universe, I should in justice say that although this is so, his work within those limits in the end convinces of the existence of a vision of unusual breadth, which has by discipline and rejection confined itself within a narrow compass. His images are sought not for themselves alone but to serve and expand as universal symbols of the Catholic interpretation of man's predicament. In retrospect his development is a microcosm of the development of art in this century—first, the expansion of feeling until it becomes almost unmanageable, and then the slow agonizing imposition of order. The consolidation of a position won is often harder than the first advance. For the modern artist he has shown that in this work of consolidation Catholicism can provide a fruitful discipline.

Sören Kierkegaard: An Exception, 1813-1855

by CYRIL BARRETT, S.J.

A CENTURY ago a man named Kierkegaard died. What manner of man was he? We do not know. It is not that we lack information; we have too much. He has left behind him a mass of introspective detail from which it is impossible to disentangle the conscious mystification, the unconscious self-deception and the genuine self-revelation. But if the man is lost to us, we still have the religious writer, the philosopher and the poet; and we have the external framework of his life.[1]

Sören Kierkegaard was born in Copenhagen in 1813, the youngest of seven children. That year the State went bankrupt, and "so, many more mad notes were put into circulation".[2] Youth passed him by; he was the child of old age—his father was fifty-six at his birth, his mother forty-five. From his earliest years, the elder Kierkegaard, a deeply religious man but preoccupied with the darker side of Christianity, impressed his son with his own rigid notion of duty and a quite morbid sense of guilt. Christianity appeared at times "the cruellest torture". His whole upbringing was unhealthy. When he asked to be taken for a walk, his father walked him up and down the room, describing in great detail all that was to be seen and heard, so that "after half-an-hour of such a walk with his father he was as much overwhelmed and fatigued as if he had been a whole day out of doors".[3] At night he listened to his father's discussions with the Lutheran pastor Mynster, on religion and philosophy; thus "he learnt to play with that which was to become the serious business of his life."[4]

At seventeen he began the course of theology at the University of Copenhagen. Already he had given proof of a passionate and critical interest in his studies and originality of mind, all of which made him a successful but insufferable pupil, an amusing companion, but not a friend. He soon lost interest in theology; it could not give him what

[1] Kierkegaard's works (with abbreviated titles) include: *Concept of Irony* (a thesis) (1841), *Either/Or* (1843), *Fear and Trembling* (1843), *Repetition* (1843), *Concept of Dread* (1844), *Stages on Life's Way* (1845), *Unscientific Postscript* (1846), *Point of View* (1848), *Sickness unto Death* (1849), *Training in Christianity* (1850), *Journals* (1831-55).

[2] *Journal* (1843)

[3] *Journal* (1843)

[4] *Ibid.*

he sought : an ideal for which to live and die. Nor was Hegelian philosophy—all the rage at the time—any more satisfactory. He delighted in it as a mental exercise, as the most complete system of thought ever invented, but entirely divorced from life–" to understand everything except oneself is very comical ". So he drifted into a life of " glittering inactivity." He dressed as a dandy ; spent prodigiously on food, amusement and perfume ; passed his days in the cafés and his nights in the theatre, often talking late into the night to the delight and incomprehension of the actresses. His conversation at this time had a " remarkable eccentricity and indecency, and a frankness which was horrifying ". The theatre had a particular fascination for him, especially the music of *Don Giovanni*. It expressed for him the supreme perfection of the epicurean life : all the intensity of passion combined miraculously with a heartless, ironical detachment. (He later attempted the same in his *Diary of a Seducer*.)

But this kind of life was despair. " Wit poured from my lips, everyone laughed and admired me—but I left—and wanted to shoot myself." [1] As with Faust so with Kierkegaard, first the delights of knowledge and then the pleasures of the senses failed him. " No less than in the bottomless ocean of pleasure I have sounded in vain for a spot to anchor in the abysses of knowledge. I have felt the almost irresistible power with which one pleasure drags another after it, the kind of adulterated enthusiasm which it is capable of producing, the boredom, the torment which follow." [2] He had broken with his father, but now, just before his father's death, they had become reconciled. It is probable that in the exchange of confidences which followed the reconciliation, Kierkegaard received the shock, the " earthquake ", as he calls it. His father carried through life a secret sorrow. What it was we do not know. It may have been the memory of his premarital relations with Sören's mother, or he may have been the little boy, described in his son's Journal (1840), who cursed God on a hill in Jutland. Whatever it was, he told Kierkegaard about it, and from that moment the family history appeared to him in a wholly new light. His brothers and sisters had died before reaching thirty-three ; Kierkegaard saw this now, after the manner of Greek tragedy, as a punishment from God on his father's sin. " Then I suspected that my father's great age (he was eighty-two when he died) was not a divine blessing but a curse . . . There must be guilt on the whole family, the punishment of God must be upon it." [3]

This emotional upheaval plunged Kierkegaard into the deepest melancholy. He resumed his theological studies, took his exams, preached

[1] *Journal* (1836)
[2] *Journal* (1835)
[3] *Journal* (1837-39)

his first sermon. He had decided to marry and settle down to the life of a Lutheran pastor. While still a student he became engaged to Regine Olsen, a girl ten years his junior. Almost at once he realized that marriage for him was impossible. There was between himself and Regine a difference in age that was more than the difference of ten years. Psychologically he was already an old man and he looked on their love as the recollection of a youthful passion. Then there was his melancholy. It derived from many sources : from his temperament—he did not enjoy perfect mental health ; from romantic and poetical sources—he was keenly aware of the transience of life and of love ; above all from his temptations to unbelief, from the memory (heightened, no doubt, by imagination) of his excesses, and from his father's revelation, all tending to produce in him a sense of sinfulness, guilt, dread and despair. How could he ask a young girl to share all this, and, if they married, how could he keep it from her ? Besides, he had begun to see himself as one dedicated to the task of becoming a Christian, as an exception, a member of the advanced guard—" ought a soldier of the advanced guard to be married ? " So he handed back her ring with the words : " forgive a man who, though able to do much, is incapable of making a young girl happy ". When, some years later, she married his rival, he was deeply hurt and refused to speak to her again, though he did try to explain his behaviour in some of his early works, as, for example, in *Repetition.*

From 1841 until his death Kierkegaard devoted himself to a life of reflection, study and writing. At first he thought that when he had, so to speak, worked out of his system the poetry that was in him—in his poetry he had regained the youth he had lost—he might then take up the duties of the ministry. But he never did ; instead, he found his vocation in religious writing. Except for an occasional visit to Berlin, he lived in solitude, either in his house in Copenhagen or in a lonely country resort in Zeeland. Even when he appeared in the streets he carried his solitude with him.

His principal works are pseudonymous. He did not wish to intrude himself between the reader and his subject ; he wanted the reader to see himself and not the author reflected in the book. But he had another, more intimate reason. His books were the fruit of self-examination which had for its object the problem of becoming a Christian. Though he came to see with ever increasing clarity what it means to be a Christian, he could never be sure that he was becoming one. While that doubt remained—it was to be resolved only by death—while the endless self-analysis continued, he could not identify himself with the author, because he could not say whether the book expressed his view

of the problem or not. It is this detachment, greater than that of any poet or novelist, which makes it impossible for us to say what kind of man Kierkegaard was.

By 1845 Kierkegaard was dissatisfied with his way of life as an author ; it was still, he felt, too worldly. " A victorious religious author who is in the world is *eo ipso* not a religious author." [1] Hoping to break with the world by making himself the object of public ridicule, he began to dress in shabby clothes and to carry an old umbrella under his arm in all weathers. If we may judge from the caricatures dating from the period, the method was entirely successful. We see him, a lean and crooked figure, in his shapeless frock-coat and ill-fitting trousers, his angular face and prominent nose protruding between an outsize top hat and a recalcitrant butterfly collar. To draw down further opprobrium he attacked *The Corsair,* a satirical paper, " a loathsome organ of loathsome irony ". The press, because of the power it gave one man over the minds of thousands, was particularly distasteful to him ; " if Christ returned to earth," he writes, " as true as I live, he would not accuse the high priests, but the journalists." [2] Though *The Corsair* never recovered from his attack, it retaliated with caricature and lampoon ; Kierkegaard became the laughing-stock of Copenhagen. Once again he was offended by what he himself had brought about, and complained that, while he managed to sell only fifty copies of *Unscientific Postscript,* he was caricatured in a vulgar rag with a circulation of 3,000, and " another paper continued discussing my trousers ". [3]

In the last years of his life Kierkegaard made one more public attack, this time on the Established Church, and in particular on Bishop Mynster, his father's friend, who had just died. In a funeral oration the preacher referred to Mynster as " a witness to the truth ". Kierkegaard had, by this time, come to regard the Established Church as a mere department of state, which, instead of combating the spirit of the age as befitted the Church militant, temporized with it. In his reply he described Mynster as the " epitome of his generation," full of " human wisdom, worldly intelligence, weakness, ambition for pleasure, with no greatness beyond oratory ". " A witness to the truth," he declares, " is a man whose life has brought him profound knowledge of inner conflict, of fear and trembling, spiritual distress, moral suffering . . . who bears witness to the truth in poverty, in humiliation and contempt, misunderstood, hated, mocked at, despised, ridiculed." All this sounds very like a description of Kierkegaard himself. Indeed, it is probable that in

[1] *Point of View.*
[2] *Journal* (1849).
[3] *Ibid.*

attacking Mynster, Kierkegaard was objectifying and attacking a tendency towards a life of worldly success in the Established Church which he found within himself ; just as in Regine Olsen he saw a tendency towards unreflective self-indulgence. At any rate, he believed that his break with the Established Church was the greatest thing that could come out of his life.

But the strain was too much for him. In the October of the next year, 1855, he collapsed in the street and was taken to Fredrik Hospital where, on 11 November, he died. He died, he says in *Point of View,* " of a mortal disease, but poetically he died of longing for eternity, where uninterrupted he would have nothing to do but to thank God ". The Established Church granted him the funeral rites accorded to its members, much to the disgust of the young intelligentsia who had at last come to appreciate him and now formed a guard of honour around his coffin.

It was some time before Kierkegaard was recognized outside Denmark. The optimism and assurance of the nineteenth century, due in part to the influence of Hegel, did not make for the sympathetic reception of his message of dread and despair. But with the uncertainty and disillusionment that followed the First World War, Kierkegaard came into his own. He owes his popularity, as is well known, to the German Existentialists, whom to a great extent he inspired. Karl Jaspers in 1920 was the first to acknowledge his debt to Kierkegaard ; Heidegger made a similar acknowledgement in 1927. Through the influence of these men, his popularity spread to France and to the English-speaking world, particularly to the United States.

It is unfortunate, however, that Kierkegaard should be identified with the Existentialists. Existentialism has many undesirable features, as the Holy Father pointed out in *Humani Generis.* It is an ephemeral philosophical movement, and is perhaps already on the decline, whereas the writings of Kierkegaard deserve a permanent place in our literature. But Heidegger is undoubtedly right when he says that " in the 19th century Sören Kierkegaard conceived the problem of existence as an existential one and analysed it as such with great penetration". Kierkegaard, unlike most classical philosophers, regarded the problem of existence from the point of view of the individual who has a life to live, and not as an abstract problem that can be solved by some comprehensive system of thought (he had in mind Hegelianism). " Life can only be understood backwards (that is, when it is over) but it has to be lived forwards." His method was analytical : he wished to discover what, in terms of concrete, living experience, human existence ultimately

means. In this approach to the problem Kierkegaard is not alone ; Socrates and Pascal had done the same sort of thing. Whether, in spite of his protests to the contrary, he was not, in fact, trying to synthesize the warring elements within him is a question which might well be asked.[1]

If Kierkegaard was an existentialist in method, the scope of his investigation transcends that of most modern Existentialists. They are interested in the condition of human existence as such ; Kierkegaard was interested in the condition of becoming a Christian. In becoming a Christian, of course, one necessarily experiences what it is to be a human being in the fullest sense. No one has exposed the value and importance of the individual, the power to make free, deliberate and responsible choices, to be master of one's destiny, as Kierkegaard has done ; nor shown in such vivid and terrifying detail the worthlessness of what he called the " aesthetic " or unreflective sensual life, however exalted the impulses that govern it (even the pursuit of knowledge itself), or however venerable the institutions that encourage it. But as humans we are guided in our choices by reason and human wisdom, whereas the Christian lives by faith, and faith to the man of human wisdom—the " ethical man "—is irrational, foolish, absurd. The problem presents itself in a wholly different light to the Christian : it is the life of reason against the life of faith.

Here Kierkegaard's analysis is even more terrifying.[2] He sees the life of faith as a blind leap which reason cannot endorse, and which must be made in uncertainty and doubt, relying on the passions of despair and dread, despair of salvation and dread of punishment—for what ? For one's sinfulness. "Consciousness of sin is the *sine qua non* of Christianity." Despairing of salvation, dreading punishment, a Christian is forced to make the irrational, absurd affirmation that in spite of his sinfulness he will be saved. By that act of faith he is put in relationship with God. " Relationship to God does not lie in the sphere of reason, but in an irrational, personal, spiritual relationship . . . the consciousness of being at once a sinner and justified." [3] The supreme example of the act of faith was Abraham's : when ordered to sacrifice his only son Isaac, he still believed that he would be the father of a great posterity.

There is much to criticize in all this. For the Catholic at any rate, Kierkegaard's notion of faith is unacceptable. Faith does not consist in believing what we know from reason to be untrue, contradictory and

[1] Cf. Arland Ussher : *Journey through Dread* (1955)—one of the few Irish contributions to Kierkegaardian studies.
[2] Cf. *Kierkegaard Revealed* by Joseph O'Mara, S.J., *Studies*, Dec. 1949
[3] *Training in Christianity*

absurd. It is not irrational in this sense. Nor are we drawn to make the act of faith by unfounded guilt and terror (Lutheran and Greek notions). But there is an element of truth in what Kierkegaard says. The doctrines and maxims of faith—though it is reasonable to believe in them since God revealed them—are not as a rule intelligible in the light of human reason. The Christian life is in that sense absurd, foolish, irrational ; and all who have tried to live it faithfully have discovered a tension between their own beliefs and the dictates of human wisdom. Therefore, the Christian who is not to some extent different from other men, who is not at times an object of ridicule, who does not experience something of that tension between human wisdom and faith, who never feels disquiet when temporizing with the world, is hardly living a true Christian life. We have St Paul's word for it : " we preach Christ crucified : to the Jews indeed a stumbling block and to the Gentiles foolishness ".

Of Kierkegaard's manner of presentation I have said nothing ; that belongs properly to a student of Danish literature. But reading him in translation one is aware of his outstanding literary gifts, above all the power of his imagination to create concrete images to express profound and abstract ideas. His style is at all times lively ; it has veins of wit and lyricism ; it can be strongly emotional and dramatic. He was richly endowed for the task of analysing and recreating the concrete, living situation.

What are we to think of him ? It is hard to say. Here, at least, is how he wishes us to think of him ; it would be ungracious not to allow him the last word on S. K. " He carried to completion the work of reflection, the task of translating completely into terms of reflection what Christianity is, what it means to be a Christian. His purity of heart was to will only one thing. What his contemporaries complained of during his lifetime, that he would not abate the price, would not give in, this very thing is the eulogy pronounced on him by after ages, that he did not abate the price, did not give in." (*Point of View*)

An Irish School of Criticism?

by VIVIAN MERCIER

Some comments on Denis Donoghue's "Notes Towards a Critical Method," STUDIES, Summer 1955, and Donald Davie's "Reflections of an English Writer in Ireland," Winter 1955.

MR DONOGHUE is in grave danger of swallowing that Puritan heresy, the New Criticism, hook, line and sinker. Inoculated as I am by centuries of Puritanism and ten years' residence in the United States, I wish I could save him some painful regurgitation when he is older. His entire article centred, as all New Criticism ultimately does, upon the issue of literature and belief. The Puritan—and most American intellectuals are Puritans by cultural inheritance, whatever their ancestry or faith may be—can never be content merely to enjoy. He must justify his enjoyment, whether it be of spiritual or fleshly pleasures.

In the nineteenth century the American Puritan justified his enjoyment of literature and the arts by claiming that they uplifted him—made him a better man. In the main, he refused to read—or at any rate to enjoy—literature which expounded beliefs or advocated moral attitudes which he could not share. In the general twentieth-century decline of traditional religion and morality among intellectuals, such a view came to seem naïve, but complete hedonism proved unacceptable too. To admit that poetry might be beautiful nonsense, or that, if it were, one could still enjoy it, was unthinkable. Beauty must be truth, at least in some Pickwickian sense. Hence the anguished struggle to prove that propositional truth and poetic truth were not necessarily the same. Only if this were so could the Puritan intellectual continue to enjoy poetry without qualms of conscience.

Parenthetically, though American attitudes towards sex have altered profoundly within living memory, they are still supported by an essentially Puritan form of rationalization. Put in the simplest words it would read, "Sex makes one a better man." The pursuit of sexual "fulfilment"—a question-begging word—has come to be regarded as a duty rather than a pleasure or a sin.

Seen in its historical context, the attempt to divorce literature from belief constituted a natural and healthy reaction against the over-emphasis of Marxists and others on the political and social content of literature as well as on the political and social conditions in which

it was produced. In the American universities the New Criticism formed part of a wider revolt against the literary-history tradition, borrowed from Germany, which taught the student everything about literature except how to tell a good poem from a bad one. Still, other less laudable forces were at work. The near-breakdown of traditional education in the U.S. under the impact of mass immigration and the theories of John Dewey made it necessary to teach the American undergraduate how to read and write English. The New Criticism helped to give the first of the three R's the status of a university subject. Whenever American critics display a talent for the obvious, one should remember that the need to explain *everything* to classes full of alert but quite untrained minds begets habits which are hard to shake off.

Nevertheless, I appreciate and admire, as Dr Davie does, Mr Donoghue's anxiety to establish critical standards for himself and his readers. The danger lies in his preoccupation with " a critical method ". I often used to say to Kenneth Burke, while we were colleagues at Bennington College, " What you fellows want is a critical *machine*, like a sausage-slicer, into which you can feed any kind of poem. Watch out ! You may end by deciding that, wherever you slice it, it's still boloney ". More seriously, I maintained then, as now, that criticism is an art rather than a science. Furthermore, Burke is by nature far more of an artist than a scientist, as his poetry—I almost wrote " his criticism "—shows.

However, Mr Donoghue's readiness to learn from Americans is rare and commendable in Ireland, where, as Dr Davie wittily pointed out, we are so reluctant to learn even from each other that in his opinion there has never been any Irish critical tradition at all.

There is a danger, of course, that Dr Davie has learned to imitate our chief fault when he talks so glibly about " the absence of any true critic at all, certainly of any critical tradition ". Professor Ralph Cohen, an American who has made a special study of eighteenth-century aesthetics and literary criticism, drily suggested that Dr Davie and I might perhaps read the works of some Irish eighteenth-century critics and aestheticians, particularly the Professors of Oratory at Trinity, before generalizing about Irish criticism.

It is unjust, in any case, to speak of the preface to *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse* as " Yeats's one contribution to criticism ". From Yeats's early correspondence alone one could excerpt a large body of criticism devoted to Anglo-Irish literature of the nineteenth century. In his newspaper and magazine articles, as in his prefaces to anthologies, the

young Yeats winnowed the only literary tradition that he was native to, preserving all that was valid and rejecting only what had been vitiated by extra-literary aims or lack of talent. His rejections have been more publicized than his acceptances. Any critic who seeks to evaluate nineteenth-century Anglo-Irish literature could hardly begin better than by reading everything Yeats has to say on the subject—and perhaps collecting it all into one handy volume, if he could find a publisher. (Ireland doesn't lack critics ; she lacks publishers.)

Dr Davie suggested that Ireland suffered from a time-lag, or at any rate ran on a different time-table from other countries. I agree ; in fact, I think we are at present more than ripe for the cultivation of literary history. Irish literature, in the broad sense of that term which includes writing in Irish, English and Latin, is so enormously rich that most of us live all our lives in blind indifference to nine-tenths of it. We need anthologies and literary histories to make us aware of this, but on the whole our scholars are not providing us with them. The gulf between scholarship and criticism seems even wider and deeper in Ireland than it normally is in other countries. Those who criticize don't know—those who know don't criticize. In other words, our critics are too unscholarly, our scholars too uncritical or too indifferent to the common reader.

Thinking of Professor Myles Dillon's *Early Irish Literature*, Professor Kenneth Jackson's *A Celtic Miscellany*, and the two excellent series of Thomas Davis Lectures, I am reluctant to include our Celtic scholars in this condemnation. Our Latin scholars, however, apart from Dr Ludwig Bieler and Dr John J. O'Meara, seem to have forgotten the common reader entirely. In the last century one could rely on scholarly parish priests to come to the rescue. We owe the only English version of the *Navigatio Brendani* to one such, though it has been out of print for sixty years. There have been several popular lives of St Columbanus, but nobody has yet translated his Latin writings into either English or Irish. When I needed a translation of one of his letters for a coming anthology, I finally had to make it myself, with some help from a colleague.

Our most glaring deficiencies, however, because they might be fairly easily remedied, lie in the field of Anglo-Irish literature. Why have we no literary history of Anglo-Ireland in its hey-day, the eighteenth century? We have none for the seventeenth century either, though that is perhaps more excusable. St John D. Seymour's scholarly book covers the earlier period to the end of the sixteenth century, but Thomas D'Arcy McGee's *The Irish Writers of the Seventeenth Century* deals mainly with Latin and Irish works.

The theatre has fared better than the other branches of literature at the hands of the scholars, though here the most attractive book, Mr G. C. Duggan's *The Stage Irishman*, is the work of an amateur. In nineteenth- and twentieth-century Anglo-Irish literary history, the amateurs have it all their own way: Hugh Law, Stephen Gwynn, Ernest Boyd, Robert Farren (*The Course of Irish Verse in English*)—no native author of a comprehensive work has ever held an university post.

Like Dr Davie, therefore, though for a different reason, I feel Mr Donoghue is in danger of wasting his exemplary and articulate energy. Once he has worked out where he stands as a critic, he should disentangle himself from transatlantic controversies, leave Hopkins to the English, and "call the Muses home". There is plenty for him to do in Ireland, whether he chooses to create a "living past" for the common reader and the fledgling writer by becoming a literary historian (or even a conscientious anthologist), or prefers to exercise his critical powers on portions of our literature which have never been viewed critically, at least in our generation. I was delighted to see him apply his New Critical method to Synge's *Tinker's Wedding* in a recent issue of *Irish Writing*. I once used Empson's theory of pastoral as an instrument with which to dissect James Stephens in the same periodical. But I think he should try to range much more widely over our literature. If he really believes in his critical method, he should be prepared to use it on work of any period in any language of which he is master. Only by daring to do this can he hope to found an Irish school of criticism.

Note: Whatever its errors or omissions, Aodh de Blacam's *A First Book of Irish Literature* is the only work yet to attempt a survey of the *whole* of Irish literature in Irish, Latin and English. We owe its author a great debt, which would have been doubled if his publishers had seen fit to include even a rudimentary bibliography. By the way, anybody who compiles for Anglo-Irish literature a bibliography worthy of comparison with those provided by R. I. Best and James F. Kenney for Irish and Hiberno-Latin writing will earn grateful prayers from generation after generation of scholars and litterateurs.

A Note on Hopkins's Windhover

by FRANCIS G. DOYLE, S.J.

IN STUDIES for last Autumn, Mr Denis Donoghue published an article *The Bird as Symbol : Hopkins's Windhover.*[1] Some of Mr Donoghue's remarks have spurred me into some counter-comment. Not that I have a new reading to offer ; there are enough already as it is, but I think that Mr Donoghue's interpretation is very unreasonable and that consequently his final evaluation is unacceptable. I believe this to be so even under the conditions he lays down himself, when he says : " I should draw attention to two points about the interpretation . . . which I have offered ; first, it is a reading which does not employ any information from Hopkins's other poems or letters or from his biography: furthermore, like the poem, the interpretation does not mention Christ . . . If *The Windhover* is a good poem it will be found meaningful even by a reader who does not know its author was a Jesuit ".[2] Though I hope to show that the poem can be fully appreciated under this seemingly rather restrictive approach, it has led Mr Donoghue to be negative in his interpretation of a poem which is extremely positive in expression. The exclusion of any mention of Christ is one point, and about the only one, in which I agree completely with him.

The first eight lines of the poem are not difficult to understand and only one phrase calls for comment, " My heart in hiding/Stirred for a bird ". Dr Schoder and Professor Empson, who are quoted, certainly seem to go too far, but Mr Donoghue does not go far enough ; that is my main criticism of him. For him the words " primarily express a sense of inadequacy and weakness in the poet, aroused by the sight of the bird's positive strength and activity ".[3] I have no strong objection to this reading except that it is an illustration of the negative approach. I do not think that Hopkins felt any ' sense of inadequacy ', but rather that the sight of the bird in flight caused him to feel within himself, as he watched, a great admiration, which did not show itself in any external reaction. He stood there and watched and his heart welled up within him, almost without his being able to help it, into an ecstasy of joy.

It is in the sestet, however, that all the real difficulties are encountered. " What does ' buckle ' mean ? Is it indicative or imperative ? Who or what is addressed as ' my chevalier ' ? What is the point of the last three

[1] STUDIES, Autumn 1955, p. 291
[2] *Ibid.* p. 296
[3] *Ibid.* p. 294

lines ? " W. H. Gardner in his Penguin edition gives three meanings for ' buckle ' : (1) ' prepare for action ' ; ' come to grips, engage the enemy' ; (2) ' clasp, enclose, bring together ' as under one discipline ; and (3) the more common meanings, ' to give way, bend, collapse, under stress or pressure '. Now Mr Donoghue says : " It seems to me, that the feeling behind the first three lines of the sestet is the poet's desire that the spontaneous, independent, thoughtless activity symbolized by the falcon should be directed to some definite goal or purpose : the feeling that this power should be *used* to some end ". Again Mr Donoghue is conservative in his reading, but here, if not unimaginative and prosaic, he has, I think, missed the very aspect of the Windhover which stirred Hopkins. The bird is not, as he says elsewhere, a symbol of energy, or of thoughtless activity. There is nothing especially beautiful or attractive in mere energy, thoughtless and uncontrolled, at least in this case. The point Hopkins makes all through the octet is that it is perfectly under control. His heart stirred for a bird because of " the achieve of, the mastery of the thing ". You can hear him almost gasp with delight as he says : " how he rung upon the rein of wimpling wing ", and again, " off forth on swing,/As a skate's heel sweeps smooth on a bowbend ". Here is no mere thoughtless energy. What thrills the poet is to see the bird, and so small a one at that, fly into the high morning sunshine, and in the perfection and skill of his movement " rebuff the big wind ". This is so obvious that it is difficult to see how anybody could have missed it. Has Mr Donoghue, I wonder, ever really watched birds ?

But what do the first three lines of the sestet mean ? I confess I cannot feel certain of any interpretation except to disagree with that proposed by Mr Donoghue. I suggest that " brute beauty and valour and act, etc." are taken as general qualities and all found at this moment in the Windhover. The poet addresses these qualities and bids them " here/ Buckle ! " using the verb in a sense wavering between ' fight ' and ' discipline ', as the bird rides high into the wind. And the combined effect of these aspects and the soaring fighting spirit of the bird makes Hopkins exclaim " AND the fire that breaks from thee then, a billion/ Times told lovelier, more dangerous, O my chevalier ! ". Pick takes quite the opposite meaning : for him ' buckle ' means ' to collapse, to cave in '. " It is in the act of ' buckling ' when the Windhover swoops down, when its flight is crumpled, when 'brute beauty and valour and act, oh, air, pride, plume ' in an act of self-immolation send off a fire far greater than any natural beauty."[1] This is another very possible reading, though I do not prefer it.

" O my chevalier ! " I take to be addressed to the hawk as a tribute to its nobility and heroism. It fits in also with similar titles of medieval

[1] Quoted by Mr Donoghue, p. 294

chivalry at the beginning of the poem—' morning's *minion* ' and ' kingdom of daylight's *dauphin* ', and the word '*Falcon* ' has the same ring about it.

And now for the last three lines of the sonnet. Mr Donoghue's conclusion seems unsatisfactory. The idea of purpose or direction seems a very poor theme for this particular poem. To what purpose does Mr Donoghue wish the bird's energy to be directed ? As I see it, every movement is in control and perfectly directed to the end in view. To what other end could the Windhover use this activity than in the perfection of its flight, that is, if it is to remain a bird ? This idea of purpose is the theme " of the sestet in particular ", and in the last three lines " the one element in common to the shining ploughed earth and the embers of fallen coals is that both conditions are the result of direct, positive Use ". This reading, for me, takes away any attractiveness these lines could have, and, in fact, leaves them with very little meaning. One can see, then, why this poem seems fundamentally defective to Mr Donoghue : if his view is correct the *The Windhover* is stodgy and banal with only a façade of colourful language and powerful rhythm, which are only " incidental phrases and effects . . . which we may legitimately admire ".[1]

To me the last three lines, which in themselves are very beautiful, are in strong contrast to the rest of the poem and help to set off the Windhover in more brilliant colours. This contrast is mentioned by Mr Donoghue but for him the last lines are only a quiet passive re-echoing of the " purpose " theme in the other lines. As before, it is not mere activity, ploughing or burning brightly, but the *nature* of that activity considered in the light of the whole poem. For eleven lines we see and experience " the mastery and brilliant success " of the Windhover as an example of something that is perfect and limitless. " The achieve of, the mastery of the thing." What is this perfection ? Is it beauty or controlled power or something else ? I do not think it matters—the stress is on the perfection and freedom from any limitation. It is the very antithesis of ordinary and humble things whose lesser beauty or glory is achieved by toil and effort (sheer plod) or by self-annihilation (as the embers, whose momentary flash of glory can only be at the cost of their own destruction). But these little things can be beautiful, if at a price. "No wonder of it", then, that what is master and unrestrained in its powers must break into a fire which is " a billion times told lovelier, more dangerous ". This then, seems to me to be the content of the poem. The poet is carried away by the sight of the Windhover. Then there is the contrast, vividly and clearly expressed, of " the achieve of, the mastery of the thing ", set over against " sheer plod " and " Fall, gall themselves and gash ". This to me is both beautiful and satisfying.

Mr Donoghue having interpreted the meaning goes on to evaluate the poem. Hopkins thought it was the best thing he ever wrote, and most

[1] *Ibid.* p. 298

of his critics agree. Mr Donoghue objects strongly and proceeds to give his reasons. His main point is that the Windhover is seriously inadequate as a symbol.

I have already said that I do not think the Windhover is merely a symbol of energy. Certainly it is a bird of prey and was quite possibly circling over a victim when Hopkins saw it. But what Hopkins was watching was not the bird so much as its flight and the perfection of its movements. Its being a bird of prey *at this particular moment* is quite incidental to Hopkins's point of view. It is the early morning, the sun has risen and the sky is streaked with red, the wind is strong, and the kestrel rides into it and holds his own and sweeps round in a big curve. There is no mention of prey and certainly no difficulty in abstracting from it. If people see in the bird a symbol of Christ, it is in its mastery and control and not in its prey-directed 'energy'. Even if we were to admit the difficulty of forgetting the more cruel elements of the Windhover's activity, it still remains beautiful in flight. "The reader", says Mr Donoghue, "is required to be keenly aware of the falcon's *activity*, and yet at the same time to ignore the destructive *nature* of that activity."[1] This, I cannot help feeling, is to make a mountain of a mole-hill because I am quite certain the average reader has no difficulty on this point.

Mr Donoghue further says :

"Yvor Winters is quite right to draw attention to 'the pathetic fallacy which occurs in Hopkins's reading of his own ecstasy into an action which for the bird was merely a routine matter of business."[2]

This itself is pathetic and disappointing. So we cannot be thrilled by natural beauty because for nature itself it is an everyday occurrence. The sky and mountains change their colours, birds fly and sing, flowers bloom and give off their perfumes, but because it is "merely a routine matter of business" we should pass them by. Mr Donoghue may be a keen aesthete in the field of the intellect and of art, but I suspect he has not an eye for natural beauty. If so, he is hardly in a position to criticize a poet of nature such as Hopkins. Hopkins was as much aware as Mr Donoghue that flying was routine for a hawk. He says as much when he writes "my heart . . . stirred for a bird". He finds himself deeply moved by a mere bird because, to quote Gardner, "It is the law of things that all characteristic natural action or 'selving', however humble it may be, gives off flashes of Divine beauty".[3] That is it : what Hopkins saw so sensitively everywhere was the reflection of the Beauty. For beauty, as the philosophers say, is transcendental, it pervades all being, it is a necessary element of it : to recognize it is to recognize God.

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[1] *Ibid.* p. 297

[2] *Ibid.* p. 297

[3] G. M. Hopkins, ed. by W. H. Gardner : Penguin Series.

The Physical Forms of Irishmen

by M. A. MAC CONAILL, M.B., D.SC.
Professor of Anatomy, University College, Cork

IN the year 1934 a hardworking and enthusiastic North American, Dr C. Wesley Dupertuis, came to Ireland. He left it in 1936, having made an extensive series of observations and measurements upon some ten thousand males. His *anabasis*, a new kind, has now been published.* It is important.

Studies of physical anthropology in Ireland have been lamentably few. Between 1894 and 1901, C. R. Browne published the results of his work on the Mayo-Galway area in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy. Nothing more appears to have been done until the present writer carried out a survey of the men of Rachrai (miscalled Rathlin by the mappers) in 1922, following this by a survey of men of the Irish Army in 1923. The first survey was a " yardstick survey " ; it was published in the *Proceedings* of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society in 1923. The second survey was a " pilot survey " to obtain some idea of possible regional differences with a view to future work ; the results were not published. In 1937 the present writer was asked to revisit Rachrai and examine the *ABO* and *MN* classes of blood-groups ; he took the opportunity to carry out a new survey of hair and eye-colour and found the results to be remarkably consistent with those of the earlier study. The question at issue was that of the adequacy of small local samples when the subdivision of a population into physical classes is made by successive dichotomies—in effect, a tree of Porphyry —based upon criteria found to be significant during the post-natal period of development, and partly explicable upon modern Mendelian principles. This writer's work was incorporated in a series of papers in the *Annals of Eugenics* (a scientific journal with a marked anti-eugenist bias!) and need not be considered further here ; it has been cited at length merely to establish his credentials for commenting on the publication by the late Dr Ernest E. Hooton and Dr Dupertuis. If we add to all this the paper in Vol. 9 of the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (1946), a paper founded on Six-County material by Gamble, Walmsley and Mogey, we have completed the list. It is too short.

* *The Physical Anthropology of Ireland*, by E. A. Hooton and C. W. Dupertuis (with a section on the Irish West Coast Females, by Helen Dawson). Cambridge, Mass. 1955 : *Peabody Museum Papers*, Vol. XXX, Nos. 1–2. Pp. ix, 448, Maps 38, Plates 47. Price 10 dollars (paper), 13 dollars (cloth).

It is too short in relation to the unique position of Ireland in the sub-universe of European anthropology. When we think of our island in time and space together we see that it is what the physicists call a 'sink' rather than a 'source'; it is, in fact, the ultimate sink of human migration in Western Europe. History and archaeology unite in witness to this. But a sink is not necessarily a mixing-bowl. The several streams that enter it may or may not produce a (statistically) uniform people. If they do, then the observation of the modern population can give no help, or only trivial help, to the historian. If they do not, then the observation of the modern population provides data which must be added to that obtained by other means; for the historian must make his tale fit these physical facts as well as the evidence provided by myth, legend, digging and documents. Apart from its intrinsic interest and value, then, an anthropometric survey of Ireland should have been carried out as one of the logical operations consequent upon the founding of the new school of Irish historians by Eoin MacNéill and his disciples. Twenty thousand subjects are both necessary and sufficient for the full classification of our present-day folk. There are five institutions of University rank in our country. Taking an anthropometric working year as twenty-five weeks, and allowing four years for the task, we have an average of ten subjects to be observed and measured each day by each institute, or by a team drawn from them. It is not much. Why was it not done? Why was it left to a stranger, an actual Xenophon, to write the story of this Ten Thousand?

The answer is probably tripartite. First, the staffs of our universities were too small. Secondly, the absence of curiosity in these staffs prevented them from going to find out for themselves. The third reason appears to lie in the sterile character of Irish learning. Your Irish *savant* can be, and often is, a man of prodigious energy in acquiring knowledge from others, by ear or by eye. He has, more rarely, enlightened his peers with new facts or new insight, but he has been singularly inapt to combine with those of other disciplines than his own for the sake of melting his own metal and theirs into a more truthful alloy—for human truth is fashioned by an union and mixture of diverse kinds of sensible knowledge. It is significant that the only native examinations of our living people have been made from those of our Universities which are considered by many to be the least attuned to the note of nationality; they have, however, that long tradition of interchange of interest and information which is fostered by the common-room spirit combined with the assumption that fellow dons are broadly as well as deeply educated. But even Belfast, which has done the only work over the last fifty years, even "Queen's" (we say) would have done nothing had it not been for the inspiration to adventure by one man, the late Professor

Thomas Walmsley ; and he could not have moved us but for the general air of the place, an air of continued curiosity and of what Aristotle called Wonder. So it was that Harvard rushed in where we were too apathetic to tread. Such summary and such reflections upon the results of this visit as will now be put forward are intended to indicate what we can and should do in the future.

The Material and Formal Objects of the Harvard Survey

Very many readers will remember the arrival, peregrination and departure of Dr Dupertuis. His effort was part of a bigger thing : a combined archaeological, sociological and physical survey sponsored by the Anthropological Department of Harvard University and assisted by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The anatomical part—for physical anthropology is anatomy—was directed by the late Dr Hooton and carried out by Dupertuis ; Dr (now Professor) Helen Dawson later did certain work on women. The actual publication seems to have been largely the work of Dr Hooton, judging from statements in the context. He has explained the cause of the delay in its appearance : first a set of statistician's errors, then the second world war, finally a rewriting of the text in terms of newer knowledge relevant to the interpretation of the data. Dr Dupertuis has given a lengthy sketch of how he obtained his subjects. It is a model of how not to write such things. We are concerned merely with those parts that affect his data.

Until December 1934, the subjects were volunteers who came forward following a notice given out at Sunday Mass in the district ; full acknowledgment is made of the benign interest of the Hierarchy and of help from the priesthood. After that date, however, reliance was placed upon the good offices of the Garda Síochána and of the armed constabulary of the Six Counties. Local individuals (styled " drummers "), often paid, were also used over the whole period. No mention is made of any attempt to call a public meeting of the people in any locality with the object of interesting all classes in the project and of securing a wide sociological sample. These facts are germane to a discussion of the results and inferences presented by the authors.

The material object of the investigation by Dr Dupertuis was, then, a body of 10,118 males who came from every county in Ireland. Barring certain employees of a Dublin brewing company, they were all countrymen, this term including villagers—for most of our " towns " are really villages. The great cities were deliberately avoided. This grand sample amounts to about 1 in 300 of the total male population, but is, of course, a rather higher ratio of the rural population actually selected as the norm. The ratio of subjects from the Twenty-six Counties to

those from the Six Counties was as 8 to 1 ; this is about twice as great as it should be. Note was taken of religion, the categories being 'Catholic,' 'Church of Ireland' and 'Presbyterian.' The greater number of Protestant subjects was from the Six Counties. Out of 1,142 subjects from this part of Ireland, roughly equal numbers of Episcopalian and Presbyterian men made up a total of 644—rather a high proportion of the whole when we remember the exclusion of Belfast from the survey area.

The investigation had two formal objects : we may call these *anatomical* and *sociological*. In pursuance of the anatomical object twenty measurements and fifty-one nonmetrical observations were made on each man. The measurements were of the standard kind and are adequately indicated on page 12 of the text. The other observations included such things as hair and eye-colour, hair form, colour and freckling of the skin, caries and loss of the teeth. The sociological object was sought to be attained by noting particulars of the education, language and occupation of each subject. For reasons which will soon be apparent this aspect of the work will be dealt with first.

The Sociological Data and Conclusions

The sociological part of the investigation was doomed from the start. The methods by which subjects were secured were quite unsuitable for this purpose, particularly at that time. The tensions generated by the Civil War, by the Blueshirt movement and, in Ulster, by Partition were sufficiently strong to make the use of the police a tactless expedient, to say the least. In this respect Dr Dupertuis was certainly an innocent abroad. For himself and Dr Hooton (or one of them) to lump Tinkers and Hired Labourers in one group was a major error ; it strengthens one's feeling that, operationally speaking, the Yankees are the Englishmen of the twentieth century when it comes to the analysis of foreign communities : they will not seek advice from the native who knows, and the result is a set of Podsnapshots rather than a series of true pictures. Pages 20–22 of the text contain an account of the occupational classes recognized by Dupertuis. They demonstrate the sociological imbalance of his sample beyond any doubt. A sample that contains over ten per cent. of regular soldiers and only twice that number of people attached to the land is no sample on which to judge a predominantly rural Irish community, especially one deliberately "ruralized" by omission of city dwellers from consideration. We could leave the matter there were it not for the political capital that may be made out of the 20-line summary headed *Sociology* on page 135. It begins with the statement : *The Protestants, most of whom are natives of Ulster, are far better educated than the*

average of the Catholic county series. It ends by saying that the Presbyterian series is superior to the Catholic series in occupational status. Let us see.

First there are the criteria of education. The authors distinguish five classes : *illiterate, read-and-write, national school, secondary school* and *university.* They quite clearly have confused ' schooling ' with ' education,' and have failed to recognize that the average American Bachelorship in Arts or Science is roughly the equivalent of an Irish secondary school education. In their assessments they lump the first two classes named above together ! Apart from the fact that the methods of securing subjects could not attract a just proportion of the better-schooled Catholics, they display a markedly bourgeois bias in their whole outlook upon both education and occupation—two indissociable things. The Ulster Presbyterians are rated as occupationally superior to the run of Irish Catholics because this sample of Dissenters contains a higher proportion of those engaged in ' skilled ' occupations (*e.g.*, industrial workers and clerks), of traders and of professional men. There is no attempt to correlate the schooling with the man's job ; and the existence of such adult educational bodies as the Gaelic League is ignored ; culture, seemingly, does not count. All this " sociology " reads very strangely to one who knows his native North-East intimately. The ordinary reader can skip it unless he wants some fun. But those who live at ease off our taxes should make it their business to have this part of the Harvard report analysed publicly and at length ; for it will certainly be used in evidence against those Irish who are not Scots.

The Anatomical Data and their Analysis

It is pleasant to turn to the anatomical part where, it can reasonably be said, something both definite and useful has been accomplished. A full discussion of this part would amount to the best part of an undergraduate course in physical anthropology : it will not be attempted. Twenty maps (Figs. 5-25) give a conspectus of the geographical variation of as many measurements (including weight) or indices constructed from them, or data concerning the hair and the eyes. These maps are, of course, representations of abstractions obtained by analyses of the massed record-cards. They do, however, show two things : first, that the grand sample is adequate for the demonstration of regional differences ; and second, that many of these regional differences are correlated and, to that extent, significant. Perhaps the most remarkable region is that formed by the conjoined counties of Longford and Westmeath. It forms an " island " marked off from its surroundings by the light weight, fair wavy hair, long upper faces and high vertical foreheads of so many of its people. This region will call for special mention later.

Prescinding from the regional differences, the " note " of the Irish is that they are tall, heavy, broad-headed (*brachycephalic*), absolutely and relatively long-nosed, light rather than dark-eyed, and dark rather than fair-haired. These attributes—need it be said?—do not occur together in every Irishman ; but they do occur together in just under one-fifth of the population, most notably in Ormond, Thomond and Desmond (to use our own names). This combination of attributes is called *Dinaric* from its being characteristic of the Illyrian parts of Europe. It is also found in Mayo and in Tirconaill. It had already been known to occur in Mayo, and our confidence in the anatomical part of this survey is heightened by its having been found there again by Dr Dupertuis.

The brachycephaly of the Irish people is really remarkable ; nearly forty per cent of them were found to have a maximal head breadth greater than four-fifths of the maximal head length. The distribution of this attribute furnishes the most clear-cut division of the island. Broadly speaking, the broader-headed counties form a crescent. The Northern horn of it is formed by Antrim and Down ; its Southern horn is formed by Wexford ; and it bounds an area limited on the East by the sea and containing all the region from Armagh, through Longford to Leix and Carlow on the West and South. Put otherwise, Leinster with South-East Ulster inclines to long-headedness ; all the rest of Ireland to broad-headedness. The " long-headed " counties also show markedly narrow faces on the average.

The Ethnic Types of Irishmen

During one of his attempts to annihilate substances, Lord Russell coined the term ' complex of compresence ' for that which was to refer to any associated set of accidents. It is a pretty term, worth using in other contexts. An *ethnic type* may be described as a complex of compresence of an agreed number of anatomical characters which have been previously defined. It must be remembered that the selection of characters for the definition of ethnic types is still in the experimental stage. We can state certain *desiderata* which are generally accepted at this stage in the history of physical anthropology. First, all such characters should be clearly defined ; *tall*, for example, should mean ' above a stated height ' ; and ' blue-eyed ' is to be preferred to ' light-eyed,' because it is more definite. Secondly, all such characters should be segregable ; that is, the presence of one should not *necessarily* imply the presence of another of the set. For example, were blond hair always associated with blue eyes (or conversely) throughout the world then only eye-colour or hair-colour would be admissible as a character : both

would not be. Thirdly, the number of characters used in constructing an ethnic type should not be so great that anthropological likeness would be in danger of being obscured by individual difference ; for no two people are ever physically indistinguishable—not even monozygotic siblings (*e.g.* " identical twins "). Dr Dupertuis made 71 observations on some 10,000 people. If each ' character ' noted had been used as the basis of a binary classification ; that is, if each man had been rated as either *A* or *not-A* ; then a fifth of this number of characters, that is only 14, would have been enough to have distinguished every individual of his sample from every other. Lastly, the characters selected for constructing ethnic types should have no *a priori* likelihood of being conditioned by the individual's environment or of conditioning him to it ; statistical examination of the records made may, however, disclose unexpected connections of this sort.

Under the heading of ' Sorting Criteria ' (pp. 141–143), Hooton and Dupertuis enumerate a total of nine ethnic types and give the bases of classification ; Hooton (referred to as ' the senior author ' throughout the work) makes a strong assertion of his liking for these types. Only five characters are used—cephalic index, hair colour, eye colour, nasal index and stature. Let it be said outright that the scheme and logic of this classification is itself confused and is confusingly presented. One would have expected something better from the University of which Quine is such a distinguished member, but the *trivium* no longer appears to have a part in shaping the scientist. The present writer has, therefore, gone over the data of the Report with reference to its scheme of classification and in the light of his own experience and reflections in such matters ; and will now attempt to summarize the findings of our authors in (it is hoped) a defensible form.

They begin, very properly, by dividing us into those with truly broad heads (cephalic index 80 or more) and those without. The reader will recall that this was the most striking means of dividing the sample into regionally distinct sets. The next step in classification is by means of pigmentation (hair and eyes) ; each of the main groups is thus split into subgroups. In effect, both hair colour and eye colour were divided into three categories : *dark ; intermediate ;* and *blue* (eyes) or *blond* (hair). No brachycephal (broad-head) was found to possess both dark eyes *and* dark hair ; and only 1 in 300 of the dolichocephals (' long-heads ') had this combination. Moreover the bulk of the " double-dark " dolichocephals were concentrated in one area. Just over one per cent. of the blue-eyed dolichocephals had fair hair. Bearing these facts in mind, one can distinguish two primary complexes of compresence—the brachycephalic and the dolichocephalic—each of these complexes being distinguished by what may be called a " pigmentary law ". The

D-type is dolichocephalic (by construction) and its pigmentary law is : *The presence of dark hair implies the presence of blue eyes*, though the converse is not true. The *B-type* is brachycephalic (again by construction) and its pigmentary law is : *The presence of dark hair implies the absence of dark eyes*, and conversely.

It is of interest to note that the wholly dolichocephalic people of Rachrai conform to the same pigmentary law as that given above for the *D-type* distinguished by means of the survey now being discussed. On the other hand, the people of Sheffield, who are metrically very like those of Rachrai, have a different pigmentary law, namely : *The presence of dark hair excludes the presence of blue eyes* ; although this law is not " obeyed " with utter exactitude. This business of defining the ' structure ' of a population by the positive or negative implications that govern the association of characters cannot be pursued here. Enough has been said to demonstrate that it is serviceable in defining ethnic types.

Half of the brachycephals of Ireland appear to belong to the 'Dinaric' type defined earlier in the present paper. Half of the dolichocephals appear to fall into the blue-eyed and dark-haired (or red-haired) group. This type has been dubbed ' Keltic ' by our authors. They are not happy about the name ; my own opinion is that it should be called ' Insular ' from its notable occurrence in the Pritenic Isles. The concentration of ' pure blonds ' (*i.e.* with blue eyes) is most marked in a triangular area based on the Dublin-Meath coastline and extending to the Shannon. The apical (western) half of this wedge is sharply distinguished from the basal half by the high vertical heads and foreheads of so many of its people. The present writer had noted this special combination of skull form and pigmentation in 1923 ; the longheads of the Westmeath-Longford area do appear to constitute a distinct ethnic type.

The so-called ' Mediterranean ' type was found in only thirty-three cases. Most of these came from the region containing counties Sligo, Leitrim and South Fermanagh. This type is characterized by being longheaded, of small stature, dark-eyed and dark-haired. Beddoe had noted the (to him) peculiar " swarthiness " of the folk of this part of Ireland.

Faith and Features

Our investigators found a marked statistical difference between the Catholic Irish and the Presbyterian element ; those adherent to the Anglican communion were less well distinguished from the Catholics. We need not question the authors' assumption that the Presbyterians

are of Scottish ancestry. We know, on the other hand, that many of the other Protestant group are derived from ' native ' Irish apostates. Thus this survey of the Irish in ' modern space ' is consonant with what is certainly known about them in ' space-time.' The religious partition of the data lends weight, therefore, to the conclusions drawn from other modes of partition, so far as purely anthropometrical questions are involved.

The Question of Irish Origins

A fifth of the whole text is devoted to a discussion of historical, archaeological and linguistic data in relation to the present survey. The authors appear to have read everything relevant in this connection, and acknowledge their debt to Professor Kelleher of Harvard for his help in this matter. This will be the most interesting part of the work for most readers ; but it is, of course, meaningless without an appreciation of all that precedes it in the book. Let it be said at once that we may take all that the authors have put forward as guides to our own future studies : questions to be answered, not rulings to be either joyfully accepted or ruthlessly rejected. In this part Hooton and Dupertuis have crossed the border between strict anthropometry and other parts of our knowledge and inquiry about men. Some may regard them as, in Newman's sense, exorbitant. Yet the excursion has to be made sooner or later, unless we are to abandon the path of comradeship in scientific adventure that has been blazed of late years by our own archaeologists.

As many readers know, Professor C. S. Coon was given access to the actual data and used it in the preparation of his work, *The Races of Europe* (1939). A special section, over four pages long, is given by our authors to disagreeing with Coon. They prefer the scheme of successive immigrations suggested by the late Professor Tomás Ó Rathaile upon linguistic grounds, coupled with the Scandinavian invasions of post-Christian times, as the basis of explanation of the present-day distribution of Irish ethnic types. This preference is not unreserved. Nevertheless it is real, a fact masked by their discussion of their own view ; this discussion is almost mediaevally thorough in its presentation of the *per contra* to their own view, and might lead the reader to believe that they end by rejecting what they began by asserting.

When we analyse their tentative identifications of current ethnic types with the successive immigrations postulated by Ó Rathaile—Pritenic, Bolgic, Laginian and Goidelic—and the Scandinavian settlements ; and when we strip the ethnic types of their pigmentary char-

acters, we get a scheme that is, in principle, testable by future exhumations conducted by archaeologists. This scheme amounts to five waves of immigration, alternately by longheads and by broadheads, the first of them composed of longheads. With much diffidence the authors put forward the opinion that the first broadhead wave was Dinaric, the second what they call Nordic Alpine ; the chief difference between these types is that the first is longnosed, the second broadnosed : characters again testable upon purely skeletal remains. There will probably be little disagreement with their view that the bulk (at any rate) of the Nordic and near-Nordic types date from the Viking era. They incline to the view that the ' Keltic ' type is to be correlated with the Laginian element. This is doubtful ; but the doubt emphasizes the need for a really thorough survey conducted by Irishmen widely educated in the lore and culture of their country, quick to investigate and slow, but not unready, to conclude.

Reviews

AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT. By A. L. Grimes. New York : Henry Holt. 1955.

THE PUBLIC PHILOSOPHY. By Walter Lippmann. London : Hamish Hamilton. 1955.

REFLECTIONS ON THE FAILURE OF SOCIALISM. By Max Eastman. New York : Devin-Adair. 1955.

Professor Grimes's history of American political thought goes back to the Reformation in Europe. He presents his distillation of very copious material with an admirable sense for good order, in an agreeable and clear style and with frequent recapitulatory summaries. A very complete bibliography provides a good guide for further reading.

Starting from the Reformation Dr Grimes traces the varying influence on political theory of the different Protestant movements, and especially the genesis of English Puritanism. With the establishment of the first Puritan settlements in Massachusetts the history of American political thought began. Throughout his work, especially in the earlier part, Dr Grimes illustrates abundantly how American political theory has always been indebted to European, above all to English political thought. Entirely original American contributions in the field of political theory have been few and were almost entirely confined in their validity to immediate American problems and conditions. Since the first settlers in Massachusetts brought English Puritan theology and political ideas to America, American political genius has been principally active in two directions : the elaboration and often transformation of European political theories to suit American circumstances and in the sphere of practical politics. Few countries can boast of so rich and vigorous a tradition of theoretical political discussion stretching over the past three centuries and now to-day entering one of its most momentous phases.

Dr Grimes finds that the political philosophy of the American Revolution had been elaborated in England in the seventeenth century in the contest of parliamentary government with royal absolutism. It was expressed most forcefully by Locke and partly enshrined in the Bill of Rights. The Puritan political theory, based on government by the elect in the name of God and His Law together with doctrinal intolerance, gave way gradually to a secular and rationalist political philosophy based on the natural law, the rights of man and the principle of tolerance. But much democratic theory was latently inherent in Puritanism with its individualist spirit and its suspicion of kings and bishops.

Opposed to Locke's optimistic theory was the pessimism of Hobbes, whose doctrine of the necessity of strong government to restrain the brute in man united with the spirit of the Puritan elect and the aristocratic temperament that predominated among the Founding Fathers to form the other parallel current in American political theory. It was this tendency which held sway at the foundation of the Republic; and the American Constitution, while Lockean and potentially democratic in essence, was interpreted in its malleable first

decades by such men as John Adams, Alexander Hamilton and John Marshall, all of whom regarded democracy as an evil. They used the Constitution to give American government its basis of power and attempted to make it a guarantor of oligarchic government by the propertied class.

But Thomas Jefferson was a follower of Locke, a believer in the political virtues of the People and an enemy of centralized government. Jeffersonian democracy and later, in a more extreme form, the democracy of Andrew Jackson worked out the popular and democratic content implicit in the Constitution and its first Ten Amendments. They were America's first liberals ; Hamilton and Marshall and the Federalists, America's first conservatives. Under the liberal impulse and the impact of events other consequences implicit in the Constitution, but not yet obvious in the days of Jefferson—equality for the Negroes, for example—came to light and were made effective. Liberalism of the Manchester school became the doctrine of late nineteenth century America when the West was being filled and the captains of industry held sway. By the end of the century it had hardened into a disillusioned conservatism, opposed to the new forces of change.

At the turn of the century a new atmosphere prevailed. Economic crises and the manifest inequalities of the economic system had brought individualist capitalism into discredit. Under the influence of events at home, the writings of Edward Bellamy and Henry George, the English Fabian movement and German socialism, a new social conscience was born. The Progressives were the new liberals, who saw that the democratic ideals of equality and freedom were not being realized by Manchesterism. For them freedom attained a new connotation that was as much economic as political. They called for governmental intervention in the interest of the weak, for an economic system that would give effective meaning to the catchcry " equality of opportunity ". But they were still voices crying in the wilderness.

Meanwhile democracy itself had been discredited in the eyes of many by the concomitant evils of capitalism. The Neo-Humanists such as the Adams brothers, Paul Elmer More and Irving Babitt made severe criticisms of the democratic idea and turned towards the values of a remote and often imagined past, calling for government by a Platonic aristocracy of " the best ". Organized socialism appeared and suggested a solution through the class struggle. After the First World War American democracy passed through its darkest hour. The history of the American racist and fascist movements is proof of how much in need of renewal democratic society was. The threat of Marxism grew and the Depression came.

Then, with Roosevelt's New Deal, the new liberals, very different men from the old, climbed into the saddle and saved for our day—many Americans would disagree—the American tradition of freedom, democracy and equality. These men were the pragmatic liberals, followers of William James and John Dewey, experimenters. Their slogan was " Will it work ? " Their liberalism believed in using the State as an active instrument in the attainment of true democratic freedom and equality, which they saw as basic economic security and equal opportunity for all. They rejected all absolutes, all generalizations on the nature of man, they rejected (implicitly) Locke. They were materialists and relativists.

For the past twenty-five years these men have set the tone of American life. The conservatives (until recently) were simply the defenders of Manchester individualism and Benthamism, often associated with extreme chauvinism. Most of them belonged to the right wing of the Republican Party. " Until recently ", because in the past five years a new conservatism has appeared, rejecting the individualism of the reactionaries, but warning against the dangers to freedom implicit in pragmatic liberalism. It reaches back to the Founding Fathers, to de Tocqueville and to the Neo-Humanists of the turn of the century. It is as radical as Burke or as Roepke and stands close to both of them. One of these new conservatives is Professor Russell Kirk. At the same time the most sensitive wing of the liberals, those least hampered by ideological deadweight, are gradually moving towards a kind of conservatism of their own. Their press has welcomed the books of Dr Kirk and their magazines publish articles by the new conservatives.

Throughout his history of American political thought Dr Grimes treats every kind of thinker with great fairness and impartiality. But in the last chapter he reveals himself as a convinced pragmatic liberal, when he identifies the cause of American democracy with that of pragmatic liberalism. Yet in the introduction to his book, he says : " At the time of this writing it would appear that pragmatic liberalism . . . was being supplanted by something akin to conservatism ". And Russell Kirk writing in the liberal Catholic magazine *Commonweal* last November reflects the new liberal-conservative *rapprochement* and the meaninglessness of the old groupings when he can say : " I should like to see more liberal magazines (in America) but better ones. Every nation needs two bodies of opinion, its Permanence and its Progression—conservatism and liberalism ". But he adds : " Liberalism captured by Giant Ideology is dead liberalism and writing in such magazines is dead writing ".

The latest books of Walter Lippmann and Max Eastman are really personal confessions. Mr Lippmann began his book in 1938 when he saw the Western democracies giving in to Hitler. The subsequent course of events caused him to publish it last year. For anyone who has never been a pragmatic liberal much of the book is platitudinous. But Mr Lippmann has been a prominent pragmatic liberal and in this, his confession, he is arguing his way back to Jeffersonian liberal democracy. His book is a severe criticism of the degradation of democratic doctrine in the Western democracies to-day.

Rejecting relativism for the absolutes of Natural Law accepted by the Stoics and Locke, he attributes the decline of the West to the neglect of the Public Philosophy, of the cultivation of that body of general and absolute truths which form the basis of " the good society " at any time anywhere. Nineteenth century liberalism relegated these truths to the private sphere as if they were irrelevant.

Mr Lippmann laments the " obligation to make mistakes " inherent in the present democratic systems, where in Jacobinical fashion the voters tyrannize over the governments. The voters have the right to choose their leaders, not to command them. There is an important distinction between the People as the aggregation of voters and the People in the Burkean sense of the community of the dead, the living and the unborn, and the former have not the right to squander the heritage of the latter. The executive must be protected

against public opinion ; the first duty of the executives is to the law and to their convictions, not to the voters. The Western world and our hard-won freedom can only be saved if these principles of the Public Philosophy become once again the public beliefs of the community.

As it is, the " terms of discourse " are set against the rightness of the principles of the constitutional state and in favour of the Jacobin conception of the emancipated and sovereign people. How to change this ? Demonstrate convincingly for our time that the principles of the good society are not determined by pragmatist expediency or existentialist whim but are absolutes, the old absolutes, outside our wishes, but discoverable by rational inquiry. And Mr Lippmann brings us no further, for it is, after all, primarily a personal book, the confession of a disappointed but sincere searcher. But against the background of contemporary American political thought Mr Lippmann's pilgrimage is a significant one.

While still a socialist and even after he had lost the faith, Mr Eastman gave us some of the most brilliant expositions we have of Marxist and communist doctrine. The present book is a collection of essays giving the grounds for Mr Eastman's conversion from Marx and the static, controlled society to Roepke and the free, dynamic society.

The recantation is complete. In the introduction Mr Eastman declares that he is not ashamed of having deserted the socialist cause to which he gave twenty years of his life ; he is ashamed that it took him so long to abandon it. Not that he was ever a Marxist in the full, determinist sense. He espoused socialism in the spirit of the pragmatists—as a social experiment to assure men the basic conditions necessary for the enjoyment of real freedom. To this aim and ideal he has remained true, and it was when he realized that socialism (whether in its moderate English form or in its tyrannical Bolshevist form) did not in fact advance the cause of freedom, but worked against it, that he abandoned it.

He criticizes severely the American liberals of the Roosevelt years for their cynical betrayal of the ideal of freedom in refusing to recognize the Bolshevist tyranny for what it was and continuing to flirt irresponsibly with it. During the same period in America the socialists have abandoned the party label and have accommodated themselves inside the coalition of the liberals and the labour movement. It is this coalition which has transformed the Democratic Party " from an organ of Jeffersonian resistance to central power into an advocate of increasing state control ". Mr Eastman's new faith in a dynamic capitalism, purified of Manchester individualism, is based (consistently) on his finding in it the best guarantee of the individual's freedom in our time. The social ideal to strive for is not " peace " (which socialism promises) but " balanced conflict ". If he could set a slogan on his banner, it would be " More goods and less people".

It could appear that Mr Eastman has reached a more positive result than Mr Lippmann and yet, in reality, each moves on a different level. For Mr Lippmann, what guarantees the freedom and health of a society is the *rightness* of its public faith and of its spirit ; for Mr Eastman the good society is one where the individual's freedom is guaranteed by a just and efficient economic system.

In an interesting chapter Mr Eastman seeks a term to describe a person of his beliefs in America to-day, and after nearly accepting Roepke's " liberal conservative ", he finally decides for " radical conservative ", a term to which Russell Kirk and the other New Conservatives would doubtless subscribe, though they would give it a somewhat different connotation extending outside the purely socio-economic field.

The last chapter, which reproduces a speech of Mr Eastman to a convention of American trade unionists, where he preached to them the manifold blessings of capitalism, could well have been omitted. It adds nothing to the book except pages, and its " platform style " makes it rather out of place.

DESMOND FENNELL

DR C. S. LEWIS'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

SURPRISED BY JOY, the Shape of My Early Life. By C. S. Lewis. London : Geoffrey Bles. Pp. 224. 15s.

PROFESSOR C. S. LEWIS has written no conventional autobiography. *Surprised by Joy* is not a chronicle ; it is rather a study of the events and actions which shaped his character and made him the man he is today. In particular, the book is concerned with Joy, a technical term used by Dr Lewis to describe certain experiences, or rather a recurring experience, which has been among the most important influences in his life. The first occurrences of this experience took place in early childhood :

> There suddenly arose in me without warning, and as if from a depth not of years but of centuries, the memory of that earlier morning at the Old House when my brother had brought his toy garden into the nursery. It is difficult to find words strong enough for the sensation which came over me . . . It was a sensation, of course, of desire ; but desire for what ? . . . before I knew what I desired the desire itself was gone, the whole glimpse withdrawn, the world turned commonplace again, or only stirred by a longing for the longing which had just ceased.

Dr Lewis analyses this and similar experiences ; he finds that the quality common to all

> is that of an unsatisfied desire, which is itself more desirable than any other satisfaction. I call it Joy, which . . . must be sharply distinguished both from Happiness and from Pleasure. Joy (in my sense) has indeed one characteristic, and one only, in common with them ; the fact that anyone who has experienced it will want it again. Apart from that, and considered only in its quality, it might be called a particular kind of unhappiness or grief. But then it is a kind we want. I doubt whether anyone who has tasted it would ever, if both were in his power, exchange it for all the pleasures in the world.

Thus in language which constantly reminds us of the mystics, Dr Lewis returns repeatedly to this life-giving experience whose nature, long misunderstood, finally brought him to the feet of God.

After the First World War Dr Lewis returned to begin his career at Oxford. Here for a time he rejected Joy and all his old romanticism. There is an

account of his intellectual journey from a sort of materialistic "realism" to the idealism of Bradley and Bosanquet. He finally came to believe in the Absolute of their philosophy. It was satisfactory, even comfortable; it made no demands; it was far-off, "pinnacled dim in the intense inane"; and, above all, it was an "It" not a "Thou".

This state did not last long. We are told of the stages by which Dr Lewis was brought first to Theism and later to Christianity. Here again the most important influence came through Joy. A reading of Euripides's *Hippolytus* brought it flooding back to him. There followed an understanding of the differences between the objects of our intellectual acts; and thus he came to realize the errors which he had made concerning the nature of Joy. He now understood that Joy, being itself a desire, could not be the Desirable; that the nature of this desire was specified by its object; and that the object of Joy was something outside and above himself.

Soon after this Dr Lewis's last barriers were broken down. His hatred of "interference", his desire to be master of his own soul, soon appeared to him in their true nature; all unwilling, he submitted and believed. As a Theist, he had to seek a religion. His search was eventually resolved into a choice between Hinduism and Christianity. The Christian doctrine of the Incarnation repelled him, but at last he was forced to accept the only religion "in which the hints of all paganism were fulfilled".

There are certain reticences in this book. Dr Lewis does not seem to welcome enquiry into his own beliefs as a Christian. The story stops at his conversion to Christianity; he has nothing to say of the steps that led him to the Anglican Communion. In all his books, as here, it is of "Christianity" that he speaks: in the Preface to *Mere Christianity* he uses an analogy which is, to say the least of it, unhappy. Describing "mere" Christianity he says "It is more like a hall out of which doors open into several rooms. If I can bring anyone into that hall, I shall have done what I attempted . . ." This comparison of Christianity to a sort of boarding-house is surely in direct conflict with the teaching of Christian tradition. In the same book Dr Lewis expounds the doctrine of the unity of the human race, with some of its consequences, in a passage which might well have come from the pages of St Augustine or St Hilary.

It would appear that Dr Lewis is perfectly well aware of the necessity for unity, of the scandal of division, of the fact that side by side with the personalism which the Christian Revelation so strongly upholds there goes an equally strong social element. This social element is found at its highest in the very life of God, in the relations of the Divine Persons. It is impossible to imagine greater distinctions than those of this pure three-fold relationship, since it is these very distinctions that constitute the Divine Persons. And do they not arise in unity, the unity of the same Nature? The most complete expression of personality thus appears to us in the Being of whom every being is a reflection, an image, a shadow, a trace, the consequence as well as the consecration of the highest unity. *Quid tam tuum quam tu, sed quid tam non tuum quam tu, si alicuius est quod es?*

Is it that this social element of Christianity is foreign to the taste and temperament of Dr Lewis? "To this day the vision of the world which comes most naturally to me is one in which 'we two' or 'we few' (and in a sense 'we happy few') stand together against something stronger and larger." Whatever the answer be, it remains a pity that Dr Lewis has not given it to us.

AUSTIN MAC CURTAIN

ARTICULATE ENERGY

ARTICULATE ENERGY: AN ENQUIRY INTO THE SYNTAX OF ENGLISH POETRY. By Donald Davie. Routledge and Kegan Paul. London: 1955. 18s.

IN the twentieth century the hardest words to write are verbs. We can take hold of nouns and feel reasonably sure of picking the significant ones; but what to do with them? In the absence of philosophic security how can we do anything with these nouns, except place them in an open, undirected relation. Where is the genuine confidence which will enable a poet to make a "statement", by transferring energy, by putting a transitive verb between two nouns. It is at least a tenable notion that the selection of a verb is the ultimate commitment in articulation. And the verb is the most important part of what Dr Davie calls "authentic syntax." There is very little authentic syntax in twentieth century poetry, and even if there is a little more than Dr Davie concedes (in Stevens, for instance, whom he does not discuss), his basic point holds good:

> . . . in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries poets have acted on the assumption that when syntactical forms are retained, those forms can carry no weight.

By and large, granted; but now the conclusion:

> I have sought only to make these assumptions explicit, so that we may know just what we are doing, and what we are turning our backs upon, when we agree with the symbolists that in poetry, syntax turns into music. Is Pope's handling of poetic syntax really so irrelevant to the writing of poetry today? And are we so really sure of ourselves that we can afford to break so completely with the tradition he represents?

As in many other passages in *Articulate Energy* the facts here *are* facts, but the conclusion is unwarranted. Post-symbolist poets have turned their backs on authentic syntax, not because they are cocksure of themselves or scornful of its value, but because they are painfully aware that they have, literally, *no use* for such syntax; that they have not the kind of confidence and stability which can be used up in authentic syntax. This is as clear to Dr Davie as to anyone else, but it is excluded from his book, I imagine, for polemical reasons.

Dr Davie is far too intelligent to compose effective manifestos; a literary politician who wished to attack the currently popular Conservatism could probably tear this book to pieces. It is ingenuous, for instance, to associate the empty syntax of modern poetry with a loss of faith in conceptual thought: everybody knows about this loss of faith, and that post-symbolist poetry is an

attempt to snatch articulation from the teeth of this loss, a courageous attempt, which has produced a few great poems. *Articulate Energy* is at its weakest on these occasions : or again, when (as another version of the " Ivory Tower " catcall) it blames modern poets for ignoring discoveries in the field of human awareness. Dr Davie will certainly find the Common Reader voting for the policy enunciated in *Articulate Energy,* but as an acute politician he must know that his programme is practical only within severe limits and on a relatively superficial level.

What Dr Davie has not proved is that the post-symbolist strategy of juxtaposition without copula has been a failure. The idea of objective correlative can claim the sanction of a number of major poems ; and that is surely the test. Dr Davie virtually ignores the conditions which made concentration on such procedures inevitable, and he talks of the adoption of authentic syntax as if one had merely to recognize its value to adhere to it. But I see nothing in the contemporary scene which is likely to facilitate the recovery (on any fundamental level) of genuine Augustan modes of urbanity and strength. These qualities are as dear to me as to Dr Davie, but I wish he would concede that an age cannot acquire a quality by merely recognizing its power and charm. There are other forces at work.

In one tremendously important respect *Articulate Energy* is a complete success : it forces us, in reading poems, to become alive to the part played by syntax in the poetic economy. It is fair to say that the action of syntax in poetry has commonly been recognized only in cases in which it has been underlined by other factors, e.g. by rhyme in Pope. Since reading *Articulate Energy* I have found myself on the watch for the cognitive work of syntax in poems, and this is, I think, rewarding. If the reader wishes to find out what he stands to gain by keeping syntax in mind, I should rush to quote for him the first stanza of Coleridge's *Dejection* and Dr Davie's brilliant commentary :

> *Well! If the Bard was weather-wise, who made*
> *The grand old ballad of Sir Patrick Spence,*
> *This night, so tranquil now, will not go hence*
> *Unroused by winds that ply a busier trade*
> *Than those which mould yon cloud in lazy flakes,*
> *Or the dull sobbing draft, that moans and rakes*
> *Upon the strings of this Aeolian lute,*
> *Which better far were mute.*

These eight lines slide down a long scale of emotion from something not far short of geniality to a desperate melancholy ; this rapid transition is affecting and compelling just because it is all done in the compass of a single complex sentence. And we are sobered and shocked when the mood reaches rock-bottom just because this is acknowledged in a last subordinate clause, as an afterthought, almost under the breath. It is this syntactical arrangement that conveys the poignant impression that this last admission has been wrung out of the poet unwillingly, as if he has said more than he meant to say, having started (this is now the effect of the first two lines) with a determination to keep up appearances.

Denis Donoghue

MODERN PSYCHIATRY

FAITH, REASON AND MODERN PSYCHIATRY. Edited by Francis J. Braceland, M.D., Sc.D., F.A.C.P. P. J. Kenedy and Sons, New York. $6.00.

THIS work is sub-titled *Sources for a synthesis.* It consists of a series of ten papers and is addressed " to pastoral clergy of all confessions ; to psychiatrists, psychologists and those concerned professionally with mental health ; to the thoughtful layman interested in original ideas ; and to all those confronted with the severe trial of mental or emotional illness in friends or loved ones, and who, because either of lack of information or false information, have hesitated to seek the necessary medical and spiritual help in their affliction."

The aim of the work is, therefore, an ambitious one. In proportion to the ambitions of the editor and publishers, an uniquely qualified and outstandingly distinguished panel of authors has contributed to the work. It is exciting to find in one volume papers by such renowned authorities in their field as Rudolph Allers, Juan Lopez Ibor, Noël Mailloux, O.P., Karl Stern, Gregory Zilboorg. With such a team, and in the light of the stated intention of editor and publishers, one perhaps is tempted to look for too much. This would be a mistake. The essays contributed are for the most part intrinsically valuable, though with the exception of Zilboorg's it is difficult to find anything new being said. Zilboorg may indeed have started something of far-reaching consequence in what appears to this reviewer at any rate to be the first attempt by a psycho-analyst to shed light on sacramental theology. There is room for development here. In fact there is new territory to be won. There does not as yet exist a full treatment of the symbolic meaning of the " signs " used both in sacraments and sacramentals, and yet if our knowledge of the signs and symbolic functions of the unconscious has any validity at all, there should surely be a close link between the two.

Allers contributes a valuable and erudite essay on the role of personal belief in the aetiology and treatment of psychological disorders. One is surprised, however, to read that " it cannot be the task of the psychotherapist to ' convert ' his patient. However strong his convictions and however good his reasons for them, they have no place in the psychotherapeutic situation as such. If some belief of a more or less religious nature should prove necessary for the patient's return to normality and a satisfactory form of existence, a truly neutral formula must be found which is independent of the convictions of psychiatrist and patient alike, that is, a definition of the ' minimum requirements ' to be met ". Now this is not at all self-evident, and one is prepared to admit that there is a sense in which it is both meaningful and true, but it would require a very extended essay in its own right to work it out adequately.

A similar formulation is found in Stern's contribution : " All good therapy is carried out in an atmosphere free of moral judgment." One knows, of course, what the author intends to say (or at least one may hope one knows). Non-directive therapy is more than a current vogue. It is somehow inherent in the therapeutic situation—up to a point. But in this reviewer's opinion therapy is not effective until this point has been passed. Even if not conscious

of the fact the therapist is automatically " directive " in the patient's eyes. He is never simply a wailing wall, nor a neutral broad shoulder to which anyone may come and weep. His standards, his super-ego, his judgments (even if unexpressed) will be assimilated by the patient by a process with which the analyst is only too familiar : empathy. He will change the behaviour of the patient in some way if he is successful. And what is the cause of this change of behaviour ? Direction need not be verbal to be effective.

The contributions of Fathers Mailloux and Aumann are well worth the attention of all confessors and spiritual directors. Father Mailloux writes clearly and effectively on the relations between moral theology and psychology. His section on the overdetermination of human behaviour is particularly good because so little adverted to by most of us. Fr Aumann states clearly and simply the basic principles concerning the spiritual life and sanctity. This should prove helpful to the interested layman, and especially to the psychiatrist who has to deal with Catholic patients whose symptomatology is religious in character, or who seem to exhibit some of the phenomena usually called mystical. On the other hand one foresees a protracted debate centering around Fr Aumann's contention that neurotics " lack that integrity which is required for sanctity ".

One looks forward to the day when some one person sufficiently equipped in theology and psychology and allied disciplines will actually effect the synthesis, for which these essays aim to be sources.

E. F. O'Doherty

THE BOOK OF LEINSTER

THE BOOK OF LEINSTER formerly *Lebar na Núachongbála.* Vol. 1. Edited by R. I. Best, Osborn Bergin and M. A. O'Brien. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1954. Pp. xxvi and 260.

FACSIMILES IN COLLOTYPE OF IRISH MANUSCRIPTS VI. MS.23 N 10 in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy with descriptive Introduction by R. I. Best. Dublin : Stationery Office. 1954.

All who are interested in Irish studies will welcome this fine edition of approximately one eighth of the Book of Leinster. It contains the first 52 pages, that is, up to the beginning of the Táin Bó Cúailnge. The editors have followed the excellent model already set by two of them in the edition of *Lebor na Huidre* (Royal Irish Academy, 1929). The name of Bergin is on the title page of this volume, but we regret to learn that his collaboration did not extend beyond the end of this section. This portion he had compared with the Facsimile and with photostats of the manuscript, though not with the original ; and he had read revised page-proofs of the text before his death in 1950.

The introduction to this volume is contributed by Dr Best. In the Preface he says : " In this, the first volume of a complete edition of *The Book of Leinster,* so-called, it is not proposed to do more than offer a few essential remarks on the history and title of the codex, supplementary to Atkinson's very full account of the Book, and his learned analytic description of its contents prefixed to the lithographic *Facsimile* executed by Joseph O'Longan, and published by

the Royal Irish Academy in 1880." Despite this modest disclaimer, Dr Best's introduction gives us a good account of what is now known of the history of this most important manuscript.

Of many medieval Irish manuscripts we know very little indeed. We are fortunate in knowing so much about this great codex in spite of the fact that it changed its name by error in the course of time. We know where and when it was written, by whom and for whom it was composed or compiled. It was written mainly in the course of the second half of the twelfth century by Áed Úa Crimthainn, " lector of the high king of Leth Moga (.i. Nuadat) and coarb of Colum, son of Crimthann, and prime historian of Leinster in wisdom and knowledge and book lore, and science and learning ". Áed was therefore abbot of the monastery of Terryglass in Co. Tipperary. The eulogistic words about him are found in a letter from his patron, the man for whom he undertook this work of compilation, namely Find Úa Gormáin, Bishop of Kildare from 1148 until his death in 1160. In noting his death the Annals of Ulster mention that he was one time abbot of Newry. After Find's death Áed continued his work of addition and compilation. In a note added in this later time our codex is linked with one of the major events of Irish history. The entry was made in the year 1166 and in the light of later consequences, the scribe's cry of distress has for us the poignancy of unconscious prophecy. It reads : " O King of Heaven, dreadful is the deed that has been perpetrated in Ireland to-day i.e. the kalends of August, namely Diarmait son of Donnchad Mac Murchada, King of Leinster and of the Foreigners (i.e. the Norse of Dublin) has been banished over sea by the men of Ireland. Alas, alas, O Lord, what shall I do ? "

Dr Best discusses at some length the question of the title of the book. *Book of Leinster* is a misnomer. This was established by Kuno Meyer in 1907 when he identified this codex with *Lebor na Núachongbála.* This was reaffirmed and further confirmed by Fr Paul Walsh in 1916 and again in 1937. Dr Best does less than justice to both these scholars, when, at some length, he charges them with the crime of being right for insufficient reasons. In view of the fact that these scholars are rebuked on the strength of a further examination by Dr Best of the same evidence which they adduced, it is surely ungracious of him to say " this statement of absolute identity was, however, a mere assumption on Meyer's part ". It seems to me obvious that Meyer was perfectly aware of the proofs which Dr Best elaborates. In *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* iii, 302 Meyer's words ' a perfect copy ' leave no doubt that he had done exactly that which he is blamed for not doing when Dr Best says : " a collation of O'Clery's transcript with our MS. makes the identity certain " (Introduction p. xii). Could Meyer speak of " a perfect copy " if he had not made such a collation ?

More important is Dr Best's presentation of the evidence which establishes the identity of the Núachongbáil of the title, *Lebor na Núachongbála,* with Noughaval, a townland in the barony and parish of Stradbally, Leix, of which the O'Mores were lords. The clue which led to this identification is found in a copy of a manuscript of Ware now in the Pearse Street Municipal Library, Dublin. In a footnote Dr Best acknowledges his indebtedness for this reference to the late T. F. O'Rahilly. An entry of the year 1638/9 con-

cerning the whereabouts of some Irish manuscripts speaks of ' the boke of Noghovall with Roger Moore of Ballina '. This was the well-known Rory O'More, son of the Calbach, in whose possession the Book of Leinster was in 1583. Ballina is Balyna, Moyvalley, Co. Kildare, still in the possession of the same family, now More O'Ferrall.

It has already been said that this edition is modelled on the Best-Bergin edition of *Lebor na Huidre*. In such a review as this it will be sufficient to say that the high standard of the model is here maintained. In a very great number of instances the reading of the Facsimile is corrected. Many letters and words hitherto indecipherable have been established. The value and importance of many of these new readings can be seen by even a cursory comparison of this text with portions of the manuscript already edited. I have noted some minor errors in the Introduction. The poem *Fir torachta tunnidé* was not edited by Thurneysen in *Mittelirische Verslehren* (Introd. p. xx). The two items listed lines 1 and 3 of p. xxii were edited by Thurneysen *loc. cit.* 57-59 but not, as Dr Best states, from *The Book of Leinster*. Thurneysen's symbol L refers to the manuscript *Laud* 610 ; he uses the customary LL. for *The Book* of Leinster. He edits the text from the *Book of Ballymote* and *Laud* 610. With reference to the first item he says in a footnote : Dieser Abschnitt findet sich auch im Buch von Leinster p. 30 d. Z. 29 (Faks), and with reference to the second item, in another footnote : Diese Liste steht auch LL. 30 d unten (Faks). On p. v, line 28 of the Preface, for 51a read 51b; on p. xii, line 15 of the Introduction, for O'Clery (p. 224) read O'Clery (p. 123 b) ; p. xxiii line 18 delete 32-33 and 70-71 and substitute 106 ; p. xxiii line 24 add after (1891) 32-33 ; 71 ; p. xxv line 17 for 612 read 600 ; p. xxi for Rúadrí mac Tairdelbaig Húa Conchobair read preferably Rúadrí mac Tairdelbaig Huí Chonchobair. The text edited by Thurneysen in *Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern* 1. (1912), 73-77 is said by Dr Best (p. xxiii) to be based on the manuscript H. I. 15. In fact this is not so ; the edition in question is based on *The Book of Leinster* with variants cited from H. I. 15.

The Royal Irish Academy manuscript 23 N 10 has been for long recognized as a manuscript of exceptional interest and importance. Over sixty years ago, that great pioneer in the editing of material written in Early Irish, Kuno Meyer, first used it in editing an important text. In subsequent years he published the greater part of the manuscript.

In 1912 Thurneysen in *Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern* communicated his discovery that this manuscript, compiled in 1575, in fact preserved a large portion of the famous but lost Irish manuscript known as the *Cín Dromma Snechtai*. Thurneysen then attributed the Cín to the early eighth century. Many years later, in 1936, in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* xx, 217-18 he revised that view and dated the *Cín* in the tenth century.[1] That he did so on insufficient grounds has been convincingly shown by Professor Gerard Murphy in *Ériu*, xvi, 145-151.

The manuscript consists of 14 leaves of vellum and 61 of paper. It was written by three scribes in the home of Seán Ó Maoilchonaire in Ballycumin

[1] Dr Best might havenoted this in his introduction; he cites Thurneysen's earlier dating only.

on Loch Bó Deirge on the Shannon. A scribal note on p. 77 laments the departure for Spain in March, 1575 of James Fitzmaurice.

The Irish Manuscripts Commission is to be congratulated on the choice and the quality of this work. Dr Best, Chairman of the Commission, contributes an introduction, giving a history of the manuscript and a description of its content. The collotype facsimile executed at the Ordnance Survey, Dublin is excellent. It is interesting to note that it was made, not from the manuscript, which was " gauze-netted " in 1920, but from photographs which the late Dr Bergin had commissioned in 1915. He realized that the thin and fragile paper was likely further to deteriorate. Thus he, who did so much for the Irish language during his life-time, now renders to it an important posthumous service.

FRANCIS SHAW

THE VALLHAGER EXCAVATIONS

VALLHAGAR : A Migration Period Settlement on Gotland, Sweden. Edited by Marten Stenberger in collaboration with Ole Klindt-Jensen. Ejnar Munksgaards Forlag. Copenhagen and Stockholm, 1955. Dan. Kr. 200, 30 or £10.10s.

SOME years ago Dr Stenberger (now Professor Stenberger of the University of Uppsala) lectured to the Archaeological Society of University College, Dublin, on his excavations at Vallhagar. Two words typified what he had to say of his researches—care and co-operation. Now in this splendid publication (of just over 1,200 pages in two great volumes) the same remains true.

The remains at Vallhagar consist of twenty-four buildings, burial cairns, two cemeteries (one of which was contemporary with the settlement), ancient field-fences, roads and wells. Belonging to what in Scandinavia is designated the Middle of the Iron Age, it is believed to be the most extensive group of such remains in the whole of the North. Each of the groups—buildings, grave-fields, fences and a neighbouring hillfort—received attention from the excavators and each site is reported on separately by its individual supervisor. There are no impressive examples of stratifigraphy, no great vertical sections but the care, which has been mentioned as an outstanding characteristic of the work, was exercised in obtaining a maximum of information from each of the sites, and all is recorded in detail on plans, by photographs and in the descriptions.

The co-operation which is the second distinguishing feature of the undertaking is evident in two respects. In the first place, the excavation was begun in 1946 (it lasted until 1950) as a gesture of international good-will initiated by Sweden, but including among its workers colleagues and students from each of the Scandinavian countries and from England, Germany, the United States of America and Esthonia. That the surroundings of the excavation site were pleasant is demonstrated by the photographs of the Gotland landscape which illustrate the discussions on local topography, and it is evident that the work was conducted in a spirit not only of high scientific endeavour, but also of youthful holiday happiness. Finance for the excavation and for this sumptuous publication came from diverse sources—private individuals, institutions, foundations and business firms. H.M. the King of Sweden gave

his support and, as Crown Prince, personally took part in the excavations. The Swedish Royal Air Force photographed the excavations and the surroundings, the Director-General of Antiquities lent his name and prestige to further the project and the publishers of a book which dealt with "a dramatic event in the early history of Gotland" devoted the profits to the furtherance of the excavation.

All this was co-operation which made the researches possible, but perhaps even more impressive is the manner in which Professor Stenberger enlisted specialists in related fields of science. Because of their assistance we are given exhaustive accounts of every aspect of the Vallhagar area and of the results of the excavation. How much work has gone into these individual contributions is indicated by the statement by Dr Gejvall in his report on the cremated remains that "in round numbers 250,000 fragments (of cremated bone) have been twice or more examined". There are contributions on the geographical and geological background, on the botany of the settlement, the animals, the bird life and on the economy and the daily life of the ancient inhabitants. As an example of specialist research the soil maps showing phosphate content (an indication of ancient habitation) are especially impressive. A series of chapters analyse the house-plans from the view-point of the reconstruction of the buildings—a highly technical if somewhat speculative process. Their relationships with other excavated sites and with ancient and modern parallels are also dealt with. The finds are not only described, but are studied for the light they give on the way of life of the dwellers at Vallhagar and on chronology and contacts.

All this adds up to a picture of the life of a Gotland farming community—of probably five families at any one time—from the second century A.D. to the middle of the sixth. The farmers depended largely on their cattle and to a lesser extent on tillage—no querns were found, but one of the houses had a baking oven. Most of the needs were supplied locally, but the inhabitants evidently had sufficient wealth to import certain commodities, such as glass, from Continental sources. The fact that Gotlanders then and for several centuries after were still pagans, who buried grave-offerings with their dead, made a considerable number of associated finds available for close dating. For this reason the Swedish archaeologists are more readily able to date everyday material than are the excavators of similar finds in this country. Hence some of the discussions on the chronology and purpose of such things as the Vallhagar iron objects are of considerable interest for us in Ireland.

The Vallhagar settlement came to an end about A.D. 550 or a little later, and in general Gotland and Öland also seem to have become virtually depopulated. The time of this occurrence can be fixed with confidence on the basis of the rich gold hoards—so many of which contained coins of the Eastern or Western Empires. The cause of the depopulation is much less certain, but Stenberger, after reviewing all the theories, argues cogently for war-time unrest, but does not attempt to define more explicitly the actual events.

After the sixth century the Vallhagar settlement was deserted. It suffered to some extent from farming operations but remained unrecognized as an antiquity until 1896, when the state was forced to record it as a result of a strange legal process on the part of the local inhabitants. Its houses and other

remains were then officially protected. Half a century later this excavation was initiated. On its results and on its publication, high praise and congratulations are due to Professor Stenberger, Dr Klindt-Jensen and their colleagues.

SEÁN P. Ó RÍORDÁIN

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

ECONOMICS AND PUBLIC POLICY. Brookings Lectures, 1954. Washington: The Brookings Institution. 1955. Pp. 157. $2.

IN 1954 the Brookings Institution invited six leading economists to discuss economics and its application to policy problems. The content of these lectures forms the subject matter of this book.

Since the lectures are concerned with separate aspects of policy as the concern of economics, the usual overlapping that one finds in selections of this nature is largely avoided. The theme pursued by each writer has its own particular interest and fascination. Of the six lecturers, two are British and four are American. The British economists in the persons of Professors John Jewkes and Lionel Robbins deal with, "The Economist and Economic Change" and "Freedom and Order", respectively. The Americans, Professors Arthur Smithies, Joseph Spengler, Frank Knight and Jacob Viner take as subjects of discussion, "Economic Welfare and Policy"; "From Theory to Public Policy"; "Economic Objectives in a Changing World" and "International Trade Theory and its Present Day Relevance", respectively. These subjects are all so allied that the separate lectures might be chapters in the same book.

To keep the good wine until last is not always a good policy to follow, especially when one is aware of the law of diminishing marginal utility. In most cases it is best to arrest attention with first impressions. To my mind the selectors have done just this in placing Smithies's illuminating and most intelligible lecture at the top of the bill. The topics dealt with by Smithies are always of interest because they are fundamental. The relationship of economics to other disciplines, the economist's place and duties in the formulation of policies, the prescriptions of welfare economics and their relevance to policy making, the economic objectives of societies—these are the issues that are spotlighted again and again in discussion. Professor Smithies has something stimulating and interesting to say on all these points. If some of the observations are not altogether new, at least they lose nothing of their importance for that.

Before one can discuss the usefulness of theory as a guide to policy, it is Spengler's belief, distinction must be made between policy objectives on the one hand and institutional arrangements designed for their realization on the other. Only in this way can the actual outcome of policy be measured against the intended outcome. This distinction can serve as a guide to choosing the objectives that can be most readily realized, or realized more effectively by one course of action rather than another.

That theory has contributed to the formulation of policy in the past can easily be proved by an appeal to history. Monetary and foreign exchange policies in recent times have largely grown out of economic theory. But the use of theory as a guide to policy obviously has its limitation, as Spengler

points out. Hypotheses upon which theory is based may not be in keeping with reality. Secondly, their number admits of a whole range of policy combinations. In addition theories may be based on obsolete data or may be of too elastic a nature to fit the solving of problems of a specific kind.

For those who are interested in international trade, Professor Viner's lecture will prove a most interesting contribution. On the whole, Viner's thesis, that the degree of change since the nineteenth century, in the basic circumstances under which international trade is carried on, warrants a new approach from the theorist, seems more tenable than that of Haberler. Professor Haberler would have us believe that the classical theory still fits the present circumstances sufficiently well to be still relevant. The large portion of world trade carried on by Communist countries alone would tend to refute that idea.

That history repeats itself is disproved by the history books themselves. While many may find themselves in a large measure of agreement with Jewkes on his main premises of the incapacity of the economist to act as prognosticator, few might agree with him that the economist should almost exclusively devote himself to a study of history. This conclusion hardly seems to follow from his lack of confidence in history.

For clarity, significance or ease of style, Robbins's essay in this collection must vie with that of Smithies for leadership. The reading of Robbins's contribution presents a warm relief from the abstruse dictates of Knight on what is largely the same subject, the conflict of freedom and justice. There is nothing of importance said by Knight that Robbins does not say, and yet the impressions created by the two essays are completely different. Knight's philosophical treatment of the subject leaves one with a blurred vision of conflict between two ultimately non-compatible ends. Robbins brings into sharp focus the incoherency of the pursuit of liberty and justice.

It is Robbin's thesis that freedom is a desirable end, since only by having freedom can an individual fulfil his aspirations and achieve his proper destinies. Nevertheless authority backed by force is necessary for the functioning of society, of which the individual must be a part. The degree to which freedom and order can be jointly pursued is the crucial question for society. Complete authoritarianism is open to two objections : first, it is inefficient economically; it can never cater for individual needs like the system of private enterprise. Secondly, it is destructive of the desirable objective, freedom.

Complete *laissez-faire* on the other hand is also open to objection. There are universally accepted fields of desirable state action, like the maintenance of defence and internal order. Secondly, there are worthy projects which can only be undertaken at national levels, like highway construction, irrigation schemes, etc. Thirdly, the ability to pursue one's interests may in some instances be lacking. In addition private interest often conflicts with the interests of society as a whole. Finally, economic equilibrium may take place at a low or a high level of activity. There is no guarantee that a *laissez-faire* system will automatically attain full employment conditions. In all these cases some state intervention is necessary.

Professor Lionel Robbins is willing, however, to hedge still further the free activities of individuals with even more widespread and far reaching governmental regulation. If state interference is introduced piecemeal on every

conceivable pretext, will not this process finally lead to a total abolition of individual freedom ? There may be cases where state action at first seems to be desirable. On closer analysis it may appear that the cost of such state activity, in terms of scarce resources or of the negation of freedom, is excessive. If freedom is to be preserved at all, in an era when liberalism is at a discount, the dice must be heavily loaded against state inundation of the private sector. State action, unlike the felon under the law, must be adjudged guilty, until proved innocent. Loss of freedom must be the bedfellow of mute acceptance of state intervention.

Economics and Public Policy is stimulating and provocative. For the business man, students of government and public affairs, no less than for students making a serious study of economics, the reading of this book is imperative.

MICHAEL J. KAVANAGH

CO-RESPONSIBILITY IN INDUSTRY. Social Justice in Labour-Management Relations. By Jeremiah Newman, Professor of Sociology, St Patrick's College, Maynooth. With a Preface by Michael P. Fogarty. Dublin : M. H. Gill and Son, Ltd. 1955. Pp. xxiii and 187. Price 13s. 6d.

As long ago as 1937 an Irish trade union leader, the late Senator Seán Campbell, declared that one of the chief aims of modern Irish trade unionism was to secure some share in the direction and control of industry on which the livelihood, security and comfort of workers depend. During the War and post-War years more urgent concerns pushed these aspirations into the background. For the past five years or so, however, the theme of workers' co-partnership has recurred with some frequency in the lectures of Irish sociologists and trade unionists. The subject is a highly actual one in many of the leading industrial countries. The West-German controversies about *Mitbestimmung* (co-determination) and the series of authoritative papal pronouncements which they occasioned have made Catholics generally aware of the problems of workers' control. In some thirty countries, Dr Newman observes, machinery of some kind to cater for co-responsibility now exists. His book is, therefore, timely.

Here we have, then, in clear non-technical language, an excellent and up-to-date introduction to the theory and practice of workers' co-management and joint consultation. For that is the sense in which the term " co-responsibility " is used throughout the book. There is question not so much of profit-sharing or co-ownership as of participation by employees through suggestion, consultation or, even, decision-making in the direction of enterprises in which they are employed. And further precision is necessary ; for co-responsibility, like co-management, is a word of wide connotation. It may mean a sharing by workers in the regulation of social and personnel problems in the factory ; or it may embrace also technical and economic issues ; and these latter may include commercial and financial decisions which hitherto have been the exclusive prerogative of management. Even in quite recent times the very mention of such proposals has made Irish employers bristle with indignation. And, no doubt, trade-union pretensions have sometimes been ill-considered and extreme. But, on the other hand, employers and management would be well advised to hear patiently and with unbiassed minds the case for co-responsibility. Their own economic interest, as well as their Christian duty, may be

involved ; and they will find the suggestions of such a book as Dr Newman's by no means outrageous.

The opening chapter summarizes Catholic doctrine on co-responsibility. Three subsequent chapters give useful accounts and judicious appraisals of contemporary achievements in this line in Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, the United States and Britain. In two concluding chapters, Dr Newman makes suggestions for the development of co-responsibility in Ireland. While holding before Irish industry a noble ideal, his views are everywhere marked by sober realism and a thorough awareness of what may, and what may not, be hoped-for in our concrete circumstances.

In 1931, Pope Pius XI had counselled that, wherever feasible, the wage-contract should be tempered by some admixture of the contract of partnership, so as to admit employees to some share in ownership, profits and management. The present Pontiff's directives have concerned mainly employees' co-responsibility on the level of the enterprise. Indeed, Dr Newman considers that in this matter the present Holy Father has made one of his principal contributions to Catholic social teaching. Employees have not a strict right to co-responsibility in virtue of the wage-contract ; the rights of private ownership must also be safeguarded. But the needs of social justice may demand it, and, in certain cases, it would be expedient to enjoin it by legislation. The papal statements, it would seem, disapprove of that form of co-responsibility in which the trade unions directly appoint the workers' representatives to the enterprise councils by which joint management is operated. Rather, the workers' delegates on such bodies should be chosen from those actually employed in the enterprise concerned, and chosen by their fellow-workers in that enterprise, though it may be required that they be trade union members.

The author repeatedly illustrates from the experience of other countries the disadvantages of direct trade-union representation. It opens the door to socialism, and it fails to satisfy the worker's aspiration to have a say in running the enterprise where he works. The Holy Father, in his commendation of co-responsibility, values it particularly as a means of humanizing industrial relations. The Malines Catholic Union of Sociologists emphasizes the same aspect : " The question of workers' participation in control can be looked at from several angles. It is not enough to take a stand in defence of private property and repel certain unjustified attacks upon it. Human personality also deserves attention ; its rights and its call to grow and develop in and through work. Men and women are entitled to respect for their dignity and freedom and their independence . . . They should find in their work the means of bringing the best out of themselves . . . There must, therefore, be a chance to use to good effect initiative, imagination, the power to think and reflect, and a sense of responsibility. The wage-earner, the subordinate, who is that and nothing else cannot find in his work any opening for development along these lines ". (Statement of 1953) From the socio-economic viewpoint the advantages of co-responsibility are that it promotes industrial harmony, increases efficiency by giving employees a heightened personal interest in the business and is calculated to lessen the number of industrial disputes.

Compared with other European countries, Ireland's effort to build up a manufacturing industry comes very late. We are acutely aware of the

economic disadvantages of this, but we should take comfort in recalling that our very tardiness brings valuable social opportunities, notably that of learning from the experiences and, at times, mistakes of other countries. The opposing fronts of capital and labour have not yet had time here to harden into inveterate and traditional hostility. Can we check the growth of the class-war mentality by fostering instead the Christian collaboration of management and men for the common good of their industries and of the community? It is in this hope that Dr Newman ends his book with an earnest but well-reasoned plea for the setting up of works councils in Irish industrial concerns. The need for such bodies was sensed in the 1955 Irish Factories Act, but nothing was done about it. The rights and authority of trade unions would not be impaired by the existence of works councils. They would be eminently in accord with the requirements of social justice in our contemporary circumstances. And they would be a first step towards that Vocational Order which seems almost as remote now as it did in 1943. Could it be that it is precisely the omission of such a modest initial step which is causing the Vocational Organization movement to hang fire?

I finished reading this book deeply impressed by the author's zeal and industry, and grateful to him for a concise, lucid account of a contemporary social issue. It is highly fitting that such valuable light and guidance to Irish industry should come from the Maynooth Chair of Sociology. Messrs Gill, too, deserve a word of commendation for a well-produced book which is good value at 13s. 6d. It is to be hoped that Irish employers, trade union leaders, as well as our happily-increasing number of social-study circles and lecture courses, will buy and read this book. They owe that much to the initiative of both author and publisher; and they will find it worth their while.

MICHAEL CONNOLLY

MEDIEVAL POLITICAL IDEAS. By Ewart Lewis. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1954. 2 vols. 45s. the set.

FOUNDATIONS OF THE CONCILIAR THEORY. By Brian Tierney. Cambridge University Press. 1955. 27s. 6d.

MRS LEWIS, an American writer of some notable articles on the nature of the medieval State, has now set herself the task of making an anthology of extracts from the original sources of political thought of the centuries between the Investiture Contest and the Renaissance. A topical arrangement has been adopted, ranging from the idea of law in the first chapter to relations between *Regnum* and *Sacerdotium* in the last. Each chapter is prefaced by a long general introduction and each series of extracts is preceded by a brief biographical sketch of its author. The first of the two volumes into which the work is divided deals with the political community in its secular aspect, while the second is mainly concerned with its ecclesiastical relationships, which Mrs Lewis regards as "the dominant problem of medieval political thought" (p. 506).

The book is intended primarily for the non-specialist student and in some ways it should be useful to him. Mrs Lewis is particularly helpful on her own field of research—the structure of the medieval State and its relationship to its individual members. She recapitulates her previous criticisms

of Gierke's definition of " truly medieval " political theory as " organic ". Her own view is that " elements of the theory we call organic can form, and have formed, stable compounds with elements from individualistic theory " (p. 193). She holds that such a combination was normal for nearly all medieval thinkers. When she speaks of the distinction between the earlier and later Middle Ages in terms of the growth of ideas of representation, Mrs Lewis does in fact throw much light on vexed questions like the nature of feudalism and the origins of the modern national State.

Yet the book has grave flaws. The translations, though they read easily enough, are demonstrably shaky in places. Mrs Lewis is not above the complete " howler ". It is astonishing to find the seventeenth article of Gregory VII's *Dictatus Papae* (" Quod nullum capitulum nullusque liber canonicus habeatur absque nullius auctoritate ") translated as : " That no chapter and no free canonry exists without this authority " (p. 381), a completely misleading rendering, since the article is actually referring to the authentication of collections of Canon Law. In other cases the translation, if not as badly inaccurate as the above specimen, slurs over and fails to bring out the full meaning of the original. Thus Ockham's phrase, " Omnis enim principatus aut ordinatur principaliter ad bonum seu conferens commune bonum—", is rendered as : " For every principate is either ordained principally to the common good—", (p. 300) which is not completely what Ockham's text says. These slips detract from the value of the book.

Nor is the exposition as complete as it might have been. Mrs Lewis follows the Carlyles and McIlwain in concentrating attention on the " publicists " (an ambiguous if irreplaceable word). The lawyers, canonist and civilian, get lamentably little attention. The civilians indeed do not figure in a single extract throughout the entire two volumes, while the canonists are represented only by Gratian and Rufinus. This gap is astonishing when one considers the recent progress in the knowledge of *utriusque iuris*, thanks to the work of scholars such as Kuttner, Ullmann, Tierney and Gaines Post. Mrs Lewis herself acknowledges that " . . . the central political problem of the Middle Ages was the thrashing out of all the implications involved in conceiving the kingdom and the church as corporate communities " (p. 201). It is all the more regrettable that she gives hardly any indication of the range and importance of the legal contribution to that very problem.

As if to point the contrast, the other book to be reviewed here makes an important original contribution to canonistic studies, neglect of which is not peculiar to Mrs Lewis. Dr Tierney's contention is that " Conciliar " thinkers derived as much from the traditions of canonistic commentary and opinions as did the stauncher defenders of Papal *plenitudo potestatis*. In Dr Tierney's own words : " The widespread assumption that there was one single canonistic theory of Church government which was adequately reflected in the works of such publicists as Giles of Rome or Augustinus Triumphus, does scant justice to the richness and diversity of canonistic speculation in this field. The theories of the more extreme papal publicists do indeed reflect one trend of canonistic thought, but the conciliar arguments in favour of a limitation of papal authority by Council and cardinals reflect another ; both parties alike drew their weapons from the canonists' armoury." (p. 13)

In pursuance of his thesis Dr Tierney is not content, as were Arquillière and Martin, to trace the antecedents of Conciliar thought no further back than the early fourteenth century. Thinkers like John of Paris and Durandus of Mende were merely drawing out the implications of hints scattered through canonistic writings. The eleventh century Decretists had been aware of the problems posed in defining the location of the Church's unerring authority. Thus the allegedly novel suggestion of Ockham's *Dialogus*, which " . . . envisaged . . . the failure of faith in all the responsible men of the Church, and its survival in women, children or idiots " (p. 45) can be shown to have been anticipated by certain Decretist discussions of the nature of the *Romana Ecclesia*. Already in Decretist comments on a well-known text of Gratian had been envisaged the possibility of deposing a Pope in certain circumstances, and there are hints of a theory of Conciliar supremacy. But the Decretists were lacking in " . . . a capacity for patient systematization and painstaking analysis of abstract concepts " (p. 84). These qualities the Decretalists of the next century were to supply.

The great achievement of the thirteenth century Decretalists, according to Dr Tierney, was to work out the principles of ecclesiastical " corporation law", already governing in practical application the everyday life of individual communities (such as cathedral chapters and religious orders) within the Church. The relation of a bishop to his chapter in Decretalist discussions formed a pattern which later and bolder spirits were to apply to the relationship of the Pope to his Cardinals and even to the whole *congregatio fidelium*. " The Conciliar Theory," says Dr Tierney, " sprang from the impregnation of Decretist ecclesiology by Decretalist corporation concepts " (p. 245). It needed only the addition of the more enkindling concept of the Church as the *corpus mysticum* of Christ to the dry legalism of the " corporation doctrine " to provide men like Gerson and Dietrich of Niem, in their very different ways, with their fanatical devotion to the cause of Conciliar government.

Dr Tierney's excellent book is packed with new suggestions on a sound basis of scholarship. Future and much needed historians of the Conciliar period will certainly have to take account of his findings.

JOHN B. MORRALL

RELIGION

DAS GRABTUCH VON TURIN. By Werner Bulst, S.J. Frankfurt : Josef Knecht. 1955. 142 pp. & 36 plates. DM 12, 80.

THE last issue of *Studies* reviewed two books on the Holy Shroud of Turin, by Dr Barbet and Fr O'Connell. Neither author has uttered the last word on the subject. That last word, in the sense of a definitive verdict on the authenticity of the Shroud, will possibly never be uttered, for the evidence is gappy and if not contradictory, at least far from complementary. Experts in medicine and the history of art and textiles declare mainly for the authenticity, because the nature and markings of the Shroud are to them inexplicable unless it be the burial-sheet of the crucified Christ. Historians are mainly sceptical, and for this reason : the first historical document referring unmistak-

ably to the Shroud dates from 1389, when Bishop Peter of Arcis denounced it to the Antipope as a forgery.

Many of the experts who have tackled the problem have brushed aside too casually all evidence except their own. The historical case was put powerfully by Fr Thurston, S.J., who in the *Catholic Encyclopoedia* rejected the authenticity. From Vignon in 1902 to Barbet and Mödder in very recent years, the medical men have built up imposing evidence on the other side. Between the two extremes, the photographers, archaeologists, art historians, textile experts, Scripture exegetes and many others have had a valuable word to say. Now Fr Bulst, himself a Professor of Exegesis, has tried to confront and reconcile the many sets of evidence. His book has been preparing through many years of study and discussion, and if it retains some of the flavour of a laboratory report, it is a most satisfactory report, which sets forth his conclusions in ninety-four pages of text, and consigns the back-stage squabbles, the experiments, arguments, references and bibliography to thirty crowded pages of notes. Even if all his conclusions were false, the book would still be precious for its superb photographic reproductions, including two folding pictures of the full Shroud, in positive and negative, and a magnified detail on which the very weave of the cloth can be studied.

One can safely say that no book, even on the Continent, has presented so concise and all-round an assessment of the evidence for and against the authenticity of the Shroud ; and this careful scholar ranges himself confidently with the Shroud's defenders. He has been accused of a propagandist selection of evidence, but unjustly. The strongest argument of the sceptics, the historical, is presented cogently and indeed unanswerably. But it is essentially an argument from silence, which loses force in face of medical experiments. The more we know about the effects of crucifixion, the more certain it becomes that only a crucified man could have made the marks on the Shroud. Not the thirteenth century, not even the nineteenth, had a fraction of the knowledge needed to forge accurately a relic like this.

Could anything further be done to make the authenticity more certain ? Examination by spectroscope or chemical analysis would identify the marks definitely as blood or paint or deposit of aloes. But the ownership of the Shroud is disputed between the Holy See and the House of Savoy, and it is unlikely that either claimant would consent to such a judgment of Solomon (involving mutilation of the cloth) in order to convince the dwindling band of sceptics. It remains to be explained where the Shroud lay from 30 to 1350 A.D., for its connection with the cloths seen in Jerusalem by Bishop Arculph, and in Constantinople by various medieval travellers, is very questionable. Fr Bulst's tentative conjectures are here less convincing than the well-informed scepticism of Fr Thurston (vd. *The Month*, July 1930). Nor has he answered Fr Thurston's question—Why should the colours of the Shroud, which were still vivid in the sixteenth century, " have retained their brilliance through countless journeys and changes of climate for fifteen centuries, and then in four centuries more have become almost invisible ? "

The last word on the Holy Shroud has not been written, and as the evidence stands, one must believe in order to understand. But for the believer, the relic so superbly pictured in this book becomes what an enthusiast has called "The Fifth Gospel", and Fr Bulst's book forms for it our most catholic commentary.

PAUL ANDREWS

SURPRISING MYSTICS. By Herbert Thurston, S.J. Edited by J. H. Crehan, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1955. Pp. ix, 238. 18s.

AT the height of a controversy on the origins of the Rosary devotion, Fr Thurston wrote to Abbot Gasquet: "I have not the slightest wish to pose as an iconoclast; all my instincts are conservative." But English Catholicism had at the time emerged just so far from the self-defensive attitude of the Penal Days as to make possible a critical view of the history of the Church, and Fr Thurston was driven both by his immense knowledge of the sources of religious history, and by the explicit rule of his Order, to strive that in all things the truth might appear, irrespective of which party might seem to have the upper hand. Legend after legend exploded at his touch and in hagiography the emphasis was shifted from the colourful but questionable, to the solidly Christian. Even though the story of Fr Gallwey's last request: "Herbert, leave us the Blessed Trinity", is itself a legend, there were few devotions which did not benefit in some way from Fr Thurston's pruning hand.

The gentleness and care of that pruning hand are perhaps the strongest impression left by the book under review. Here are fourteen articles on men and women "whose lives though outwardly pious were so strange that the Church hesitated to give them her unequivocal approval". In each case an extreme preoccupation with religious matters is combined with phenomena that seem to defy natural explanation, stigmata, levitation, clairvoyance, inedia, immunity from the effect of fire, revelations which are unaccountably accurate in many points, but invariably mixed with inaccuracies. Only one case does Fr Thurston pronounce undoubtedly insane, John Thom of Kent, who claimed to have the stigmata, to be the Messiah and to be impervious to bullets. When he led a rising in 1838, this last claim was tested and found wanting.

The other cases described are all Catholics and all women, some of heroic virtue. In all else they showed the most astonishing variety of gifts. There is Margery Kempe, whose only consolation was in weeping for many hours together, with loud and marvellous cries; Anne Catherine Emmerich, whose recorded visions show an inexplicable knowledge of Near Eastern geography, but on astronomy ("The Milky Way is formed of watery globules like crystals. It seems as if the good spirits battle therein.") or on the Life of Our Lord are hopelessly at variance with known facts or with the revelations of other equally holy mystics. There is Christina of Saint-Trond, who in the middle of a pious conversation "would suddenly and unexpectedly be rapt by the spirit and her body would rotate whirlingly like a child's hoop, revolving so rapidly that it was impossible to distinguish the outline of her separate

limbs". Fr Thurston comments: "This extraordinary limpness of body and flexibility of limb seem to belong more to the character of an acrobat or contortionist than to that of a pious virgin of Christ."

It would be hard to keep one's head and one's sense of reverence in face of such bewildering eccentricities were the guide anyone less sane and experienced than Fr Thurston. He gauges the value of every account with the care of a Bollandist and, having presented the facts, is humble enough to refrain from any definitive explanation of these extraordinary phenomena. He notes that most stigmatics have, from a medical point of view, a bad family history; that they have nearly always given evidence of a congenital pre-disposition to such disorders as tuberculosis or hysteria, or else have been exposed to some abnormal shock to the system. He himself is inclined to a pathological rather than a supernatural explanation of some of the stigmata he describes. He establishes, in any case, that they are not invariably associated with heroic sanctity, and that they are sometimes accompanied by revelations and visions in which truth is mixed with manifest invention. Surely gifts of such doubtful alloy could not be from God.

We still do not know enough about the potentialities of the human person to explain how stigmata, inedia, clairvoyance and the like could come about naturally, although Fr Crehan's valuable notes show how, even in the twenty or thirty years since these articles were written (they all appeared originally in *The Month* or *The Tablet*), some explanations have been eliminated and some shown more probable. Whatever the explanation, here is a book of absorbing interest, not for the spiritual reader or the psychologist only, but for anyone with a taste for surprises.

PAUL ANDREWS

RUFINUS. A COMMENTARY ON THE APOSTLES' CREED. Translated and annotated by J. N. D. Kelly, D.D. (Oxon). London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1955. 25s.

RUFINUS is known, mainly or merely, as the object of St Jerome's wrath and hardly at all as the estimable man that he was. A careful study of Dr Kelly's book will help to correct this perspective and to rehabilitate Rufinus in modern eyes.

He was born in the north of Italy, near Aquileia, towards the middle of the fourth century. He met Jerome first in Rome when they were fellow students, but it was in Aquileia, where (in 368 A.D.) Rufinus joined a community of ascetics and whither Jerome returned after visiting the 'semi-barbarous banks of the Rhine', that the two met again and became fast friends. Jerome was undoubtedly the more brilliant man of the two and must have been, for Rufinus, the object of a certain amount of affectionate hero worship.

Rufinus's troubles started in the year 393 when both he and Jerome were accused of holding erroneous doctrines drawn from Origen. Jerome defended himself and took in bad part Rufinus's refusal to answer the accusation. This was the beginning of the rift between the two, a rift that widened when Rufinus, so tardy to defend himself, rushed to the cause of his friend John, bishop of Jerusalem, against whom similar charges had been made.

Yet Rufinus and Jerome were friends again in 397. But when Rufinus, after his return to Italy in the next year, published, as part of his translation of Greek theology, his inopportune version of Origen's *De Principiis* (in which he claimed to have used Jerome's method and put forth the theory that whatever was erroneous in Origen was interpolated) " Jerome's reaction ", the meiosis is Dr Kelly's, " was characteristically violent ". (p. 5) Henceforth the friendship was at an end and, indeed, great charity is required to distinguish Jerome's attitude to Rufinus from one of hatred. St Augustine was embarrassed by the separation of two such friends and asked " what friend . . . may not be dreaded as a possible foe, if the breach we now deplore could arise between Jerome and Rufinus ? " (p. 92). Largely as a result of Jerome's onslaught, Rufinus knew that his reputation for orthodoxy was now seriously compromised and felt compelled to present his defence to the Pope in person.

At the end of the fourth century Rufinus was back in Aquileia in the company of his friends, Chromatius the bishop, Gaudentius and Paulinus of Nola. He had the friendship and support of Augustine which he never lost. There he bore Jerome's attacks, worked away at his translations (by modern standards too free to be of value, but better than nothing in the Latin Church of the time) and wrote a few original works including the *Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum*. This commentary (which probably owed its undoubted popularity in the middle ages to its being attributed to St Jerome !) he wrote when he was almost sixty years of age, about the year 404.

Dr Kelly's notes throw brief light on many interesting points in the history of theology ; for instance, the eternal generation of the Son (p. 106 notes 24 and 25), the analogy of the mind and its processes to the Blessed Trinity (p. 107 note 26), the distinction of the Logos and the Holy Spirit (p. 114 note 64). But two points of especial interest, for the specialist as well as for the general reader, arise out of Rufinus's text. They are the form in which he gives the Apostles' Creed and his account of the canon of Sacred Scripture.

The Apostles' Creed as we have it today was not adopted by the universal Church until, at the earliest, the ninth century. It was originally a local creed, most probably that current in south-west France in the seventh century which, receiving its importance from the Carolingian reforms, found its way into the solidifying liturgy of the Roman Church. It is important then to show that the received formula of the Apostles' Creed agrees with earlier creeds, with the " form of doctrine " (Rom 6, 17) professed by the Church in earlier centuries. To this end Rufinus's version of the creed has unique importance.

It was James Ussher, Protestant Archbishop of Armagh, who, in 1647, first drew attention to the importance of Rufinus in tracing the history of the Apostles' Creed. Rufinus set out to explain the creed handed down from the Apostles which, he averred, was kept in its authentic form only at Rome. The Roman form was purer than that found anywhere else, because Rome was happily free from heresies requiring the addition of phrases to the original credal formula ; and also, because of the prevailing Roman custom insisting on the public recitation of the creed (*redditio symboli*) before baptism, when any changes would be immediately censured by a critical audience. Nevertheless, for pious and pastoral reasons, Rufinus made his commentary on the

local creed of Aquileia, pointing out the slight and unessential differences between the local version and the creed of Rome, which was the norm.

Ussher reconstructed the Roman creed from Rufinus and then, guided by what Dr Kelly calls an " inspired surmise " (p. 104), saw the close resemblance between his reconstruction and the creed submitted by Marcellus of Ancyra to Pope Julius I in proof of his orthodoxy and loyalty to the Church of Rome. Almost without exception, scholars now agree with Ussher that Marcellus's is indeed an ancient form of the Old Roman Creed and they are satisfied that the version of Rufinus, as well as other local creeds current at the time, stem from it. Moreover, although Marcellus submitted his creed to Julius in 340, sixty years before Rufinus's time, it is possible to show that his formula is much older than that. It is written in Greek, showing no signs of translation, and therefore, presuming (as is reasonable) that it was sent as acceptable and accepted at Rome, Marcellus's creed must date from a period when Greek was the spoken language there. This places the Old Roman Creed in the middle of the third century, at least, and its right to such antiquity is corroborated by a reconstruction, from the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, of a third century interrogatory form of the baptismal creed.

Two important conclusions follow. One is the extraordinary authority granted to the Roman Church in the most ancient times : the other, the immense antiquity of the Old Roman form of the creed, differing only slightly and in accidentals from the version received by Christians since the ninth century. There is no evidence for Rufinus's contention that the creed in its original form was written by the Apostles themselves (much less for the claim that each of the twelve verses was written by one of the Apostles) but his giving the story as traditional in the fourth century shows the great age of the Old Roman Creed.

The other point of especial interest arising from the text concerns the history of the canon of Sacred Scripture. In the fourth century many people were hesitating anxiously over the determination of the canon, although the full Alexandrian collection of thirty-five books had been accepted from Apostolic times by the Church's use of the Septuagint. In giving a list of the books received as canonical in the Church of Aquileia (p. 72) Rufinus follows the usage, common in the east and widespread enough in the west because of Jerome's championship, of excluding the deutero-canonical books of the Alexandrian canon. But, at least, he has abandoned the idea that the number of books must be limited to twenty-two, the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. He lists all twenty-seven books of the New Testament as canonical, and, as well as the twenty-seven protocanonical books of the Old Testament (Lamentations was probably included in Jeremias), he designates the deutero-canonical books, except Baruch, as worthy to be read in church and in private by catechumens. In permitting even this limited acceptance of the full canon, Rufinus may have been opposed to Jerome ; but Jerome's position is very equivocal. The evidence of Rufinus, because he was " one of the greatest Christian travellers of his age " (p. 26), must always be of interest in the study of the tangled history of the canon of Sacred Scripture.

John C. Kelly

SHORTER NOTICES

PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES, Vol. V. Dec. 1955. St Patrick's College, Maynooth. Pp. 167. 7s. 6d.

THE latest number of *Philosophical Studies* is all that a journal of philosophy should be : substantial articles of wide interest ; critical notices which bring a personal contribution to the discussion of the works examined ; book reviews and shorter notices, where objective presentation is coupled with a balanced and independent judgment. Good fare, excellently served, at a reasonable price. One can only accept the offering with a sincere " Thank you! "

The articles are by no means milk for babes ; they demand close reading and sustained reflection. This is particularly true of the two best amongst them : *The Dialectic of Aristotle* by James Hogan and *St Thomas on Divine Causality* by John P. Rock, S.J. Professor Hogan has many good things to say on the Aristotelean presuppositions to induction ; while Fr Rock, it seems to me, has made an original contribution to the understanding of the age-long problem of reconciling infinite and finite causality. These two articles alone would be worth the price of the review. For generous measure we are given Dr James Bastable on *Cardinal Newman's Philosophy of Belief*, Sr M. Aloysius on *The Epistemological Value of Sense-Intuition*, and Fr Edwin Rabbitte, O.F.M. on *Hume's Critique of the Argument from Design. Metaphor and Metaphysics* I found disappointing ; the writing is obscure, the thought inconclusive. Among the Critical Notices Fr Ernan McMullin's discussion of A. G. Van Melsen's *The Philosophy of Nature* is outstanding. JOSEPH O'MARA

ST BRIGID OF IRELAND. By Alice Curtayne. Dublin : Browne and Nolan, Limited. 1955. Revised edition. 10s. 6d.

THIS short but attractive biography is set against the background of contemporary Irish life. The manner in which women, poets, lepers, etc., fitted into that way of life is vividly described. The information is in itself interesting but its value in this book is that it helps us to appreciate the character and achievements of St Brigid.

In present-day Ireland communities of nuns are an accepted feature of life. That St Brigid established such communities all over the country was in her time a startling innovation. Up to then women were tied to the home ; those who had consecrated themselves to God continued to live with their families. It is one measure of the Saint's greatness that she succeeded in breaking through the barrier of this tradition.

Miss Curtayne shows us, too, St Brigid the foundress and organizer and consultor to bishops. But she does not neglect the more human side. We see the Saint's unfailing kindness, her almost reckless hospitality, her simple love of gaiety and good cheer. These are qualities which have endeared her to Irishmen down through the ages.

This book should be of special interest to those who have witnessed the slow growth of monasticism in many missionary countries. Why this should be, when by contrast monasticism was readily accepted in Ireland, is an interesting problem. It is not formally discussed in this book but should suggest itself to and stimulate the mind of this particular type of reader.

JAMES HURLEY

Revival or Survival?

AN EXAMINATION OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE POLICY OF THE STATE

by R. A. BREATNACH
Professor of Irish Language and Literature, University College, Cork

EXACTLY one-third of a century ago the first Government of the newly established Irish state embarked on an enterprise that, could it achieve success, would rank with the greatest triumphs of the human spirit. It was decided that that part of the historic Irish nation which had become independent would become Irish-speaking as well.

For doctrinaire Irish nationalists this was an inevitable decision. Their concept of freedom was clear and unambiguous : Ireland not free only but Gaelic as well. Negatively stated, their aim was to undo the British Conquest, not only in so far as it was a physical domination of the Irish people, but also in so far as it had entailed anglicization of their culture by depriving them of their language. In order to restore Irish nationhood in its full sense, then, political independence was not enough : the Irish people must again become Irish-speaking. However logical the decision may have been, granted the postulates on which it was based, in light of the circumstances of to-day, one can scarcely regard it otherwise than as a decision of political idealists.

He who would choose a future must first come to terms with the past and the present, for the scope of human choice, free and undetermined in theory, is limited in practice by what has happened in history and by existing circumstances. The past had left Ireland, for all practical purposes, an English-speaking people with a divided mind. A quarter of the population had rejected the idea of political independence. Of the three-quarters who chose freedom only a tiny minority had proved themselves convinced adherents of the ideal of an Irish-speaking Ireland. Here, in all conscience, was division enough to give the builders of the future reason to pause. But the ideological conflict was even more complicated than it seemed. The nationalist majority who had chosen to go their own way as free men, in being confronted by their Government with a choice between accepting the reality of a mainly English-speaking state and setting themselves to realize the ideal of a completely Irish-speaking one, were in fact being faced with a triple paradox.

In the first place, acceptance of the ideal could result only in adding a cultural or linguistic dimension to the complex of historical, religious, economic and political differences and prejudices on grounds of which

the Northern Unionists had rejected the Irish nationalist ethos. If these Irishmen of three hundred years' standing, however unreasonably, had refused to come to terms with the majority of their countrymen on the basis of a free Ireland, how could they be expected at a later time to agree to become part of a free Gaelic Ireland in which, whatever safeguards they might be offered, they would seem to be faced in the last analysis with cultural domination or assimilation? A majority of a people has a right, in a democratic order of society, to enforce allegiance on the part of a dissident minority to the political forms it may decide to adopt, in so far as these are in accord with natural justice. It is otherwise in the sphere of culture and language; and with the example of the cultural resistance of the Welsh and the Bretons before us, we might expect that a recalcitrant and powerful minority of a different racial origin from the majority would offer the strongest opposition to entering into a political agreement which would entail acceptance of the cultural or linguistic atavisms of the majority. Hence it would seem that adherence to the Gaelic ideal would make the attainment of a unified Ireland all the more difficult.

The second paradox was of a different nature but was no less crucial. It was the paradox of the political development of the modern Irish nation. In other lands political nationalism and the native culture were related as theory to practice. In Ireland, on the other hand, not only were the two not mutually complementary, but the growth of the former was accompanied by a catastrophic decline in the latter.

In the course of the nineteenth century, in the grip of a perverse Irish version of a secularist doctrine, the Catholic Gaelic nation all but finally severed the cultural links that bound it to its immemorial past. It became a people without a language of their own—a half-nation. In their struggle to throw off the fetters that bound their external lives they accepted, in the rhetorical words of Davis, 'the worst badge of conquest . . . the chain on the soul'. Amongst the great majority of the Irish race, by the end of the century, English had become the language of patriotism, of politics, of religion and of the secret life of the home. From being recognized as the language of 'superior utility', which undoubtedly it was, by 1922, despite the propaganda of the Gaelic League, it had become the language of the nation's 'deep heart's core'. An age-old tradition had been cast off; a new tradition had taken firm root.

And now the Irish people, in effect, were being asked by their Government to repudiate the liturgical language of their nationalist faith. Were they to draw a philosophical distinction between the matter of what all their leaders, thinkers and poets had said and written

for more than four generations and the manner of its saying and writing ? Were the songs of freedom to be sung no more ? Were Irishmen to be stirred no more by the fiery rhetoric of Ireland's romantic national re-awakening or by the new beauty that was born in her literary renaissance ? Was free Ireland to spurn the literature her true-born sons had created in English as a pedigree of perfidy rather than cherish it as a genealogy of genius ? It was hard for Irishmen to believe that the voice of Freedom itself could be counterfeit. Their leaders' saying was indeed a hard saying and, as time has shown, many walked no more with them.

In a way, the third paradox is the most paradoxical of the three, or must have been for the thoughtful Irish nationalist of a generation ago. For the language which the Government proclaimed to be the authentic voice of the new Irish independent state proved on close acquaintance not to be linked, or to be only vaguely linked, to the national cause of liberty as understood by modern Irishmen. Indeed, no better illustration of the truth of Davis's statement that a language is ' a surer barrier, and more important frontier, than fortress or river ' could be found than the fact that in the Gaeltacht areas nationalism made but little impression. Those who came to know the people found that the political and cultural concepts of the doctrine were foreign to their spirit and had left but little trace in their vocabulary.

After more than ten years of native government a middle-aged Irish-speaker whom the writer knew well could say in a burst of confidence : " *Fear maith is ea De Valera, agus fear maith badh ea Cosgrave leis, ach b'fhearr Seán Buí ná éinne acu* ". (By establishing the C.D.B., " Seán Buí " had given the Gaeltacht some of the benefits of the direct, personal government which it needed.) It was the voice of the pre-nationalist Gaelic past—and, as they who had the good fortune to know the Gaelic people of the last generation will recognize, it was not an isolated voice. To a nationalist it may sound more like a craven echo of the ' slave-mind '. In reality it was rather a stage-whisper of Gaelic Ireland's political immaturity.

Even to-day, after thirty years of linguistic nationalism, the mind of the inhabitants of the Irish-speaking areas seems to run in the old track. A couple of years ago, to a visitor who argued in an Irish-speaking gathering in West Kerry that the people of the Gaeltacht should not speak or learn English came the reply, approved by all present : *Nách breá bog atá sé agat ! Beidh t'aghaidh-se soir agus do chúl le faraige i gcionn dhá lá nú trí, agus féach cad é an fhaid soir thar Daingean a thúrfaidh do chuid Gaelainge thu !* For the people of the Gaeltacht, more perhaps than for most of us, life has been and is a hard fact to be faced, not a dream to be dreamt.

Gaelic Ireland—what was left of it—really had little to offer that was to the temper of a state afire with the apocalyptic ideas and the elemental emotions of the new age of triumphant nationalism. Its language, to an English-speaking, modern-minded nationalist, was an anachronism which, in its grammatical structure, resembled Latin rather than modern English. It appeared to have no coherent system of morphology or pronunciation, but varied in forms and sounds from district to district. It was a will-o'-the-wisp language of mountains and moors and out-of-the-way places ; an elusive, wayward, and for those who persevered in the search, a charming, beautiful thing, a pearl beyond price. It was the language of a people who lived by immemorial custom rather than by taking thought, a people for whom there was no intellectual problem but yielded to the ultimate arbitrament of the gnome, and no doubt or fear or pain but found surcease in a simple Faith.

A kindly, courteous, simple, spontaneous people, their real mind was hidden from the stranger behind a barrier of language that was not easily penetrated. One could talk to them only about a limited range of subjects within the sphere of their experience, and one had to beware of using unfamiliar words and expressions. But when one, in humility of spirit, entered the world of their thought—a world of flamboyant eloquence and sparkling wit, of poetry and rhymed prayer and romantic tale, of love-song and lament, of humorous anecdote and picturesque invective, of bitter satire and extempore poetic monologue or dialogue, of proverbial lore and down-to-earth wisdom—one experienced a catharsis, a never-to-be-forgotten cleansing of the spirit.

But a modern nationalist state in search of a linguistic symbol of nationhood could scarcely be expected to be fully satisfied by the discovery of a folk-culture, even though it were, as that of Gaelic Ireland was acknowledged to be, the richest in Europe, and of a language that was medieval rather than modern, lacking, as it did, a modern literature and the terminology essential to life in a twentieth century society. But beggars cannot be choosers—and the long neglected and imperfectly known language of the Gaelic race's death-bed became the symbol of the new-born state's claim to nationhood.

The history of the effort to restore Irish since the establishment of the state is the story of an attempt to give this paradoxical symbol a meaning. In concentrating their attention on resolving the contradiction, successive Governments and advocates of the restoration of Irish appear to have taken little serious account of the other two paradoxes. The Constitution of 1937, which purports to apply to the whole thirty-two county area (Art. 2), does seem to make provision for the

possibility of the exclusive use of English for official purposes in the six-county area if and when the Northern Unionists should agree to end Partition (cf. Art. 8, 3). Yet they must accept Irish as the ' national language ' and the first official language (Art. 8, 1) ; and they are faced with accepting the—possibly for them, enigmatic—affirmation that the Irish nation has the right to develop its cultural life in accordance with its own genius and traditions (Art. 1). Perhaps, however, an authoritative interpretation of the expression ' *do réir dhúchais is gnás a sinsear* ' in the Irish text would reassure the minority that the Anglo-Irish warp may, after all, be crossed with the Gaelic-Irish woof to weave in the times to come one of ' the heavens ' embroidered cloths, enwrought with golden and silver light '.

But there must first come an enlightened change of heart on both sides.

* * *

A less propitious moment could scarcely have been chosen to implement the decision to make the restoration of Irish a primary aim of state policy. The resurgent nation's political achievement had shed all its lustre in the bitter debates of the soldiers turned politicians. Its light had been extinguished utterly in the nemesis of Irish nationalism, when the evangel of physical-force unrestrained by Christian charity received a terrible confutation in a tragic outburst of internecine strife.

A Government of men better schooled in politics, in the art of the possible, would have judged the time inauspicious and held its hand. Men with more understanding of the practical implications of their decision would have realized that a people upon whose eager lips the first draught of the heady wine of freedom had turned to gall could not easily be roused from the torpor of disillusionment into which the Civil War had plunged them. And yet the first implication of the Government's policy, whether it was appreciated or not, was that these bewildered, ordinary, unorganized, uninstructed, happy-go-easy Irish men and women should now, on the cultural plane, take up the old struggle where the soldiers had left off.

Perhaps a great popular leader, an O'Connell or a Parnell, might have succeeded in making them understand the issues at stake ; but it does not seem likely that even O'Connell's demagogy or Parnell's power to command loyalty would have succeeded in rallying them to a cause which promised no tangible reward, proximate or remote, in this life or in the next. Nevertheless, a leader of real genius, by explanation, persuasion and appeal, very probably could have done a great

deal to create the climate of proper pride, enlightened conviction and active sympathy in which a common-sense policy for Irish could bear fruit. However that may be, the opportunity then lost—if opportunity there was to lose—has not recurred, and the state policy ever since has lacked 'the electricity of public opinion'.

Gradually it became apparent that, far from relying on explanation, persuasion and appeal, the state intended to have exclusive recourse to a triad of principles the first of which might well have been expected to provoke that very reaction which, eighty years before, Davis had feared. These were—to use the words in technical senses defined below—*pressure*, *preferment* and *projection*. In every sphere of state influence where it was politic to bring one or more of them into play, the principles were applied. Thousands of men and women, many of them beyond the age of learning Irish or anything else, became subject to them. The writer has known teachers and Civil Servants, patriotic Irishmen of the older tradition, whose legitimate hopes of place or promotion were blighted by the new dispensation and whose lives were soured by what, alas, they came to regard as the tyranny of gaelicization. That generation has passed away, but those who suffered left behind them a heritage of resentment and hostility to the language that only time will obliterate.

Even to-day, when we have come to accept or endure the practice of pressure, preferment and projection as part of the scheme of things, one finds the same antipathy in individuals who have been compelled to 'qualify in Irish' for posts for which they are otherwise fitted and in which a knowledge of the language is of no practical benefit. This reaction may be deplored or roundly condemned by enthusiasts; but they would serve their cause better by remembering that Irishmen are human beings before they become nationalists. Seven hundred years ago it was proverbial that the Irishman was an impatient creature (*is deinmnitach in raet in Gaeidel*, Acallam na Senórach, 4480), and the Conquest did not change his nature. He is still as impatient of the goad as ever he was, whether it be a foreign or a native one.

To describe in any detail the working of the three principles over the whole field of their application would require much more than an essay. That task may be left to a future social historian. The purpose here is the more modest one of illustrating their operation in a general way in so far as an interested onlooker has been able to observe them at work and to judge their effects.

Before an attempt to do this is made, the terms *pressure*, *preferment* and *projection* had better be defined. By *pressure* is meant 'the continued application of constraint'; *preferment* is used in the sense of 'giving

preference, advantage or privilege ' ; and *projection* means ' visualizing and regarding an ideal as an objective reality '.

It must be conceded that, in so far as the principles were not in conflict with reason, justice and truth, the state was entitled to adopt them. It would be more to the point to enquire whether they were adequate for the purpose which they were designed to achieve, namely, to turn 3,000,000 native speakers of English into as many habitual speakers of Irish. It is hard to comprehend how anyone but a political theorist *pur sang* could hope that by such means the minds and private lives of millions of men, women and children should be so profoundly influenced that a significant number of them would, in a free society, deliberately set themselves to re-enact in reverse the process which forced their ancestors, during a period of three centuries, as slaves under a grinding tyranny, to endure the spiritual and cultural impoverishment of giving up their mother tongue. Admittedly, there are indications that the state has begun to recognize its initial and fundamental mistake in casting the people for a passive or off-stage part in a *tour de force* in three acts. But having become accustomed to the role of spectators, they show no sign of willingness to take the stage.

The working of the principle of *pressure* is nowhere more clearly instanced than in the treatment of the Irish language itself. In 1922 it had only a precarious hold as the vehicle of a decaying culture in remote parts of the country. Few people at that time had mastered the vagaries of its phonology, the complexities of its grammatical structure and usage, and the resources of its vocabulary. True, the Gaelic League's pioneer teaching work had produced a number of enthusiastic but, by modern standards, imperfectly equipped teachers imbued with a patriotic zeal which stood them in good stead. Except for the dialect of West Cork, however, there were only the rudiments of an *apparatus paedagogicus* available, and there was only a meagre supply of reading matter in print.

In face of such formidable and well-nigh insuperable obstacles, to compel large numbers of teachers and others, in a matter of months, to acquire somehow a knowledge of Irish and some competence, however slight, to teach, use, adapt and develop it in accordance with the particular needs of a more advanced social *milieu* was to do violence to a delicate and finely-tuned instrument. In the hands of a master, living Irish is a splendid instrument which, with care, kindness and gradual development, can become an effectual medium of refined thought ; but when used for this purpose by one who has learnt it imperfectly, like any other language, it becomes a caricature of its real self.

The immediate result of the act of violence was to put into currency in the schools a travesty of Irish, pronounced as if it were English, which has since become the normal school-room speech outside the Gaeltacht, and which shows signs of spreading to the Radio, to the stage—in fact, to wherever Irish is spoken by non-native speakers. Undoubtedly the development of this hybrid speech was powerfully helped by the constant direct or indirect pressure exerted on teachers to teach more and more Irish, and more and more subjects through that medium to pupils who were only learners of the language at various stages of advancement. It must be emphasized that the teaching body is in no way to blame for this regrettable development, which was an inevitable consequence of a policy that, as the writer knows from personal experience of it, in effect forced a teacher to sacrifice quality for quantity.

Phonetic metamorphosis, neglect of grammatical accuracy, and admission of habits of imprecision in other ways, are not the only evidence of the application of pressure. In the matter of vocabulary, the language was subjected to a course of forced feeding which is still in progress. Undoubtedly much of this was essential. But it was done by nameless committees with neither the necessary direction nor the systematic thoroughness and regard for the resources of Early Modern and dialectical Irish that one might have expected. As a result, private enterprise in inventing technical terms and other words still plays an important part in the work of fitting the language for its new role. For those who have not kept abreast of developments, to read a public notice or a newspaper article or a book on a technical subject is a hazardous enough venture, unless one knows in English what the writer is trying to say in Irish.

But the introduction of new words, even in large numbers, is a comparatively harmless activity. At the worst it may cause temporary confusion and obscurity. The state, however, did not rest content there. Some ten years ago a decision was reached to standardize the spelling of the language for official purposes—a long overdue reform which, had it been restricted to spelling alone, had it been less arbitrary, had it permitted considerably more variant forms to serve the needs of the spoken dialects, and had it been introduced very gradually, would have met with general approval. But in accordance with the axiom that the state can do no wrong and may dispense with consultation in the matter of the ' national language ', the new standard spelling was imposed forthwith, or class by class in the schools.

Many people, fathers and mothers of families and others, who thought they knew some Irish became convinced that the language had undergone a far-reaching sea change which put it beyond their ken. All

modern Irish literature became orthographically obsolete at a stroke of the pen, and since commercial publishers could not be expected to undertake the considerable expense attaching to the wholesale re-editing of their stocks of publications, it was inevitable that many books should go out of print.

Had the reform distinguished clearly between morphology and orthography there would have been less grounds for objecting that it rendered impossible the faithful representation on paper of some of the commonest morphological features of the spoken language. The result is that the works, for instance, of that enlightened champion of '*caint na ndaoine*', An tAthair Peadar, are being transformed in print into a *caint* that differs appreciably from the refined speech of the people which he laboured so long and so devotedly to record and preserve in its purity and integrity.

The heavy hand of the state's pressure threatens to transmogrify the language still further. On the heels of the spelling reform came an even more daring proposal for a radical reformation of the entire morphological system. The proposal was issued as a pamphlet in 1953 under the title *Gramadach na Gaeilge* : *Caighdeán Rannóg an Aistriúcháin*, and was at once taken up in some schools and used as a text-book ; later, on the instructions of the Department of Education, its use was given up. Fortunately the proposal seems to have been shelved. Otherwise the immediate effect would have been, to varying extents, to make all natural Irish ungrammatical and to render all modern writing grammatically obsolete, and to substitute for the traditional dialects an artificial written *koine* that could be studied nowhere in its entirety of pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary as a living speech.

While we may hope that the state has rested from its grammatical labours, we have no assurance that it has done so or that there will not be a further outburst of activity, which, by the arbitrary application of eclectic criteria in this or other directions, may differentiate still more seriously the language taught and written from traditional Irish.

The pressure exerted in the field of education, mainly in the National Schools and to a less extent in the Secondary Schools, in the cause of the language, is so well-known in general outline that there is no need to dwell on the subject. It is to be hoped that someone with longer experience than the writer can claim of the policy as applied in the National Schools will trace in detail its development from the first beginnings to the ultimate stalemate. It can scarcely be denied that the machine designed to mass-produce speakers of Irish has proved to be a lethal contrivance. It was geared to perform the task of establishing infant Gaelic microcosms within an adult English macrocosm. In its

failure to make any impression on the latter, it seems to have produced only apathy and a sense of frustration in the minds of many of those who, more than any others, have borne the burthen of the day and the heat thereof for thirty years. Apart from the effect on the morale of the teachers, amply evidenced by numerous public pronouncements, there is no doubt that the continuous use of pressure methods to propagate Irish in the schools has killed much of the love, joy and pride proper to the teaching and learning of the language ; in the absence of these the study, its patriotic motivation obscured or lost, ceases to have any real meaning and bears only Dead Sea Fruit.

The second of the three tenets of state policy, *preferment,* has been defined as ' giving preference, advantage or privilege ' in order to encourage proficiency in Irish. As one who believes with Davis that ' it would be more useful in life, more serviceable to the taste and genius of young people, and a more flexible accomplishment for an Irish man or woman to speak, sing, and write Irish than French ', the present writer accepts this policy, provided that it be prudently administered. Clearly it was unjust as well as imprudent in the early days of the state to apply a policy of reward and punishment to teachers and officials who, through lack of opportunity or interest, had not learnt Irish in their schooldays.

It is not easy for an outside observer to assess to what extent a knowledge of the language became the *summum bonum* for appointment and promotion throughout the state service, but there is evidence that some prospered whose chief qualification seemed to be a good command of colloquial Irish. Some would say that in practice the state, in a number of spheres of its influence, succeeded only in establishing vested interests that were enemies of the good. But importunate anxiety for ' quick results ' is not a prudent counsellor, and in the prevailing circumstances it was inevitable perhaps that a number of round holes should be filled by square pegs. In any case, the preference given to those endowed by nature with a knowledge of Irish or to those who had made up for nature's deficiency by learning it was only the linguistic counterpart of the political preference which (*cæteris paribus*) was rightly accorded to those who possessed a ' national record '. We must not, then, judge the young state too harshly or allow an instance of understandable zeal on the part of its founders and their successors to blind us to their high motives and praiseworthy qualities.

Yet it is undeniable that preferment may be a dangerous weapon and, consequently, one that needs prudent handling. During the War, for example, the operation of the principle was of necessity suspended for appointments to commissioned rank in the Defence Forces. In

general, too, when the state requires the services of a judge or a lawyer, a doctor or a chemist, an engineer or a business executive, a nurse or a midwife, it finds it impracticable to enforce the condition of competency in Irish or to give its possessor a preference. The same dispensation is applied to members of the Dáil and Senate, and even to Ministers of State. With so many exceptions admitted, our legislators may be acquitted of any general charge of imprudent enforcement of the policy, though their exemption of themselves would appear to impugn their moral right to enforce it at all.

Yet enforced it is, particularly in the field of education. Here, in recent years, the aim appears to be, not simply to ensure a reasonable competency in Irish, but to establish the language as the educational *summum bonum*. In the National Schools, where the state controls the secular curriculum, provides for the training of teachers, prescribes their qualifications, inspects their work and pays them, apparently it was felt that there was no need to go beyond the policy of pressure. The position is otherwise in the Secondary Schools and Colleges where the state has less control. Consequently a correspondingly smaller measure of pressure was practicable, and accordingly it was necessary to institute a system of rewards, in the form of special grants to schools and teachers in return for teaching subjects through the medium of Irish. A summarized account of the existing system may be of interest. The additional payments to schools vary between a maximum of 25 *per cent.* of the annual Capitation Grant, or, at current rates, £4 p.a. for each recognized senior pupil who receives instruction through Irish in all subjects, and a minimum of 2½ *per cent.*, or 5s. 6d. p.a. for each recognized junior pupil who receives instruction in a single subject through Irish. Besides, special awards ranging from £30 p.a. to £50 p.a., tenable for two years, are made to schools in which a high standard of oral Irish – ' determined mainly by an oral examination of a representative number of pupils '—is attained.

Teachers are awarded special increments ' in respect of instruction given through the medium of Irish in subjects other than Irish '. The maximum payment is £36 p.a. and, subject to certain conditions, the basic rate of payment is £2 p.a. in respect of each complete hour of instruction given per week. No figures are available that would permit an estimate to be made of the total cost of these schemes ; but it is clear that a considerable sum of money must be disbursed each year on the score of them.

The system of special benefits also embraces pupils answering in Irish at public examinations, at which, since they are provided—curiously enough—with both the Irish and English versions of the papers, they

may opt for either irrespective of whether they have been taught through Irish or English. The relevant rule is as follows : ' For subjects other than Irish, English, Modern Continental Languages, Mathematics, Elementary Mathematics, and Drawing, bonus marks not exceeding 10 *per cent.*, and for Modern Continental languages, Mathematics and Elementary Mathematics, bonus marks not exceeding 5 *per cent.* of the total marks gained in the subject may be awarded to a candidate obtaining 75 *per cent.* or less. After 75 *per cent.* the bonus will be subjected to a uniform reduction until the candidate who scores 100 per cent. gets no bonus '. An earlier form of the rule prescribed that the percentage bonus would be based, not on the marks actually gained, but on the total of marks allotted to the paper.

Since, in practice, a number of absurd anomalies resulted, a modification of some kind had to be introduced. The amended regulation ensures that no candidate may score, for example, 440 marks in a subject to which a maximum of 400 is assigned ; but it remains true that a pupil who takes the Irish version of the examination paper in any one of Latin, Greek, History, Geography and some other subjects may pass with a mark of 36–37 *per cent.*, as against 40 *per cent.* if the English version is taken. For the award of honours, a mark of 55 *per cent.* may suffice if one answers in Irish, as against 60 *per cent.* if English is used. In competition for scholarships the dice seem to be loaded against the good pupil who has been educated through English, for bonus marks obtained by answering in Irish are counted in determining the order of merit.

Besides the measures described, other steps, which need not be detailed here, have been taken with the object of securing the optimum of consideration for Irish in the Secondary Schools. Enough evidence has been adduced to make the general pattern of the working of the principle of preferment clear. Three main conclusions emerge : first, monetary inducements are a basic feature ; second, in practice, the dividing line between preferment and pressure is not always easy to draw ; and, third, a criterion of merit has been introduced which, in effect, establishes a new scale of intellectual values.

The general question of the effects on education of these measures has long been a matter of controversy, into which the writer does not propose to enter here. Undoubtedly the use of Irish as a medium of instruction increases pupils' knowledge of the language and accustoms them to think in it. But since the special grants for oral Irish referred to above apply to A Schools in common with all others, it is evident that instruction through Irish has little direct bearing on the problem of the substitution of Irish for English as the vernacular of pupils. This conclusion is supported by the writer's own experience of an educational

situation in which, despite a very optimum of factors in favour of the use of Irish, English prevailed as the vernacular. For the generality of pupils in Secondary Schools, it is questionable whether it would not have been more beneficial to introduce a well-integrated, practical General Knowledge Course in Irish, which is really what is most urgently required, rather than the teaching of a great deal of special terminology that is scarcely ever used outside the school-room and the examination.

Observation of First Year University students over a period of ten years gives the general impression that the increase in quantity, which results from teaching subjects through Irish, has been secured at the expense of quality. It is remarkable that so many students who secure high honours marks in Irish at the Leaving Certificate appear to have acquired habits of systematic inaccuracy, particularly in speech, which University courses fail to eradicate.

The establishment of Irish as the *summum bonum,* then, seems to have brought, as far as the language itself is concerned, a minimum of real progress. Certainly the outcome has not been to give the majority of students who have been taught wholly or partly through Irish anything approaching a satisfactory colloquial command of the language. The writer inclines to attribute this result to two main factors : firstly, the necessity for learning by rote when Irish is the medium of instruction, and secondly, the belief that the more widespread the use of Irish as a medium of instruction the less need there is for thoroughness in teaching it as a subject.

Many people, it is true, trimming their sails to the wind from the schools, are disposed to regard the development and spread of incorrect Irish as an inevitable phase which in due time will give way to a second in the course of which the ' incorrect ' in some unexplained way will become ' correct '. But in the field of language, no more than elsewhere, good does not come out of evil. If, by some strange chance, the language as school-children speak it should become the vernacular of any part of the country, without the exertion of an extremely powerful influence and check from the Gaeltacht, it is certain, on the basis of the clear evidence of linguistic history, that it would develop according to laws of its own and diverge still further from traditional Irish. Hence, especially in view of the weak position of the Gaeltacht, it is no mere pedantic predilection to reject ' school Irish ' as a norm which must be temporarily accepted. Further it may be noted that the establishment of a standard literary language would be powerless to impose any real check on the natural development of the new *parole,* for a spoken language evolves independently in accordance with tendencies peculiar to itself.

To countenance in the schools or anywhere else, then, a norm of speech that is not as close an approximation as circumstances allow of

a living dialect would seem to be a fundamental mistake which, by abrogating traditional standards of correctness, could only result in the stultification of the efforts being made to teach and extend Irish as a spoken language. In this connection, we certainly have something to learn from Northern Ireland. There, by the introduction of an oral examination and the imposition of a rule that teachers of Irish must spend a period of residence in the Gaeltacht, it is ensured that the teaching is related to a real standard of living speech.

From one point of view, the question of incorrect Irish could have been approximately treated under the third principle of *projection*, since it is welcomed and even encouraged as an indication that the ideal of a Gaelic Ireland is becoming an objective reality. Unlike the other two principles, the field of action of projection is in the mind, and it works by producing a willing suspension of disbelief and acceptance of make-believe as a sound basis for action in the field of actuality.

Its manifestations are widespread. It may be truly said that the teaching of the language, to a great extent, is based on the assumption that Irish is the mother tongue of the pupils. Hence, from the beginning, what many educationists regard as the most effective instrument at the teacher's disposal is ignored, officially at any rate, and without recourse to English, Irish is supposed to be taught and explained through itself. Excepting Matriculation in the last few years, all papers set at public examinations in Irish follow this practice, admitting neither translation from English nor the use of English for explanation. Text-books, too, when they happen to be annotated—which is regrettably rare in the case of prose works—seldom hint at the existence of the ' second official language '. The opinion of the writer, based on teaching and examining learners of Irish at all stages of advancement during a period of twenty-five years, is that to exclude English completely in this way is to put the intellect in blinkers. Undoubtedly the so-called ' Direct Method ' has certain advantages. When carried to extremes, however, it is in danger of becoming an application of the principle *ignotum per ignotius*, producing a half-knowledge that hinders, rather than helps, thought.

It would be tedious to attempt to list all the forms in which projection manifests itself in the official language policy. It will be enough to say that it ranges from the harmless activity of inventing untranslatable names like *Aer Lingus* (which is neither Irish nor English), *Fógra Fáilte*, *Córas Trachtála*, etc., to translating the Constitution into Irish and ordaining that the translated text shall prevail, as though it were the original, when there is conflict between the Irish and English versions—and this in face of the fact that the Irish text contains a very large number of specially invented terms which can scarcely be said to have any legal or other connotation except by virtue of being equated with English legal terms.

The most baneful effect related to projection remains to be noted. Anyone in touch with the language movement over the last twenty-five years will have become aware of a growing tendency on the part of those in official positions and in public life generally to refrain from criticism of the state's aims, activities and achievements. Whatever one may think or say in private, one must not appear in public to deny the gods of the state or doubt the efficacy of the practices that have been devised. In other words, whether we approve or not of what is being done, lest we injure the ' cause ', we must simulate approval of what may be called, in Canon O'Leary's phrase, *taibhreamh na súl n-oscalta.*

But, as Bacon tells us, " dissimulation is but a faint kind of policy or wisdom ", and he adds, " it is the weaker sort of politics that are the great dissemblers ". Doubtless he would agree that the three disadvantages of simulation and dissimulation apply also to a policy such as we have been considering : " The first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a shrew of fearfulness, which in any business doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark. The second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many that perhaps would co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends. The third and greatest is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is trust and belief."

At this stage it may be useful to summarize what has been said. We noted that the Irish State at the outset was confronted by a situation in which there were three main inter-linked paradoxical elements, the first political, the second historical and the third linguistic. Ignoring the complex of contradictions, it chose to pursue the ideal of an all-Irish-speaking Ireland. This choice was described as a decision of political idealists, because it took too little account of the contrary pull of the immediate past and the opposing press of the present, and because, as events proved, the state was unable to devise a policy adequate to its declared aim. Eschewing the *modus operandi* of explanation, persuasion and appeal, appropriate to an objective that could only be achieved, if at all, by a conscious, enthusiastic and sustained effort on the part of the people, the state resorted to three empirical and inadequate principles, which it put into practice throughout the sphere of its influence. These were pressure, preferment and projection. A selection of illustrations of the operation of the principles then followed, and it was shown that the results were unsatisfactory in a number of ways. Since the reader, on the evidence of his own eyes and ears, is aware of the general outcome, it is scarcely necessary to add that a hoped-for triumph of the human spirit is in danger of ending, unless the facts of the situation are faced, as a *débâcle* of Irish nationality.

It might perhaps be argued that it is too soon yet to conclude that the restoration of Irish as the vernacular has failed outright. Certainly the hopes of a quick success shared by many have been falsified. Yet, one might expect that a language which was three centuries a-dying would take many times thirty years to ' revive '. But there is only one real test of the vigour of a language and, judged by this test, natural Irish is still a rapidly dying speech. According to the Fourth Interim Report on the Census of Population, 1946, the total number of Irish speakers in the Fíor-Ghaeltacht in the ten year period 1936–46 declined by 18,184 or 14.8% to 104,941. In the Fíor-Ghaeltacht areas of Munster, excluding Clare, the total number of Irish speakers recorded was 21,200, representing a decrease of 5,247 or almost 20%. But to anyone who knows the Munster Gaeltachta the figure 21,200 will appear a very considerable over-estimation, for there can scarcely be 10,000 souls in the whole of Kerry, Cork and Waterford to-day who habitually speak Irish as their vernacular ; and in all that area there are not half a dozen whole parishes where Irish is exclusively spoken as the everyday language. In fact, the only part of Irish-speaking Munster where the language still retains a real vernacular vigour is a small district situated to the west of the English-speaking town of Dingle, along the extreme western coast of the Dingle Peninsula.

It would seem, then, whatever the future may hold for Connacht and Donegal Irish, that we must reconcile ourselves to the bitter truth that, after thirty years of control of our own affairs, the sun is about to set on the most literary, the most cultivated, the most influential of all Irish dialects. In face of this calamitous situation, to pretend that the restoration of Irish so far is anything but a disappointing failure is to mock ourselves. To point to the schools where the language is being taught and used as a medium of instruction, to instance the cities and towns where Irish-speaking societies present plays and concerts, and occasionally families are brought up as Irish speakers, to remark the increase in the number of books and papers published in Irish, to note the extensive use of the language on the Radio and on official occasions —to take comfort from such activities as these, praiseworthy though they be, is to mistake the shadow for the substance. Already for more than a generation we have been pursuing the shadow, and all the time the substance of what has remained of Gaelic Ireland has been slipping away from us. Even the very name of the movement the ' Revival of Irish ', *Aithbheochaint na Gaeilge*, reflects our mind's confusion. For our first task is not to ' revive ', but to preserve that which has come down to us : to preserve, develop and, as far as is possible, extend *quae superaverunt fragmenta, ne pereant.*

Had our failure to preserve the fragments of the Gaelic world from further serious decline been offset to any worthwhile extent by success

in our efforts to create a neo-Gaelic one, perhaps history would say we had chosen the better part. But just as we have failed in the more feasible task, we have failed in the far less feasible. To the question *why?* the short answer is perhaps the truer one : because it was an Herculean labour that a people circumstanced and led as the Irish people were, could not be expected to accomplish. The long answer, or part of it at least, is the melancholy chronicle which, out of concern for the survival of the last remaining tangible shreds of Irish nationality, I have been prompted to write. Alas that I should have to tread on a dream to lay bare the grim reality !

The ideal of an all Irish-speaking state is a noble one ; but the lesson to be learned from three decades of effort to achieve it by means of direct action on the part of the state is unmistakable : in the Irish proverbial phrase it is *glac um gha gréine,* grasping at a sunbeam. Davis foretold this when he wrote : " If an attempt were made to introduce Irish, either through the national schools or the courts of law, into the eastern side of the island, it would certainly fail, and the reaction might extinguish it altogether ". We may hope that the patriotism of Irishmen to-day will be proof against the reaction which Davis apprehended. But it is only too evident that the vast majority of them are indifferent to the fate of the language. Acceptance of the *beau idéal* demands a Petrine faith, and all but a few are Thomases, the limits of whose faith and hope do not go beyond what their earth-bound minds give them to understand is possible.

To an apathetic and doubting generation the words of Davis may make an appeal still when less moderate ones have gone unheeded : " It is quite another thing to say, as we do, that the Irish language should be cherished, taught, and esteemed, and that it can be preserved and gradually extended ". It is not the vision splendid, but it is an attainable goal that should not be beyond the powers of ordinary Irishmen to believe in and achieve within another generation.[1]

R. A. Breatnach

[1] This article was written before the new Bill to establish a Ministry for the Gaeltacht was mooted.

Has Soviet Policy Altered?

by JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

MR KRUSHCHEV, one of the two Soviet leaders to visit Britain in April of this year, spoke the following words to a delegation from Eastern Germany on 17 September 1955 :

> We always tell the truth to our friends as well as to our enemies. We are in favour of a detente, but if anybody thinks that for this reason we shall forget about Marx, Engels or Lenin, he is mistaken. This will happen when shrimps learn to whistle. We are for co-existence because there is in the world a capitalist and a Socialist system but we shall always adhere to the building of Socialism. . . . We do not believe that war is necessary to that end. Peaceful competition will be sufficient.

Now, I know nothing of the habits of Russian shrimps and so cannot suggest the length of time they would need for that particular accomplishment, though Mr Krushchev clearly meant that they would find it difficult.

The same Mr Krushchev made a number of other statements during his recent tour of India which were not calculated to " favour a detente", for they were full of blatant and crude abuse of Britain, to the point of proving embarrassing to his Indian hosts. These statements, be it noted, were made after Bulganin and himself had already received and accepted the invitation to visit Britain.[1]

The visit to Britain of Messrs Bulganin and Krushchev was looked upon in some quarters, relatively restricted, as a friendly gesture in the interests of peace, by others as an incident of no great political importance

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[1]A well-informed article in *International Affairs* for April 1956 by Geoffrey Tyson, who for twenty years was editor of a paper in Calcutta, includes the following assessment of the Soviet Leaders' tour : " I received a good deal of evidence from sundry quarters of the deep resentment which many Indians felt at some of the remarks which the Soviet leaders made about the United Kingdom. That they sincerely regarded this cheap jibing as a breach of good manners, an abuse of Indian hospitality and in other ways ill-becoming the visiting heads of a great and professedly friendly Power, I have not the slightest doubt. Two or three of the Indians who spoke to me about it were much concerned about the effect on India's reputation abroad, her commercial credit, and so on".

His conclusion is that nothing which the Russian chiefs said or did affected India's declared policy of neutralism and he notes that ,though the Russians offered their support to Mr Nehru in the matter of the Kashmir and Goa disputes, he carefully refrained from accepting it. " To that extent, on any points system of scoring these diplomatic manoeuvres, I would say we should mark one up to Mr Nehru. He certainly had no intention of getting dragged into the cold war by permitting Goa or Kashmir to become new counters in the game."

and by still more as a mistake, pardonable or otherwise, on the part of Sir Anthony Eden. The reaction of the British public had been unpredictable but when the Russians appeared in the open streets, the attitude of the people was distinctly cool. Their entrances and exits from Claridges, where they were housed, were observed by small and silent crowds. The warmest time they had was at Oxford, but it was warm in a sense that can scarcely have appealed to them, accustomed as they are to complete subservience. The Oxford warmth was hardly one of appreciation but rather of a noisy undergraduate ' rag ' to the repeated tune of Poor Old Joe and the accompaniment of explosions and flippant banners.

A few weeks previously Malenkov, in his capacity as head of the the Soviet Electricity Industry, had made himself a popular figure in Britain. Clearly he had been briefed beforehand to do the things it was thought would make most appeal to the mentality of the British. He patted children on the head and presented them with boxes of chocolate, quoted two lines from Rabbie Burns in the brawest Moscow Scots, went to a football match in London and attended the Grand National. " What a sport ! Just like one of our own ! "—that was the response he was working for, no doubt following the advice of some Manual for the Deportment of Prominent Soviet Personages in Capitalist Countries, and as a matter of fact it was what did occur. But I have a shrewd suspicion that Press and Public were making fun of poor comrade Malenkov. He was too impossibly genial, too would-be-British to be true.

Quite different and fiercely different was the reaction to Serov, head of the Soviet secret police, who was shown very plainly that his presence was not desired. The *Daily Mirror*, not a Tory organ, carried an article on its two first pages with the title : " Do We Want This Odious Thug?", and in the hopes, no doubt, that a copy might be shown to the gentleman in question, it repeated this caption in large Russian letters. Serov left Britain within three days.

To begin with, the visit of Bulganin and Krushchev was no ordinary visit. They were an odd pair, judged by ordinary international standards : the first of them, certainly the official political head of his country, while the second was chief secretary of a political party. It was as though Sir Anthony Eden should travel to Washington, not with the Foreign Secretary but with the organizing secretary of the Conservative Party, or as if Mr Gaitskell should take part in an inter-government conference, attended by Mr Morgan Phillips. The large escort of motor cycles with armed riders was an exotic note in familiar London streets. This feeling was voiced by a bus conductress, as the visitors'

cavalcade shot speedily across Park Lane into Hyde Park, when she commented to the passengers : " It doesn't seem somehow like London." There was the widespread and always uneasy recognition that these two men had been the agents and lackeys of Stalin in his monstrous programme of repression and annihilation and that, while a few weeks previously they had repudiated their former hero, they had confessed themselves as implicated in his atrocities.

In favour of the visit it was argued that all reasonable steps ought to be taken to lessen tension between the Communist and non-Communist worlds, and that it would be wrong to reject out of hand what were put forward as friendly approaches. Co-existence might well be nothing more than a tactical move in the Russian interest, but we had the responsibility to examine it and see whether and to what extent it might be practicable. There were those who argued, but not on the whole among responsible leaders of the Labour Party, that the Russian attitude had genuinely altered, maybe through Russia's conviction of her own strength or even to create easier conditions throughout the world so that she could devote her energies to development inside Russia.

On the other hand, many who welcomed dealings with the Soviet leaders, thought it unnecessary to invite them to Britain as guests. This was an additional and, they insisted, an uncalled for gesture. Others who again did not reject possibilities of co-existence considered that relations, if they were to be developed, should be built up gradually, by interchanges of visits, for instance, on technical and industrial levels. To discuss questions at the highest possible level was to court total disagreement and to ruin any co-operation from the start. There were other objections to the visit: not least among them that deriving from Soviet persecution of religion in Russia and the occupied countries, and from fear lest this visit be exploited by Soviet propaganda in those countries, inducing despondency and hopelessness from the picture of a British welcome to their tyrants and persecutors.

Official Results

If the results of the visit are to be judged by the official White Paper that contains the joint Russo-British statement, they were vague and meagre. The Paper includes a number of general wishes : for a strengthening of Anglo-Soviet contacts in commercial and cultural matters, for a further relaxation of international tension, for a consolidation of general peace. Both countries affirmed their belief in and their willingness to co-operate within the United Nations' Organization.

But what is one to make of the following declaration which is set down unblushingly in the White Paper : " They (the signatories) are

convinced that the basis of friendly co-operation and peaceful co-existence of all countries, irrespective of their social systems, is respect for national independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity, and non-interference in the internal affairs of others " ? Is this language just formal phraseology, not intended to have the slightest significance, like the older and politer speech of professional diplomacy : " May I crave the courtesy of your kind attention for a few moments", " His Excellency will feel himself highly honoured", and the like ? It is hard to attach anything more substantial to it, in view of the Soviet record during the past ten years, in which they have worked out a perfect science of " interference in the internal affairs of others".

Two sentences in the introductory declaration revealed how completely at variance were the two parties on European questions : "(They) . . . attached particular importance to maintaining security in Europe, being convinced that peace and security in Europe are of determining importance in preserving the peace of the world. But an understanding on the means to achieve that end was not reached". In other words, discussion of the re-unification of Germany and, if it took place, of the status of the East European countries proved entirely fruitless.

There are three sub-headings under which the official report enters into a certain detail Concerning the Near and Middle East the signatories affirmed their intention to do what they could " to facilitate the maintenance of peace and security " within the framework of the United Nations. Both parties asserted their wish to see a lessened tension and a settlement between Israel and the Arab countries and a bettering of the lot of Arab refugees.

F. A. Voigt, the former editor of the *Nineteenth Century*, has commented that this is a remarkable development in defensive tactics. You defend a position by first of all admitting within it the enemy against whom you are trying to hold it. It is a refinement of the Trojan Horse technique in that the Trojans now actually know that Greeks are concealed in the horse's belly.

Others, on the contrary, would argue that you have here a limited test case as to whether collaboration is possible between the West and Russia, a case where *ex hypothesi* the interests of both sides do or could be made to coincide. For it has to be insisted in this talk about co-existence that we get back to the notion of common interests. Auguste Comte, the French Positivist philosopher, claimed that you could speak of only one absolute law, viz., that no such thing as an absolute law existed. In political dealings with Communist countries the West has to learn, if it has not already absorbed the lesson, that only one

principle can be accepted, and this the non-existence of any common principles.

On Disarmament again there was an expression of good wishes and intentions, though the history of the recent Disarmament conference rules out any facile hopes. The Soviet Government is in all probability genuine enough in its desire to avoid war. The threat of nuclear warfare is as frightening to its rulers as to others for, despite the huge extent of Russia, the country has its own vulnerability. In addition, the Soviet outlook has changed on one point, as emerged from Krushchev's address to the East German representatives. It no longer supposes the inevitability of war between Russia and the Western Powers. It imagines that Communism will overcome capitalism through 'peaceful competition,' that it will win through on its merits as a better social and economic system. There was always a danger when Soviet doctrine preached the 'inevitability' of war that one day the 'inevitable' would be brought to pass. It is at least a gain for the cause of peace that war is now officially graded in Soviet theory as 'non-inevitable'.

The third section of the White Paper is a commentary on the development of Anglo-Soviet trade. The Soviet leaders declared that if there were no restrictions or discrimination, that is on material of strategic importance, Russia could increase her purchases in Britain to nearly one thousand million pounds sterling, including ships and a wide range of equipment and industrial goods. "A comprehensive list of machinery, equipment and ships, which could be ordered by the Soviet organizations from the United Kingdom was handed to the United Kingdom representatives. The representatives of the United Kingdom pointed out that a part of this list was covered by existing strategic controls. Nevertheless, a substantial part of the goods and raw materials on the list was free of restriction, and accordingly there was scope for an increase in trade."

The Twentieth Party Congress

Before any further discussion of the Russian visit and its likely consequences we need to glance at the twentieth Communist Party congress held at Moscow earlier this year. It was dominated by Krushchev, the Party's principal secretary. Its most significant feature was the final repudiation of Stalin with a new emphasis upon the notion of 'collective leadership'. Mikoyan was particularly caustic in criticism of the 'cult of personality', and collective leadership is now to be the watchword at all levels of the Soviet economy. This is in theory at least to permit a wider range of discussion and criticism of policy. In speeches outside the congress Krushchev fiercely denounced the tyranny

of Stalin to the extent of admitting that he himself and other Russian leaders had been terrorized into playing their part in the Stalin reign of oppression and atrocity.

Stress was placed as usual on Party unity. Its Praesidium of eleven men was re-appointed, with Krushchev, Bulganin, Mikoyan and Kaganovich as its most important personalities. More than one third of the previous members of the Central Committee lost their seats, among these many from Southern Russia and Leningrad, so that their removal indicates a further stage in the purge of elements friendly to Stalin and Beria. The Party membership was a little more than seven millions or scarcely four per cent. of the Russian population. During the congress comment was made that over three million Party members active in the country were functionaries or officials, so that the percentage of actual ' workers ' or ' peasants ' was indeed small.

It was decided that the history of the Party and of the Communist Revolution must be re-edited to free it from its Stalinist interpretation. The Stalin legend is to be replaced by a new ' collective ' or Krushchev legend which will presumably remain in force until ' collective leadership ' or Krushchev is in its turn repudiated. The way of the historian is notoriously difficult in Russia, even though he deals with what is past. Apart from this rejection of Stalin and of the ' cult of the individual leader ' there were few changes to notice. Collective activity still is the main feature of Soviet life, and the same exaggerated emphasis is put upon heavy industry. The theory of the ' inevitability ' of war, as has been already mentioned, was rescinded. Now war in itself is not to be considered as ' inevitable '. The ' inevitable ' triumph of Communism may be brought about by peaceful penetration and competition.

The following pointers were provided for future foreign policy. In the first place, peaceful co-existence is to be encouraged with other countries, even with capitalist states, and from it a lessening of tension should result in international relations. But at the same time the Soviet bloc of peoples is to be further consolidated. There is no indication that Russia is contemplating any release of her hold on the satellite states. It should be noted that Yugoslavia was spoken of in connection with this Communist bloc. Further, good relations should be sought with peoples in Asia who have not yet committed themselves to Communism or to the free Western world and also with any countries of the West which remain neutral. Finally, a careful watch has to be kept on elements and groups which are " not interested in the relaxation of international tension", in fact upon all the Soviet's normal enemies, including the United States and, be it added, most of the leaders of the Labour Party in Britain.

FACTORS BEHIND THIS CHANGED ATTITUDE

To what extent may we speak of a change of policy in the light of this twentieth Party congress? Of policy in the widest and most general sense—none at all. The passage from individual dictatorship to collective leadership, even supposing that this is a perfectly genuine move, hints at no basic alteration in Soviet policy. Krushchev has conveniently reminded us that, if Stalin is to be jettisoned, Marx and Lenin are not, and that shrimps do not learn to whistle as easily as all that. The Communist theory still preaches an ultimate Communist triumph throughout the world, only now it is held that this may be brought about by peaceful competition. In other words, they pretend that their social and economic system will prove itself better and more acceptable in the long run than those of the Western democracies. How far the leaders of Russia really believe this is another matter; but it is what they are assuring the Russian people.

What makes it hard to judge their mentality is a curious contradiction in their use of theory. At times it is exploited shamelessly to interpret any particular situation just as they choose to interpret it, so that sudden changes and contradictions do not bother them in the slightest. At others it is treated as hard and fast and very unintelligent dogma, and it may well be true that the Soviet leaders have convinced themselves that capitalist society must inevitably decay—since Marx asserted that it would decay—in spite of all the evidence for its progress and prosperity. But, however they judge this situation, they are committed to the doctrine of revolution and are working actively for it all over the world.

There are, I consider, three tests which the Western Powers could apply as genuine evidence of a Soviet change of heart: the first, a Russian willingness to reunite Germany; the second, Russian co-operation in genuinely free elections in East European countries; and the third, the suspension of Communist propaganda in non-Communist countries. Short of convincing proofs of this kind, the West must take it for granted that Soviet general policy has not altered: there is only a tactical change of means and methods.

What can be said is that the Soviet Government has abandoned the idea of major war against the West and is equally convinced that she will not be attacked by the Western Powers. That cagey, suspicious outlook of Stalin is seen to be no longer so necessary. The Russians have a considerable confidence in their own armed strength and they are fully aware of the horror with which the peoples of the West regard the possibility of nuclear warfare. Accordingly they can afford to reduce their standing armies for they still have in this respect an overwhelming

superiority over Western forces. A land attack upon Russia from the West is completely out of the question.

They can also afford to dissolve the Cominform—as a gesture to other governments. The first notice of this dissolution was given by the Zagreb Radio on 22 March, in connection with the meeting of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party after Togliatti's return from Moscow, but on the following day it was denied by Togliatti. However, on 17 April, Mikoyan announced it officially on the Moscow Radio. But it should be recalled that its predecessor, the Comintern, was dissolved in 1943, again as a symbol of friendliness towards the Allied Powers, and yet Communist activity continued without interruption in other countries.

The Russians would welcome a greater volume of trade between the Soviet Union and Western peoples, particularly, as has been mentioned, in equipment and machinery and also ships. Their desire finds an echo in many Western countries, not least in the Western German Republic where for some considerable time the Free Democratic Party has been urging a greater facility for trade with Russia, and to a certain extent also in Britain.

Russia would be glad to pursue a campaign of conciliation in Western lands so as to improve relations between Communist and Socialist or Social-democratic parties. This is not a new tactic. It goes back to the Peace Campaigns, hotly sponsored by the Soviet Government and taken up abroad by idealists and muddle-minded publicists as well as by fellow-travellers, and even further to the attempts prior to 1939 to create Popular Fronts. Krushchev declared only a few weeks back :

> Not a few of the misfortunes harassing the world to-day are due to the fact that in many countries the working class has been split for many years. . . . If the working class comes out as a united, organized force and acts with firm resolution there will be no war.

Two ideas underlie this declaration : the first, that the only elements in the world that could originate or even wish for war are bourgeois elements—capitalist, Fascist, and all the other unpleasant epithets reserved for groups and classes whom the Soviet leaders do not like ; the second, that the working class *tout court* could be organized and would want to be organized in one party, in which naturally the Communists would secure control.

Western Socialists and Social-democrats are not responding to this invitation. True, delegations of French, Danish and Norwegian Socialists have recently visited Russia, as has M. Mollet, the French Premier ;

but European Socialists are wiser and more wary to-day than they were in the era of M. Blum. In fact European Socialists are not as *Socialist* as they were prior to 1939. The Social Democrats of Western Germany are becoming a bourgeois party, for many of whom the old Marxist slogans are outmoded catchcalls. And in Austria, where the Social Democrats of Vienna were once very extreme, there has been for many years a reasonably happy coalition between themselves and the more or less conservative *Volkspartei.*

The Socialist International, meeting in Zürich during March 1956, rejected a milder British motion and stated that " the changes of tactics which emerged from the last Soviet Communist Party Congress were not adequate proof of a genuine change in the principles and policies of Communist dictatorship". It went on to assert that " Socialism and Communism have nothing in common "—a proposition which the Socialist representatives would have the greatest difficulty in proving, but which is at least an indication of their desire to disassociate themselves from Communism and Russia.

It is to be noticed that the old pretence that " Left talks best to Left " has been jettisoned. It has shown itself a complete fallacy. The division within the original Socialist movement between revolutionary and Reform Socialists is a very deep cleavage indeed, and the parties which Communists look upon in effect as their worst enemies are just those parties which to a conservative eye might appear closest to them and which dispute with them the representation of the working classes. It is not without significance that the only British group which was severely criticized by Bulganin and Krushchev after their visit to England was that of the leaders of the British Labour Party, in particular Mr Gaitskell.

A third objective behind the more friendly attitude of the Soviet Government is obviously to loosen the structure of Western alliances. They would be only too delighted to welcome the decline or disappearance of N.A.T.O., at any rate the recall of N.A.T.O. forces on the Continent.

It has to be confessed that during the past twelve months N.A.T.O. has been subjected to a series of sharp stresses. Relations between Greece and Britain are embarrassed by the situation in Cyprus which seems to have reached a deadlock, as are also the relations between Greece and Turkey. The agreements between Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia look more problematic since Yugoslavia's rapprochement with the Soviet Union. French armies are heavily committed in North Africa and the unrest in Algeria, coming after the long drawn out struggle in Indo-China,

is exhausting and exacerbating the French. Germany's contribution to N.A.T.O. ground forces has been delayed.

Not surprisingly, therefore, there are voices in France and even Britain calling for the withdrawal of French and British contingents from N.A.T.O., though the Beaverbrook Press which is conducting such a campaign in London conveniently forgets Britain's solemn commitment, undertaken in 1954, to keep four divisions and a tactical Air Force on the Continent for fifty years. Democratic governments have to take notice of public opinion and, if they are not strong governments, they may find themselves at its mercy, especially in foreign affairs where public opinion is frequently ill-informed. The Soviet policy of peaceful co-existence might provide some real embarrassment for the governments of France and Britain, precisely in this matter of the N.A.T.O. Continental defence forces.

Internal Considerations

We are inclined to assume that, on account of its totalitarian structure, Russia has to be taken as a monolithic whole, where the opinions of individuals and minorities do not count. We argue as though the expressions ' Soviet Government ' and ' Russian people ' were synonymous. Obviously this is not the case. Indeed the Stalin autocracy worked in two different directions, each of which has created problems for his successors.

Stalin was able to wield supreme and absolute power, in part because of the perfection of his system but also on account of the Stalin legend. He was a man who at least achieved great personality. Like a Napoleon he bestrode the Soviet realm, and the Russian people bowed down before his personality as well as his power. From him they endured what they probably would not have tolerated in the same way from less prominent figures. The legend of this Soviet Colossus is distinctly awkward for the present Kremlin rulers ; they suffer by comparison, for none of them has anything of Stalin's stature ; and it would be easy for the people to compare them with their great predecessor. This is clearly one reason for his dethronement. The *epigoni* find it difficult to walk in his shadow ; the idol must be overthrown.

The absolute power and arbitrariness of Stalin created opposition. The rigid line of orthodoxy, in science and literature, was bound to break down through its absurdity. Lysenko, made an *arbiter scientiarum* despite his incompetence in biology, was only one symbol of this stagnation and stupidity. Regional opposition developed to this mania for centralization. Stalin, though himself a Georgian, encouraged the myth that he was the great ' Russian ' and the various nationalities within the

Soviet Union were subordinated to the Russian element. The consequence was that hand in hand with Communist dictatorship there developed, inside as well as outside the Soviet Union, a spirit of Russian imperialism. During a short period of office prior to his liquidation, Beria did something to redress this balance by allowing the replacement of Russian officials in the provinces by men from the locality.

A more serious attitude of resistance arises from the new middle class in Russia—the many technicians, professional men and experts whose co-operation is of vital importance for the various Five Year Plans of the Government. These men are favoured and privileged. Russia, in a material sense at least, has become the paradise of the intellectual and the expert, provided that they confine their thinking to orthodox channels. But men of this kind are not likely to have much interest in Marxism for its own sake ; it is more probable that they despise it or accept it merely as an indecent necessity of conformity.

Finally, there exists much evidence of growing discontent throughout Russia with the austere conditions of living, partly on account of the Government's massive plans for heavy industry. After Stalin's death attempts were made to convince the people that a new and easier economic policy was to be followed which would allow them a greater supply and a wider range of consumer goods. In fact, it was probably Malenkov's connection with this more conciliatory attitude, later rejected by the Praesidium of the Party, which led to his downfall in 1955.

An illuminating article in *International Affairs*, (October 1955), points to two other factors in Russian life at the moment which cannot be left out of count by the regime. The first is the reality of religion. Dr Walter Kolarz, the author, states that the Russian people, or at any rate a section of the Russian people, " is the bearer of ideological and spiritual alternatives to Communism ".

> The regime itself is conscious of the fact that despite all rigidity of dictatorial rule it is challenged daily and hourly. Nobody, it is true, seems to work openly and visibly for its overthrow but, behind the window-dressing of monolithic unity and unanimity, rejection of the Communist teaching manifests itself in various ways, ranging from passive resistance to political indoctrination to the active profession of a religious creed. There is tacit ideological opposition in the solemn liturgies which thousands of Orthodox priests celebrate throughout the country, in the simple sermons which Baptists and Evangelical preachers, often ordinary workmen and peasants, deliver in humble meeting houses, and in the prayers which the Russian grandmothers teach to their grandsons and granddaughters.
>
> I mention grandmothers—but this should not be interpreted as meaning that religion in Russia belongs to a dying generation. The leaders of the

> Soviet Communist party, whatever they may proclaim in their public statements, know that religion in Soviet Russia is more than a survival of the past. They know that a new generation of believers has grown up under the Soviet regime and that the Christian faith in Russia has continued to remain an ideological force for which Communism has been no real match.[1]

Dr Kolarz refers also to a second phenomenon which, he says, is made sufficiently evident from the Soviet Press and contemporary literature. "The Soviet Government has become aware of its failure to create a new man and a new Communist morality. The philosophical materialism of Communism has become the petty materialism of drab everyday Soviet life." A playboy attitude has taken hold of a large section of the Russian youth and this reflects their feeling of frustration. Communist theories do not appeal to them ; these are the ideology of the older generation, of little interest, save under compulsion, for the young. They look upon the forced lectures on Marxism-Leninism as unpleasant items in their school curriculum which provide no answer for their personal problems.

Co-existence

The new Soviet approach to the free world has been summed up in the term co-existence. How are we to assess it? In the first and elementary sense it means that both the Communist and the non-Communist world realize the appalling threat created by modern weapons, and therefore it is better for both sides not to go to war with one another. If co-existence means this, then we are all advocates of co-existence. As has been aptly said, co-existence is preferable to non-existence.

But more is intended than just a mutual acceptance of both sides in the present world struggle. The Soviet argument is that both sides can co-exist, in the sense that they can respect one another. There is room officially for capitalist countries in the world. But here is where the difficulty presents itself. Two varying social and economic systems could co-exist provided they did not interfere in one another's concerns, provided, in other words, there was some mutual respect and confidence. There is, however, no confidence in any sensible quarters in the West that Russia intends to cease her interference in Western affairs. And so you are shaking hands with a man whose other hand is engaged in rifling your pocket. If this remains so, then it is meaningless to talk about co-existence.

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[1] P. 445.

I was interested to discover, when we debated this theme at an international conference last summer, that the only Spanish term for co-existence was *convivencia*, that peoples could or could not live together. From this Spanish word there springs what to my mind is the first requisite for genuine co-existence, namely *live* and *let-live*.

If co-existence be taken further and made to signify 'co-operation', I maintain that collaboration is quite impossible until there are some common principles of action. And there are none in common between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union. This does not mean that some common agreement cannot be reached on a strictly limited practical issue, but it will have to be reached—and indeed can only be reached—on the basis of mutual interests. The Soviet Government is perfectly capable of keeping an agreement that suits its interests, and on this supposition co-operation may well be possible in certain limited areas. But anything more general is ruled out by the absence of common principles.

An Atomic Dilemma

We may welcome therefore certain changes in the Soviet attitude, which indicate a more peaceful policy and seem also to hint at some easing of the situation within the Soviet Union. Some collaboration may prove practicable in limited fields—through trade and cultural interchanges. Nothing more, in my opinion, can be expected or would even be desirable, as things now are. The real test of a change in Russian intentions would be found in a willingness to agree to the reunification of Germany and to free elections in East Central countries on the Continent. Vigilance must still remain the principle of the West, for that is the price of freedom. N.A.T.O. must continue in existence and should develop even more fully the political and economic collaboration between its member States which was envisaged in the original treaty; and N.A.T.O. forces must be supported on the Continent.

The rôle of these forces is frequently misunderstood. In *Foreign Affairs* (April 1955), General J. Lawton Collins published a most timely article under the heading of *N.A.T.O. Still Vital for Peace*. He pointed out that the framework of N.A.T.O. in Europe was tightened and made more effective after the Communist invasion of South Korea when its armies were placed under the Supreme Command of General Eisenhower. Since then, its defensive power had been greatly increased, and it now possessed 125 airfields for its operations. In General Lawton Collins's judgment the defensive strength of N.A.T.O., coupled with the power of the Strategic American Command, would continue to

prevent a war from taking place. He declared himself convinced that, when applied tactically, atomic weapons will help a defender *much* more than the attacker. " So far as I know, all analyses and atomic experiments to date indicate that human beings, for all their frailties, can sustain and survive an atomic explosion better than material things, *provided* the men are dug into the ground or placed under adequate shelter. Soldiers thus dug in and dispersed provide poor atomic targets."[1]

The chances of the defenders, he considers, are greatly enhanced if the defenders are deployed in depth at the back of natural obstacles such as rivers and ranges of mountains. The enemy may also be dispersed but he must move and, to attack rapidly, he will be compelled to concentrate ; in that case, he makes himself a highly vulnerable atomic target. The defending staff can calculate when the attacker will need to concentrate, e.g., to build bridges or use defiles. There is accordingly what may be called an atomic dilemma : " The aggressor cannot break through the elastic defence unless he concentrates ; but if he does concentrate, he faces atomic destruction".

General Lawton Collins's conclusion is reasonably optimistic for the European forces of N.A.T.O.

> Such an elastic defensive system, in which dispersed but highly mobile infantry and armoured forces are integrated with readily available and mobile means of delivering atomic fire, could not be cracked in a hurry by any attacker, no matter how powerful or numerous. Certainly the forces available to the Soviets in East Germany and their other European colonies could never do it successfully. The development by the United States of the atomic shell, bombs and missile warheads with various means of delivery has made possible the establishment of some such defensive system in Europe. The entry of Germany into N.A.T.O. will provide the necessary additional depth and strength to the land and air forces of Central Europe.

[1] pp. 376–7

The ILO Turns the Corner

by EDWARD PHELAN

THE events accompanying Winant's departure to take up the post of American Ambassador in London had made it impossible for me to give any consecutive thought to the responsibilities I would have to assume as his successor. As soon as I turned to survey them, I realized that the establishment of the ILO's headquarters in Canada was the beginning of a new phase in its existence and that therefore my first task must be to get some clear idea of the policy round which its activities should henceforth be co-ordinated.

I reflected a little ruefully, and perhaps unjustly, that such a policy was now much more difficult to define in Montreal than it had been in Geneva six months before. At that time the fundamental issue was limited to the choice between two alternatives, whether to go or to stay. Winant had decided to go ; and thanks to his courage and determination the ILO had been rescued from encirclement, and its freedom of action assured. The question now calling for an answer was what was it to do with that freedom ; what was the next step that would keep the ILO travelling along the road to survival. It was not a question that could be simply answered.

Winant had said in his letter of resignation that if the war was lost that would be the end of the ILO. And, since the ILO could do little or nothing to influence the issue of the conflict, he was no doubt right in deciding that his particular qualities would best serve its interests by being employed in a field of activity far outside its scope. But, while his statement furnished an argument for his own action, it defined only one of the dangers to which the ILO was exposed.

If the road to an Allied victory proved long and rough, as there was every reason to expect, many of civilization's valuable possessions might well be destroyed or damaged beyond repair, and many of the achievements of human progress perish unnoticed in the strains and stresses encountered on the way. Was it not possible, and even probable, that the ILO would be numbered amongst them ? And, in comparison with the other losses entailed, would that of the ILO be considered as really important ?

Personally, I believed that the loss of the ILO would have an importance difficult to overestimate. If that conviction should come to be widely shared, there would be sound grounds for optimism about its

survival. But looking at the matter coldly and objectively I was driven to the conclusion that such sympathy and support as it now enjoyed would diminish rather than increase as the war continued ; and that it would be a delusion to cherish the hope that its past record and present activities would be sufficient to guarantee its future. The former would become forgotten history, and the latter, because of its limited resources, could make no widespread appeal. If, however, the more fundamental implications of the ILO's existence in the perspective of the development of human institutions could be driven home, it might well hope for preservation, not out of sympathy or sentiment, but as an essential part of the organization of the postwar world.

Here at least was a positive idea, one that might well influence the issue if it was accepted in quarters that mattered. And that was perhaps not impossible, for solid reasons could be advanced to support the thesis that the ILO's survival would have a general importance.

The Argument for the ILO's Survival and a Policy to Achieve It

The argument, as I formulated it, ran briefly as follows. The whole experience of democratic institutions proves that they require time to mature before they can function effectively. They become of real value only when their operation, over a sufficiently long period, has created certain habits of thought and action ; and this consideration applies with special force to institutions international in character.

The League and the ILO were the beginning of the attempt to provide the world with institutions for new forms of world political activity which, it was hoped, would provide a basis on which a peaceful world could be built. The League failed to fulfil the hopes placed in it, not because it was ill-designed, but because the magnitude and pace of events overwhelmed it before there was time for the use of its machinery to become a solidly established practice. The ILO was more fortunate. Within its sphere international collaboration steadily grew more intense and extensive in spite of the fact that political and economic conditions were little favourable to such a development. Collaboration between its Members had indeed become something approaching second nature, an involuntary response capable of setting in motion international activity over a wide economic and social field.

The situation that would have to be faced at the end of the war was evident. The reconstruction of the world's economic life, disrupted to a degree never before experienced, would raise problems of a formidable character, and those problems would be predominently international in character. When these came to be dealt with, the existence of an international institution with a live tradition of successful international

collaboration and a long experience of developing efficient techniques of international action would be an asset of incalculable value.

The general argument seemed to me wholly convincing but its application to the ILO might appear as no more than special pleading unless proof could be given that the Organization still possessed the qualities that had made its past achievements possible. This could not be supplied by the production of summaries of information and the sending of reminders to Governments urging the fulfilment of certain minor obligations under a Constitution the major features of which would be steadily receding into the realms of pious memory. What had so far been saved was only the Office. What must be kept in being was the International Labour Organization as a living institution manifesting in action its qualities and its strength. If its Members lost the habit of using it, atrophy, paralysis and death would be the inevitable stages of its decline and final disappearance.

I had reason to fear that this decline had already begun and to believe that it would proceed far more rapidly in wartime than would have been the case if, for some reason, the activities of the Organization had been interrupted in time of peace.

It is worth while indicating why I entertained this fear because it arose from an element of weakness peculiar to international institutions. Whereas war strengthens national organizations, giving them an increased sense of responsibility and a greater cohesion, it produces exactly the opposite effects on an international organization. To understand why this was happening to the ILO it is necessary to remember that the Conference, the Governing Body and the Office are no more than an easily visible superstructure built on the foundation of Member Governments and their organizations of workers and employers. Each one of the elements in this foundation is itself a highly articulated organism composed in the last analysis of human beings, differing in rank and authority, but each possessing some special knowledge or experience out of which he makes, at his particular level, his contribution to the work of the organism as a whole.

Thus when the ILO deals with a Government, many individuals have a part to play and on their efficiency and on the co-ordination of their roles will depend the real strength of the bonds between the ILO and the Government concerned.

With this picture in mind it is easy to see how these bonds will be weakened when war supervenes. The civil service becomes burdened with new duties ; staff has to be redistributed within a department or between departments ; the whole pattern of both structure and function

becomes subject to rapid and continuous change. The official dealing with some aspect of ILO affairs may find that other matters demand a share of his attention, or he may have been replaced by someone unfamiliar with ILO questions; or worse still, he may not be replaced at all. The civil servant at the top of the pyramid who must take the responsibility for the reply to the ILO will thus be left without the assistance on which he could previously count at the very time when other responsibilities are crowding on him. Inevitably ILO questions will receive less attention than in the past. They will tend to be disposed of with a minimum of trouble rather than in a positive and constructive spirit.

Something like this was undoubtedly happening, not only in countries directly involved in the war, but also in others for which the war had precipitated a host of new problems. In the process of disintegration in the peripheral machinery of the Organization which was thus occurring lay, I thought, the fundamental danger to the ILO.

The Office could do nothing to remedy the situation. Only the Member States themselves could repair or reinforce administrative instruments which were under their sole control. It was vain to imagine that, by some happy inspiration, they would individually be moved to take such action. Only by a renewed experience of their own collective function as Members of the Organization could it be hoped that they would become once more vividly aware of its potentialities and thus be led to restore, and thereafter to maintain, each in its own domain, a fraction of the Organization's machinery which was a necessary part of the whole. The practical conclusion that clearly emerged was that every effort must be made to secure a meeting of the International Labour Conference at the earliest possible date.

The idea was not new. It had been implied in the Governing Body's original decision that the ILO should carry on if war supervened, and in fact the main argument for the move to the American continent had been that there was no prospect of being able to convene the Conference in Switzerland. I had raised the question with Winant and Carter Goodrich, the Chairman of the Governing Body, on several occasions after I had arrived in Montreal. At one such discussion, at which others were present, another idea was put forward, namely that, in view of the presence of so many European Governments in London, a Conference of the European Members of the Organization should be held in that city.

Although this suggestion received considerable support, I had strongly opposed it on the ground that the holding of such a conference would be resented by neutral Members in Europe, who would not

attend, and by the great majority of non-European Members; both would feel that a meeting whose composition was the result of temporary circumstances external to the Organization could not be considered to be an ILO meeting in any proper sense of the term. A division of opinion of this kind would not serve the cause of the Allies and would weaken the unity of the Organization itself. These arguments were accepted as convincing and the idea was dropped. Though all were agreed that the alternative of a General Conference was desirable, I was far from feeling that its urgency was appreciated. Attention at that time was naturally concentrated on getting the Montreal office into running order and there was legitimate satisfaction at the success achieved. It seemed, however, to be too easily assumed that a meeting of the Conference would flow from this activity in due course. This I felt was over-optimistic and I continued to press my view that positive action was required, in the hope that Winant with his political experience would in due time find the right strings to pull.

Now that I had to face the problem after his departure I realized that there was a difference between urging that something very desirable should be done and actually taking the responsibility for doing it. How great that difference is has been expressed by General Spears in the following words :—' To command troops in battle and to be a Chief of Staff is as different as is riding in the Grand National and taking photos of the jumps'. While I did not state it in anything like so vivid a way, I was acutely conscious that the difficulties of getting the Conference to meet while the war was in progress, now that I viewed them from the angle of my new responsibility, appeared formidable indeed and even insuperable. Nevertheless I could see no other policy that offered any chance of securing the ILO's survival. The only alternative was to juggle with the limited resources at the Office's disposal, concentrating them from time to time on some new small activity that might attract momentary attention, and to hope that in the end everything would turn out all right. My choice therefore was easily made. There would be fences to be taken one way or the other, but, if I was to break my neck over one of them, I preferred to do so while riding in what I believed to be the right direction.

It was therefore not in a particularly cheerful mood that I entered the ILO premises the following morning. I was heartened, however, by the messages that steadily poured in in reply to my cable announcing that I had taken charge of the ILO. Many of them from Governments and from members of the Governing Body contained expressions of support and confidence and I was particularly encouraged by a letter from Prime Minister Mackenzie King that concluded with the words, " In the present crisis the fortunes of the ILO could be in no better or

more competent hands". But personally gratifying as these communications were, and valuable for their effect on the morale of the staff, I knew that I must not exaggerate their importance and draw from them the conclusion that the proposal I had in mind would be readily accepted.

The problem that now occupied my mind was how to prepare the ground for its consideration by the Governing Body so that it would have the best possible chances of success. Since the Governing Body could not meet, the only way I could secure decisions from it was through correspondence with its members individually. This was a workable system so long as the questions put to them related to matters with which they were familiar and which could therefore be answered by a simple yes or no ; but it clearly presented difficulties when the decision involved a startling new departure for which they were unprepared. Faced with a question of that kind, and one of exceptional importance, they would feel it impossible to give a reply without embarking on consultations with one another, particularly with a view to discovering the views of the principal Governments. In such consultations I should be unable to play any part ; I could neither secure that the case for holding the Conference would be effectively stated, nor that the arguments against it would be adequately replied to, and a negative result would, I felt, be a foregone conclusion.

Seeking Support in Washington

The world situation being what it was, the attitude of the British and American Governments would in all probability decide the issue. If they were opposed, there would be no practical possibility of the Conference being able to meet whatever other Members might desire ; and if they were favourable, many other Members would certainly wish to attend a Conference convened with such decisive support. London and Washington should, therefore, be my first objectives and I decided to begin with a visit to the latter. I realized that I must proceed with some caution for reasons very similar to those which had decided me against an immediate approach to the Governing Body. What I must attempt to secure from these Governments was a firm and considered view, and such a view, as I have indicated above, is only arrived at after a survey of all its implications by the competent services of the Government concerned. These services consult and argue with one another before they frame their advice to higher authority and the result of their deliberations, if it is definite, is unlikely to be overridden. To build on any opinion given by any single person, however eminent, in advance of this process would be to build on a very unsure foundation. On the other hand, if my proposal should be prematurely referred to the administrative machine and left to take its chance among all the

more pressing questions of the moment, the prospect that it would emerge with a favourable answer was probably very slight.

The best course to follow would be to keep any definite proposal in the background until I had been able to get my general argument understood, and if possible accepted, by as wide a circle as possible. As this would be my first visit to Washington in my new capacity, it would be normal for me to make an extended round of visits and these would provide an excellent opportunity for a preliminary exploration of the ground.

My first call was naturally on the Secretary of Labor, and the obvious sincerity and warmth of Miss Perkins's greeting immediately removed any apprehension that Winant's departure might have lessened interest and confidence in the ILO. I had always been impressed by her quality of frankness and after I had explained that, as Acting Director, I had thought I should make a personal visit to Washington, her reply was typical of her general grasp of the situation and of her directness of expression :

" We are very glad to have you in charge of the ILO ", she said. " If anyone can save it you can."

" I can't hope to do that ", I replied. " I don't think the salvation of the ILO can be achieved by any individual. The International Labour Organization will only be saved if it saves itself."

" That is profoundly true ", was her comment. " But I believe that the ILO has that spirit, and it is for you to show the ways in which it can be manifested."

I was strongly tempted to respond to an attitude that showed such an unexpected and clear understanding of the problem, but I remembered my reasons for proceeding cautiously and I confined myself to saying that I had had some ideas along those lines which I would like to discuss with her later when I was ready to put them into more definite form. She replied that she would always be at my disposal for such a discussion and would be glad to see me at any time.

My next important call was on Secretary Hull. I did not know him anything like as well as I knew Miss Perkins but he had received me twice before when I had come on missions to Washington. He remembered those conversations with surprising accuracy, and a little later he gave further proof of his remarkable memory. When I began to talk about the present problems of the ILO, he interrupted me to tell me of the part he had personally played in the decision of the United States to acquire membership in the Organization and in doing so he listed the Senators and others whom he had called on the telephone in

order to make sure that Congressional approval would be forthcoming. After this digression he told me that he regarded the ILO as an institution of great importance and fully accepted my argument that it was now of greater importance than ever. Finally he assured me that I could count on his support and cordially invited me to come to see him any time I was in Washington.

A long round of visits, some official and some personal, followed during the next two days. It was a heavy programme as I was anxious to cover the ground as completely as possible during the short time I could afford to be away from Montreal, and when I at last stepped into the ILO's Washington Office to pick up my plane reservations for my return journey I was feeling more than a little exhausted. To my dismay I was handed the following telephone message: "President Green would like you to come to a little dinner to-night to meet a few of the AF of L officials."

I had spent an hour with William Green the afternoon before. There was nothing more that I could usefully say to him at this stage and I was reluctant to change the arrangements for my return to Canada. On the other hand, he was an old friend of mine and an evening with him and a few of his close assistants in the American Federation of Labor offered the prospect of some hours of pleasant relaxation which I felt I both deserved and needed. And so, after some hesitation, I decided to postpone my departure and to accept his invitation.

I ought no doubt to have been more wary. I ought to have remembered that in United States terminology the word "officials" has a wider application than is given to it in English usage and that years previously I had been startled to find it used to describe the President of the Board of Trade and one of his colleagues in the British Cabinet.

As it was when I arrived at the Washington Hotel I found that the "little dinner" comprised more than a score of guests including practically all the members of the Federation's Executive Council. Three or four of them I had already met and, though I welcomed the opportunity of making the acquaintance of the others, my satisfaction was more than counterbalanced by what I knew must follow. This was the kind of occasion that, in America, would inevitably conclude with speeches and to these I, as the guest of the evening (for as such I became uncomfortably aware I was regarded) would be expected to make a major contribution. In any other circumstances I would not have been greatly concerned. I had done a good deal of public speaking in the course of my career and I had even gained something of a reputation as a creditable performer before an after-dinner audience. But whatever talent I possessed for the kind of lighthearted fluency which those who

have dined well can so easily be beguiled into accepting as wit would not serve on this occasion. President Green's speech made it clear that the purpose of the gathering was to introduce to the Executive Council the new head of the ILO and, as he proceeded to do so, I became more and more conscious that I was being subjected to a critical scrutiny and that much would depend on the impression I created when I came to reply.

Green did his best to smooth my path. He recalled at some length his own meeting with me at the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919 and how I had worked in close association with President Gompers during the meeting of the Commission at which the ILO was born. All that was to the good : it gave me the standing of one whose contacts with the AF of L had extended over a long period. But the interest of his audience was, I felt sure, far more concerned with the qualities I might now possess than with those I had displayed twenty years ago. A number of other speeches followed from some of the most famous figures in the history of the American labour movement. With few and rare exceptions, members of the Executive Council are the heads of the most powerful and vigorous unions in the Federation. They have no exact counterpart in the trade unions of Europe for the reason that the United States is unique in its immense economic development and in the vast area over which it is distributed ; the men who lead unions with a membership stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from Canada to Mexico, must in consequence possess and exercise a degree of power that would not easily be left to their discretion in a smaller area. As I listened to them I was fascinated by their personalities and equally impressed by the fact that they constituted as formidable an audience as I had ever had to encounter and one that would have no hesitation in arriving at a rapid and utterly ruthless judgment.

Albert Thomas once told me that his best speeches were those about which he felt most nervous as he rose to deliver them. If that applied to my case, I must have spoken extremely well. My impression at the moment was, however, the exact contrary. As I watched the faces of my audience I felt with increasing discouragement that I was evoking no response—I was not then aware that nearly all its members were poker players of renown—and, though I received generous applause when I sat down, I was unable to judge whether this was no more than as much as American courtesy always generously extends to a guest speaker however poor his performance.

When we passed into another room where we could mix around, I tried to discover from one of my friends what impression my speech had made.

" You needn't worry " was his reply, " Padway thought it was fine." Padway was the Federation's Legal Adviser and I concluded sadly that this was a polite way of telling me that I had over-elaborated some constitutional point which had bored everyone else. I did not know at the time that Padway's opinion on other than legal questions carried considerable weight in the Federation's inner councils and I was quite unprepared for the words that followed : " They are going to invite you to speak at the Convention."

Most non-American readers will not appreciate the distinction that such an invitation confers. In a country the size of the United States with a population of some 150 millions, organizations really national in extent can hardly be said to exist. Even the two great political parties only take on something resembling a national character when once in four years they hold their conventions for the limited purpose of nominating their candidates for the Presidency. In the interval their constituent sections are bodies concerned only with the local politics of the separate States. The American Federation of Labor, with its subsidiary State Federations and its highly organized chartered trade unions comprising a total membership (at that time) of some 8 millions, distributed over nearly the whole country, was therefore an organization possessing an almost unique national character. Its annual Convention provided a rostrum which the most prominent figures in American public life were eager to be invited to occupy and it will therefore be easily understood that all my doubts about the success of my speech were completely removed by the announcement that I was to receive an invitation so highly prized.

An Evening with Mackenzie King

As I reviewed my experiences in Washington during my flight back to Montreal it occurred to me that it would be a good idea to make an exploratory visit to Ottawa. As the ILO's host Canada was in a sense the ILO's special protector and she had indeed, with an admirable understanding of some of the problems involved, already acted effectively as such. She was therefore entitled to expect to be kept informed so far as possible of future plans, and her attitude, though not decisive, might well, if it were favourable, influence thinking in Washington and London. Moreover, my acquaintance with the Prime Minister was of long standing and I knew I could talk with him very frankly. I realized that I must be prepared for a cautious, and possibly a negative, reaction, but in any case his great political experience would make his counsel invaluable.

When a week or so later I arrived in Ottawa to keep my appointment with him, the good fortune that had accompanied me in Washington

showed signs of having deserted me. I was told that an important debate required his continued presence in the House of Commons, that he would do his best to slip out for a few minutes to see me, and that meanwhile I could either wait in his room or listen to the discussion from the Distinguished Strangers' Gallery. I chose the latter alternative and was soon deeply interested in the parliamentary drama taking place in what is one of the most beautiful and dignified legislative chambers in the world. The whole afternoon went by and at 6 p.m. the debate was still in full swing. I stepped out into the corridor to stretch my legs and there I met Percy Philips of the *New York Times* who invited me down to the Press Room, explaining that he would telephone to the P.M's secretary so that I could be found immediately if required. This assurance led me to accept his invitation and, having retrieved my hat and coat from the gallery, I gladly accompanied him. Some twenty minutes later as we sat chatting in the otherwise empty room, Philips abruptly rose to his feet saying " the House is up". He had been alerted by a luminous signal behind my back which to me was invisible and I was taken by surprise. As he hurried out he almost collided with a junior secretary who came running in and who made directly for me saying, " The Prime Minister will see you now in his room. You must come quickly as he has to go in a couple of minutes."

Swept along by the wave of urgency that had so suddenly disturbed the calm atmosphere in which I had comfortably relaxed, I hastened to follow him up two or three floors and along several corridors to Mackenzie King's office. The Prime Minister was signing documents and, while I waited for him to finish, I admired the unhurried deliberation with which he performed his task. The pince-nez and the black silk ribbon to which it was attached gave him something of the air of an old-fashioned solicitor. What made the scene impressive was not his own appearance but the attitude of the secretaries standing on either side who watched his every move and the slightest change in his expression with the most concentrated attention.

When they had retired with the last of his papers, he came over to me apologising for having kept me waiting so long. " I've had a difficult day ; a difficult Cabinet to begin with that sat right through lunch time and then this business in the House."

" What ! " I said, " Do you mean you've had no lunch ? "

" That's of no consequence ", he replied. " You know what happens when things get in a tangle and when you have to let a discussion go on till they work themselves out ". I did know, and I knew too the tension and fatigue that such an experience involves.

" You won't want to be bothered talking to me at the end of such an exhausting day ", I said. " Montreal is next door to Ottawa and I'll come up to see you again when you are not so hard pressed."

" There's no guarantee that I wouldn't be equally hard pressed the next time ", he replied smiling. " Come and have dinner with me if you are free."

I could not believe that this was more than a very courteous way of insisting that he felt under a real obligation for having failed to keep an appointment which had brought me specially to Ottawa, and so I said that I could not think of trespassing on his hospitality in the circumstances and that I was prepared to take my chance of finding him with more free time on another occasion.

" I gather from that that you have no dinner engagement ", was his answer. " I really would like you to dine with me. We have many interesting things to talk about quite remote from the questions I have been struggling with to-day and that's the kind of rest from which I get most benefit. Now," he went on, taking my consent for granted, " would you prefer to come out to my country home, my car will bring you back, or would you rather come to Laurier House ? "

" Since you've had no lunch ", I replied, and almost added " my good man " in a tone of expostulation, " let's make it Laurier House. You must be dying of hunger."

He called up his major-domo, on what was evidently a private 'phone, and told him that he was bringing a guest to dinner and was leaving his office at once.

As he was telephoning I remembered that I had left my hat and coat in the Press Room and I realized with dismay that I should never be able to retrace my steps through the labyrinth of Government buildings unassisted. I explained my predicament and asked the Prime Minister to let me have a messenger as a guide, telling him that I should then have no difficulty in getting to Laurier House.

" I'll take you " was his almost jaunty reply, and off we went through the long dimly lit deserted corridors, the Prime Minister walking with a buoyant step that showed not the slightest sign of fatigue.

Journalists are, I imagine, not easily surprised. It would be an exaggeration to say that the half-dozen who were in the Press Room when we entered were dumbfounded ; but there was certainly a moment of astonished silence when the Prime Minister appeared in the doorway, and then they clustered round him bombarding him with questions on the day's political events. I made haste to retrieve my hat and coat

feeling guiltily conscious that my thoughtlessness had exposed him to still another fatiguing ordeal. To my amazement he seemed to be thoroughly enjoying it. The skill and good humour with which he answered or parried their questions, and the ease with which he finally disengaged himself from their curiosity, not even Roosevelt could have surpassed.

Laurier House has its place in Canada's history as the home of her two greatest Prime Ministers. Mackenzie King, out of veneration for Sir Wilfrid Laurier, had kept some of its rooms unchanged when it became his property, and into one of these I was shown on our arrival. It was singularly unattractive. It was overcrowded with uncongenial Victorian furniture and a large white marble bust of Laurier on a high pedestal gave it a cold and funereal atmosphere. I was glad to leave it after a few minutes for other rooms on which Mackenzie King had left his own mark. From them the museum chill was wholly absent and they were pervaded by an aura of warmth and comfort such as bachelors rarely achieve.

During dinner I made no reference to the ILO ; conversation wandered easily over all sorts of harmless topics, and so interesting were my host's comments on a variety of subjects, ranging from town planning to Pickwick Papers, that I was in some danger of forgetting the object of my visit to Ottawa. When we had finished our meal, which it should be added was excellent in every particular, a small and rather shaky lift conveyed us up to the Prime Minister's study. It was as crowded as the Victorian parlour downstairs but in every other respect it was different. A well built-up fire burned in the grate; an inviting chesterfield was drawn up in front of it ; and cheerfully reflecting its glow a silver cigarette box and ash-tray added a final touch to my comfort, the more appreciated because I knew that my host was a non-smoker.

As I sank into the cushions of the chesterfield thinking, with an embarrassed sense of ingratitude, that I must now introduce the subject of the ILO, my eyes roved enviously round the booklined walls and over the several tables on which still more books were piled.

Never was anyone in my predicament so gracefully and so generously given his cue.

" I see you are looking at my books ", said Mackenzie King. " Your own is amongst them. He was a very great man, Albert Thomas, and he deserved your tribute. Now the ILO is in your hands. Tell me what you are going to do with it ".

The general substance of my reply can be gathered from the preceding pages. The Prime Minister listened attentively. When I concluded the somewhat lengthy exposition of my argument, I waited

with some anxiety for his comments. They showed at once that he had already given much thought to the problems that would arise when the War was over. His personal history and his political background would have led me to expect that he would emphasize their social and economic aspect but his approach was more general and was concerned with the fundamental problem of providing the world with international institutions, that if properly designed and wisely used would give the nations a real guarantee of peace. He appreciated the great importance of preserving the continuity of established international co-operation and gave his full approval to the idea of holding a meeting of the International Labour Conference at the earliest possible date so that the habits of international collaboration in the ILO should not be lost. I could take it, he said, that that would be the Canadian Government's attitude and he added that, if I should find it useful in the course of my negotiations, I could affirm that the idea had his entire support.

I asked him if we could hold the Conference in Canada. He replied that Canada would be glad to have us do so, but suggested that it would be better, if possible, to hold it in the U.S.A., adding that he was sure that President Roosevelt would like the idea of having the meeting held in the United States. I told him of my endeavours to prepare the ground in Washington, and then I ventured the suggestion that if at any time he had a suitable opportunity he might mention my plan to the President. I put this to him very tentatively, fearing he might think I was going too far, but he replied readily that he would keep the possibility in mind.

It was now nearly 11 p.m. and I rose to go, apologizing for having kept him so late.

" Don't go yet ", he said. " My secretaries will be coming in with my papers for the week-end in a few minutes and then I'll take you along with me and drop you at your hotel." In due course they appeared with two large attaché cases crammed with documents, and these he carefully verified to make sure nothing had been forgotten, while I marvelled once more at his thoroughness and physical resiliency.

I had many other meetings with Mackenzie King during my years in Canada. I always found him courteous, generous, sincere and ready to go out of his way to be helpful. I was therefore puzzled by the fact that my impression of him was far from being shared in many circles with which I came in contact. Scraps of gossip about political personalities, exaggerated or distorted accounts of incidents in which they are made to appear in an unfavourable light, are a common feature of political life everywhere. Many of those told about Mackenzie King seemed rather pointless ; they appeared to be inspired by a vague

resentment or to afford the opportunity for some disparaging comment for which they provided little serious basis. Even those who defended his policy seemed little inclined to defend the man himself. No doubt he lacked the gift of arousing popular enthusiasm but that did not seem sufficient to explain why the many attractive traits in his character did not secure a warmer response.

If some future historian should draw a portrait of Mackenzie King from evidence of this kind, of which he could find plenty, he would do him less than justice. I venture to think that the explanation of the curious lack of sympathy with which he was regarded by so many who were close to the centre of affairs is to be found in the fact that the latter part of his political career coincided with the period in which Canada rose from the position of a small and negligible community to that of a near-Great Power. When the process began Ottawa was, in every sense of the word, a small town; it has now become one of the world's important political centres. The immense expansion of Canada's industrial power was visible in a thousand ways. The growth of her political status was largely invisible ; only the Prime Minister could sense to what it might lead. For him, more particularly during the War, it entailed secrets that he could not reveal and responsibilities that he could not share ; and in consequence he must often have appeared unmoved by, and even strangely indifferent to, problems that others considered predominant. Even among his close supporters the impression that he was becoming aloof and inscrutable must have been disconcerting, and among others a feeling of discontent and vague resentment might be expected to spread. When Moses went up into the mountain many of his people must have grumbled to one another, " Our Patriarch is getting peculiar and neglecting our urgent affairs ".

Negative Attitude of London Finally Changes

While I was exploring the situation in Washington and Ottawa, the attitude Great Britain might adopt remained a major preoccupation. It had become increasingly clear that I could not, at this stage, contemplate a personal visit to London. The absence of several weeks which such a visit would entail would compel me to abandon the central control of the Office's activities when it was more than ever necessary that it should be constantly exercised ; and what was even more important, it would cut me off from Washington when everything might depend on keeping in touch with developments there and being able to intervene if need be.

Fortunately, M. R. K. Burge, the Director of the ILO's London Office, was in every way qualified to do what was required. He was

on friendly terms with all the principal personalities in Government, employers' and workers' circles in Great Britain and enjoyed their confidence. Moreover, he was an old friend to whom my thinking about the ILO was familiar, and with whom, therefore, I could keep in the closest touch by cable with the certainty that no misunderstanding would arise.

There was indeed a real advantage in having him undertake the task rather than myself. It was to be expected that London would be far more conscious of the practical difficulties involved in the proposal than either Washington or Ottawa, and that the idea might well be turned down out of hand on these considerations alone. It would be far easier for Burge than for me to persist in pressing it in the face of such objections. He would not be personally responsible for it, and he might even excite a certain degree of sympathy at having to put forward on instructions so "unrealistic" a suggestion. He would be able to display a pardonable obstinacy without exciting resentment, and succeed, as in fact he did, in keeping the question open through the first negative stages of its reception until other considerations could be more easily brought forward.

The first reactions he reported were definitely unpromising. The suggestion that high ranking officials could lay aside their wartime responsibilities for an uncertain duration and embark on a journey across the Atlantic was greeted as absurd ; and the attitude of the employers and workers was equally antagonistic. This was more or less what I had anticipated and so I readily agreed to Burge's suggestion that, while admitting the force of those objections, he should concentrate his efforts on trying to get the case for holding the Conference accepted in principle. This approach modified the Workers' attitude to the extent that they declared themselves in favour of a meeting though they added emphatically "not now". For practical purposes their position remained unaltered but there was nevertheless a tiny breach in the solid negative line, which left room for further discussion. I also asked Burge to talk informally with the Exiled Governments. Their reaction proved to be favourable and the lively discussions in which they engaged helped to keep the question alive. They felt the need of formulating and proclaiming new constructive social policies and their attitude therefore introduced a positive element which diluted, though it could not dispel, the wholly negative atmosphere that had first prevailed.

Meanwhile, progress in Washington went forward more smoothly and more successfully than I had anticipated. It would be wearisome, and indeed useless, to recount my various interventions in detail for there was no means of knowing in what degree they influenced the

course of events. What I did eventually become aware of was that considerations of high policy were steadily converging in the general direction along which I wanted the United States to move. The President and Secretary Hull were both becoming increasingly preoccupied with the question of postwar organization. They foresaw that the United States would have to shoulder great international responsibilities and they were acutely conscious that American opinion, with its long tradition of isolation, would be ill prepared for their acceptance. Any opportunity that would enable it to acquire a closer acquaintance with, and a direct experience of, the working of an international institution was therefore something to be welcomed. Miss Perkins may well have suggested to them that a meeting of the International Labour Conference held in the United States would admirably serve this purpose ; and it is also possible that Mackenzie King put the idea into the President's mind. I do not know, and I do not know what high level communications passed between Washington and London, but I was not surprised when I heard that the British Government had reversed its attitude and was now in favour of the Conference taking place.

Defining the Nature of the Conference and its Task

Since there was now a solid foundation of support on both sides of the Atlantic, the next step was to obtain a decision from the Governing Body by correspondence with its members individually. Some of them raised points which, though they could have been disposed of rapidly in the usual process of verbal discussion, proved troublesome to deal with by this method and led to some delay. I had assumed that the Governing Body itself would meet at the same time and place as the Conference ; the obstacle in the way of holding its meeting had been the question of transport and this obstacle the arrangements for the meeting of the Conference would automatically remove. The proposal that I asked the members of the Governing Body to approve therefore provided for a meeting of both bodies. Some members, however, while prepared to approve of a meeting of the Conference, held that the Governing Body could not meet because its three year mandate had expired. This seemed to make no sense since if the argument was valid the Governing Body could not decide to convene the Conference.

A second point raised an issue of considerable importance. It was that when the Conference met it would be its duty to renew the Governing Body and that conditions were so abnormal and so unpredictable that it would be impossible for the Conference to carry out this task in a satisfactory way. The geographical composition of the Conference would, it was argued, in all probability be unbalanced, with the result

that the elective seats might all be allotted to States fortunate enough to be able to attend, while those absent through no fault of their own might find their claims ignored. Remembering the less pleasant features of some elections in the past, I could easily see that a repetition of them might all too easily defeat the whole purpose for which the Conference was being held. Feeling would run high, for the claims of the absentees would certainly find defenders ; the contending factions would inevitably be given political or regional labels ; the press would carry headlines such as the " Struggle of America versus Europe " or " Belligerents versus Neutrals " ; and the result would be to present a spectacle of conflict and division when the real object of holding the Conference was to manifest to the world the strength and unity of the ILO.

A third point that was raised drew attention to the fact that the Conference would have the power to adopt international Conventions and could thus impose on absent members certain obligations. It seemed to me highly improbable that the Conference would act in this way, but the argument suggested a device by which this and the preceding point could be satisfactorily disposed of. I therefore proposed to the Governing Body that the Conference to be convened should be a Special Conference not endowed with the normal constitutional powers and one which in consequence could neither proceed to elections for the Governing Body nor embark on international labour legislation. Nineteen members of the Governing Body gave this proposal their formal approval ; none voted against it ; and the remainder abstained.

On 3 August 1941, I cabled to all the Members of the Organization informing them that the Conference would meet on 27 October in New York to survey the present and future possibilities of the Organization.

While all these negotiations had been going on, the Office had not been idle. It was clearly desirable that it should make every effort to demonstrate to the Conference the kind of services that it was equipped to render to Members. The Staff worked with an enthusiasm and devotion that produced results little short of miraculous if account be taken of the limited resources which were available. Periodical summaries of information on labour conditions throughout the world were published, and as arrangements had been made to secure information on these subjects even from occupied Europe these summaries obtained wide press publicity ; Office experts went on advisory missions to countries of North and South America ; special studies were produced on a variety of technical subjects ; and a series of tripartite meetings was organized to bring together United States and Canadian representatives to discuss the problems of labour supply for the purposes of national defence.

All these activities, although mainly technical in character, made considerable demands on my time. In ordinary circumstances they would have required no more than a minimum of supervision and co-ordination but, in the unprecedented conditions in which they had to be carried out, questions continually arose in which decisions had to be given with careful regard for political considerations. I was therefore unable to give my undivided attention to the next task which fell to my lot and which I felt was more difficult than any I had yet undertaken.

The principal item for discussion at the Conference was the Report of the Acting Director ; on its content would largely depend the conclusions the Conference would reach ; and since it must reach Governments in time to allow them to give instructions to their delegates, only a few weeks could be devoted to its preparation. Directors' Reports to previous Conferences had set a standard which it would in any case not be easy to approach. But on this occasion the Report had to be much wider in scope than any previously submitted. If it was to fulfil its purpose it must reassess the whole position of the ILO against the background of a totally different world in which new ideas were fermenting, and it must attempt to indicate positive ways in which the ILO could effectively respond to them.

I can indicate here only in the briefest fashion its main conclusions. After producing abundant evidence from the pronouncements of statesmen from all parts of the world, and from religious leaders of all denominations, that a great surge of new social thinking was already manifest, I summarized its tendency as the demand that future policy must be directed to ensuring for the individual not only better conditions of labour but also economic security ; and I listed the headings under which practical measures would have to be taken if this world-wide demand was to receive satisfaction. I emphasized that both national and international action would be required to make these measures effective, and that in the international sphere the ILO would be indispensable. In order, however, that it should be able to fulfil its task when the time came to carry this programme into effect, two things were immediately necessary : first, it must be used from now on as the centre for the collection and distribution of information on post-war social planning, and, second, its position in the post-war scheme of world organization must be assured. Though the ILO would inevitably have a wider field of action, other international organizations would no doubt be created, each being assigned its appropriate share of the general task. Wasteful overlapping and dangerous conflicts of competence jeopardizing the whole effort could all too easily arise unless their assignments were carefully defined at the outset. The best way to avoid future confusion and friction would be to provide that the ILO, whose field

of action was so varied and extensive, should be assured of representatives in any Peace or Reconstruction Conference that might be convened. The argument of the whole report was intended to lead to this last conclusion which I considered of fundamental importance because in no other way could there be any guarantee that the ILO's future position would not be, wittingly or unwittingly, undermined.

The report went out, by airmail, six weeks before the Conference was due to open. I sent copies not only to Member Governments but also to outstanding personalities in the different countries who had had some past association with the ILO or who might be expected to be interested in the subjects it treated. Its reception was encouraging ; and press comments were favourable. I received a number of personal letters of congratulations. One from Viscount Cecil ran as follows :

I feel I must write a line to you to say how very much I admire your Report to the ILO. I have read it with the deepest interest, particularly the last section as to future policy. I hope very much that our Government will do something to draw attention to it or circulate it. Even if the paper shortage makes it impossible to reproduce the whole Report, the last section certainly ought to be circulated to all Members of Parliament.

Shortly afterwards information began to arrive about the composition of the delegations which would attend. A great deal now depended on the number of countries who would participate and the importance of the persons who would be appointed to represent them. The first news was curious and a little amusing. I heard that in one country prominent officials had announced that they did not wish to be members of the delegation. Their reason was that they were afraid that the public, and more especially their colleagues, would conclude that their responsibilities must be small if they could be so easily spared at such a time. Their hesitation vanished abruptly when they learned that the delegation concerned was to be headed by someone far more important than themselves.

This incident afforded interesting evidence that the decision favourable to the holding of the Conference had been, as I had guessed, taken as a result of very high level communications which had been kept secret. As further information flowed in, it became clear that the composition of the Conference would be impressive. When all particulars had been received the figures showed that 35 countries would be represented by a total of 102 delegates accompanied by 93 advisers. The Government Delegates included nearly a score of Ministers ; among them figured Clement Attlee, Deputy Prime Minister of Great Britain ; Henri Spaak, Foreign Minister, and Paul van Zeeland, former Prime Minister, of Belgium ; Jan Masaryk, Foreign Minister

of Czechoslovakia ; Carl Hambro, President of the Norwegian Störting ; a number of Ministers of State ; and the Ministers of Labour of Canada, Chile, Greece, New Zealand, The Netherlands and Poland. The Government Delegates from the United States were Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labour, and Adolf Berle, Assistant Secretary of State.

How President Roosevelt Squared the Circle

The inclusion of so many distinguished political personalities from so many different countries made it evident that Governments were attaching great importance to the Conference. When this became apparent, I drew Miss Perkins's attention to what was happening and asked her whether it would be possible for President Roosevelt to come to a sitting of the Conference and address the delegates. She welcomed the suggestion, which she thought would appeal to the President, and promised to put it to him at the first opportunity. A week or so later she told me that, much to her regret, it had been found that the suggestion was not feasible. The difficulty lay in a structural feature of the Macmillan Theatre in Colombia University in which the Conference was to meet.

" You know of his infirmity ", she said. " It just would not be possible to get him on the platform."

I was not wholly convinced that the difficulty about the hall was the real explanation. It was not that I doubted Miss Perkins's sincerity but I was aware of the struggles for the President's time and how unscrupulously they were often waged. I therefore asked Miss Perkins whether the question could not be reconsidered, urging that the Conference could move to some other hall for that particular occasion, that the President would have a world audience of a unique character, that the impression of his personality would be carried directly into the Cabinets of a dozen countries and that his statement would thus have an immensely greater effect than if it took the form of a message.

Miss Perkins, though she listened with her usual patience to all I had to say, was clearly not willing to be drawn into any argument and merely replied that she could hold out no hope of the decision being changed. She added that, nevertheless, I could be assured that the President was keenly interested in the Conference and that I could count on a message from him " fully adequate to the occasion ". And with this promise I had to be content.

When the Conference opened on 27 October 1941, Miss Perkins was elected to preside over its deliberations and in her presidential address she restated the main theme of my report in the following words :

This Organization has continued during the War, and it will carry over into the peace in some form or other, I hope in extended and more important form . . . To build a new and better world we must build it upon foundations that are already in existence, and there is a large field of work in those activities in which the ILO has demonstrated its outstanding competence in the last twenty years.

I listened with great satisfaction as she gave this lead to the Conference, knowing the importance delegates would attach to the views of the United States. I was surprised, however, when she concluded her speech without delivering any message from President Roosevelt. When she resumed her seat beside me I asked what had happened to the President's message.

" I haven't got it yet ", was her answer. " But I hope to have it this afternoon."

At the opening of the afternoon sitting Miss Perkins greeted me with the words :

" I've got the President's message. I think you'll be pleased with it. But I'll put through one or two items of formal business before I deliver it."

As soon as these had been disposed of, Miss Perkins rose and said :

The President of the United States has asked me to deliver a message to this Conference on his behalf. He is glad you are meeting here.

I noticed with dismay that she had only a half sheet of notepaper in her hand. The message " fully adequate to the importance of the occasion " was apparently to be no more than her own account of some brief comment presumably received by telephone. This impression was confirmed as she continued without any quotation :

He is sorry that he has been unable to arrange his affairs so that he might address a sitting of the Conference in New York City.

She paused and glanced at me as though to draw my attention to the fact that my proposal had really received his consideration and then she went on:

But in lieu of that he invites you to hold the last sitting of the Conference in the White House in Washington D.C. on 6 November.

If Miss Perkins had planned a surprise she certainly succeeded. There was a moment of silence before the delegates, having realized the full implication of her statement, burst into a storm of applause. I shook her hand warmly, unable to find words to express my delight.

" I told you the message would please you ", she said, smiling.

" It has indeed ", I replied, " but how did the decision come to be changed ? "

" Oh, it was the President's own idea. He loves meeting people, you know."

That was all I was to learn. I never discovered whether she herself had found an opportunity to re-open the question with the President, but her words implied that there had been some further discussion with him at which he had characteristically settled the conflict between those who were for his going to New York and those who were against, by a decision that accepted the arguments of both sides and allowed him to do what he wanted.

The ILO Ends its Conference in the White House

During the following days the Conference got down to its work and after prolonged discussions adopted a series of resolutions on various subjects. One embodied the points to which I attached special importance. It called the attention of Member Governments " *to the desirability of associating the International Labour Organization with the planning and application of measures of reconstruction* " ; it asked " *that the ILO should be represented in any Peace or Reconstruction Conference following the War* " ; and it urged that the ILO should " *be in a position to give authoritative expression to the social objectives confided to it in the rebuilding of a peaceful world upon the basis of improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security* ".

Thus what nine months before had seemed an almost hopeless enterprise had been attended by success. The Organization had asserted its will to survive in no uncertain terms ; and it had staked out its claim to a position in the postwar world commensurate with the responsibilities that had been given into its keeping.

More the Conference could not do. It lay with other authorities to decide whether this claim should be accepted. In an important and perhaps decisive degree the final sitting in the White House would supply the answer.

Everything was going smoothly when an unexpected difficulty arose in connection with the journey of the delegates to Washington. An embarrassed Miss Perkins came to me to explain that the U.S. Government would be unable to provide transportation as there was no way in which they could pay for it.

" It's very awkward ", she added. " It's out of the question that the delegates should be asked to pay for themselves. Most of them have no dollars. Can you do anything to help ? "

I hesitated over my reply, since the ILO's Constitution specifically provided that the expenses of delegates should be borne by the Member Governments. I was faced with the same difficulty as the American Government. Nevertheless I felt that even this obstacle should not be allowed to jeopardize the meeting with the President and so I told Miss Perkins that if there was no other solution I would foot the bill. I did not mention the Constitutional difficulty but I warned her that there would subsequently be a discussion in the Finance Committee of the Governing Body which would call into question the propriety of the expenditure and which might well be disagreeable for the United States.

" Well ", said Miss Perkins glumly, " we'll just have to risk that. Our system is terribly inelastic and this is one of the cases in which we just can't do a thing. Anyway, thanks to you, we'll get them to Washington and that will be worth while."

Though I was satisfied that the decision I had taken was right, I was bothered by its implications and more and more convinced that in spite of the exceptional circumstances I must on no account get into the position in which I could be accused of not respecting the Constitution. The only alternative was to meet the cost out of my own pocket and I was ruefully speculating on what this would mean when the next day Miss Perkins reappeared in a much more cheerful mood and announced that a solution had been found.

" I've talked to some American employers and we are going round with the hat."

I suppose I must have looked shocked at the idea of such a humiliating expedient for she added : " We often do that. It's in our tradition. When we can't get a thing done by Government, citizens get together and do something about it for themselves."

Possibly on this occasion the hat was insufficiently filled, or the railway was given too short notice, but, whatever the reason, some 200 representatives from the Conference, many of them in formal attire with carefully creased striped trousers and morning coats, found themselves on their way to Washington in some of the most dilapidated coaches that I imagine had ever left Pennsylvania Station. The cars were dirty, many of the windows were cracked and all of them rattled so noisily that conversation was almost impossible. Many of the delegates had never been in the United States before and I could read ill-concealed surprise and even dismay in their faces as they compared this accom-

modation with the luxurious comfort of New York's hotels. Whatever unfavourable impression they may have received was effectively dissipated as they drove from Union Station and caught a glimpse of Washington's palatial government buildings before arriving at the White House which always seems so uncannily quiet and dignified in spite of the crowded streets through which one approaches it.

Small as the White House appears, no doubt because of its harmonious proportions, the Conference was easily accommodated in one of its larger rooms which had been specially arranged for its reception. Rows of gilt chairs faced a curtained archway before which was a tall reading stand. The front row on the right corresponded to the platform of the Conference with seats assigned to Miss Perkins, myself as Secretary-General and the three Vice Presidents. The front row on the other side was reserved for members of President Roosevelt's Cabinet whose arrival the delegates watched with interest, and whose attendance indicated that the occasion was to be one of special importance.

Punctually at 3 p.m. Miss Perkins, standing beside the lectern, declared the sitting open and added that after the President had made his address the three Vice Presidents of the Conference would each say a few works to mark the tripartite character of the Organization, the session would be closed and the delegates would file past the President and be presented to him.

Miss Perkins was an impressive figure as she made this announcement and she spoke, as always on public occasions, with great self possession and authority. As she ended her remarks the curtains opened, and the President, leaning on the arm of his aide, General Watson, advanced to the reading desk.

Everyone rose and one could feel an emotional tension in the room. It was a solemn moment for all present and particularly for those delegates who were evidently deeply moved at being in the presence of the man from whose power and humanity they hoped and believed the deliverance of their tortured countries would ultimately come. What impressed me even more, however, was that an emotion no less deep was manifest among the Americans. Miss Perkins seemed to grow smaller and the almost faltering voice in which she announced "*The President of the United States*" was strangely different from the assured tones in which she had just spoken. I realized how great is the place occupied by the President in the minds of the American people, not because of the great powers which he can exercise but because he is in a peculiar sense their sole representative and the embodiment of the traditions they cherish. The history of the American people is the history of its Presidents ; and the man in the White House, on whom

has descended the mantle of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, is the living symbol of the unity and will, so perilously forged in the past, which has made them a nation with a priceless heritage of freedom.

We resumed our seats and the President began an historic speech in which during forty-five minutes he wove together with inimitable skill his answers to the questions that preoccupied not only his immediate audience but millions of men and women throughout the world. Characteristically he started with a personal reminiscence, recalling that he had been associated with the Organization's first Conference in Washington in 1919. Then he continued :

In those days, the ILO was still a dream. To many it was a wild dream . . . Wilder still was the idea that the people themselves who were directly affected—the workers and employers of the various countries—should have a hand with Governments in determining labour standards. Now twenty-two years have passed and the ILO has been tried and tested . . . To-day, you, the representatives of the thirty-five nations, have met here in the White House for the final session of your Conference. It is appropriate that I recall to you, who are in a full sense a parliament for man's justice, some words written in this house by a President who gave his life for justice. Nearly eighty years ago Abraham Lincoln said " The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relationship, should be uniting all working people, of all nations and tongues and kindreds."

After this general introduction he turned to the struggle in which the world was now engaged, building up in graphic detail a picture of the ordeal of Europe and referring to " the extremely limited sacrifice " the United States had " so far " been called upon to make. The significance of the words " so far " did not escape his audience. He had evidently chosen this occasion to make an important political pronouncement and this was confirmed as he proceeded. " *So far as we in the United States are concerned that struggle shall not be in vain . . . The American worker knows that his own liberty and the very safety of the people of the United States cannot be assured in a world which is three-fourths slave and one-fourth free .*" More he could not then say but there was no doubt that in this dramatic way he was at one and the same time drawing together strands of American opinion and giving it a definite lead.

Then he looked still further ahead.

In the process of our working and fighting for victory, however, we must never forget the goal which is beyond victory . . . We must plan now for the better world we aim to build. In the planning of such international action, the International Labour Organization, with its representatives of labour and management, its technical knowledge and experience, will be an invaluable instrument

for peace. Your Organization will have an essential part to play in building up a stable international system of social justice for all peoples everywhere.

Thus did the President put the seal of his approval on the ILO's claim.

Though I felt a warm glow of satisfaction, I was not inclined to exaggerate the part I had played in achieving this happy result. Many great forces had converged to bring it about. Perhaps I had only been carried along on their tide, or perhaps I had been the tiny catalytic agent that had provoked their combination at a particular moment. One thing was certain, and it was sufficient cause for rejoicing. Though the road that lay ahead might be long and arduous, its direction was clear. The ILO had turned the corner.

NOTE : Earlier instalments of these reminiscences appeared in *Studies*, Autumn 1954 and Summer 1955. Mr Phelan was associated with the ILO from its planning at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, and continued in its service until he retired from his post as Director General in 1948.

EDITOR'S NOTE : Readers, I think, will want to know how the poem printed opposite came to light. I discovered the MS, written and corrected in Hopkins's own hand, in the course of a thorough search through papers and letters preserved in the Jesuit house, 35 Lower Leeson Street, Dublin.

R. B. S.

St Thecla

AN UNPUBLISHED POEM

by GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS

That his fast-flowing hours with sandy silt
Should choke sweet virtue's glory is Time's great guilt.
Who thinks of Thecla? Yet her name was known,
Time was, next whitest after Mary's own.
To that first golden age of Gospel times
And bright Iconium eastwards reach my rhymes.
Near by is Paul's free Tarsus, fabled where
Spent Pegasus down the stark precipitous air
Flung rider and wings away; though these were none,
And Paul is Tarsus' true Bellerophon.
They are neighbours; but (what nearness could not do)
Christ's only charity charmed and chained these two.
  She, high at the housetop sitting, as they say,
Young Thecla, scanned the dazzling streets one day;
Twice lovely, tinted eastern, turnèd Greek—
Crisp lips, straight nose, and tender-slanted cheek.
Her weeds all mark her maiden, though to wed,
And bridegroom waits and ready are bower and bed.
Withal her mien is modest, ways are wise,
And grave past girlhood earnest in her eyes.
  Firm accents strike her fine and scrollèd ear,
A man's voice and a new voice speaking near.
The words came from a court across the way.
She looked, she listened: Paul taught long that day.
He spoke of God the Father and His Son,
Of world made, marred, and mended, lost and won;
Of virtue and vice; but most (it seemed his sense)
He praised the lovely lot of continence:
All over, some such words as these, though dark,
The world was saved by virgins, made the mark.
  He taught another time there and a third.
The earnest-hearted maiden sat and heard,
And called to come at mealtime she would not:
They rose at last and forced her from the spot.

The Windhover — and Christ

by HUGH KELLY, S.J.

OF the making of commentaries on Gerard Manley Hopkins's poem *The Windhover* there is no end ; and it is fast becoming a regular diversion of professors and literary critics. Some time ago one could be sure to find a fresh interpretation in every number of the *Times Literary Supplement.* The business began, it seems, in America, in the Catholic magazines and has flourished there for some time. Recently, the staid *Studies* has so far unbent as to take a hand in the game—Quarterlies *will* be Quarterlies. In the Autumn number of 1955 Mr Denis Donoghue gave his own interpretation in an article, *The Bird as Symbol* ; and in the Spring number the Reverend Francis G. Doyle, S.J., wrote a counter-comment in which he contested the interpretation of Mr Donoghue but confessed that he had no new one of his own which he could confidently offer.

One of the attractions of the pursuit is that as each new interpretation is to be different from all that went before, so it must be all the more difficult to construct and consequently will demand a greater degree of originality. Already some of the interpretations show a very high degree of ingenuity—for example that proposed by Mr Empson in the *Times Literary Supplement* in which he sees the mind of the poet working on three levels simultaneously ; he produces an explanation which is a very *tour de force* of complexity and virtuosity. For later contestants in this absorbing game the tape has been set very high indeed.

What, one wonders, would Hopkins himself have said, had he seen this proliferation of interpretation ? Would he have been amused or would he have been pained ? We know from his letters to Bridges that he did not expect his poetry to yield its meaning too easily ; and he even said somewhere that the precise sense of a poem is not the first thing one should always look for ; there were other elements which deserved attention. When he sent *Tom's Garland* to Bridges and Canon Dixon and heard of their difficulties in understanding it, he wrote : " I laughed outright and often but very sardonically, to think you and the Canon could not construe my last sonnet ; that he had to write to you for a crib. It is plain I must go no further on that road ; if you and he cannot understand, who will ? "

Naturally he wished his poetry to be understood ; but there were very special reasons why he would wish *The Windhover* to be rightly

understood and, in my opinion, he would have been deeply distressed if he had thought that the message it conveyed, and to which he attached the greatest importance, were to be lost in a welter of interpretations all of which have missed his meaning and many of which are " high fantastical".

Mr Donoghue is a serious student of Hopkins and has written with insight on his poetic technique. His interpretation of *The Windhover* is based on a competent knowledge of the author's poetic work and deserves to be read with respect. I do not propose here to examine it in detail, because in spite of its vigorous arguments and ingenuity it is, in my opinion, vitiated by the author's preliminary principle—that the poem is not about Christ. " Christ is not mentioned in the poem ; furthermore no aspect of the poem, apart from the dedication, has any explicitly religious reference. The most probable explanation [of the dedication to Christ] seems to me to be that after Hopkins had written *The Windhover* he decided that it was his finest poem and for that reason he dedicated that achievement to Christ Our Lord ; the dedication, not the composition of the poem was a religious act. Indeed, Fr Peters has pointed out that the dedication of the poem was added ' about six years after it was written'." It is strange enough to find the Reverend Francis Doyle accepting the same principle : " the exclusion of any mention of Christ," he writes, " is one point and about the only one in which I agree completely with him (Mr Donoghue)." On the contrary, I maintain that to exclude Christ is to throw away the key to the meaning of the poem, to take a wrong turn at the very first step and to condemn oneself to futile wandering in a maze of conjecture.

The contention then of this essay is that *The Windhover* is dedicated to Christ because it deals with Christ, because He is addressed in it, because it is Hopkin's distinctive way of expressing one of the central aspects of the mystery of Christ. As long as that truth is not recognized and taken as the guiding light in the investigation, so long will the interest and attention given to this poem issue out only in a succession of ingenious but false interpretations ; and so the game will go on merrily *ad infinitum*.

The fact that Hopkins singled out this poem by a dedication to Christ seems to demand a stronger reason than that he considered it his best poem. The most obvious reason would seem to be that it deals with Christ in a way that no other poem does. The fact that he did not insert the dedication when he wrote the poem only gives force to this explanation : he added the dedication six years later in order to emphasize the truth about the meaning of the poem, to give some help towards a right understanding of it.

The assumption that *The Windhover* has no " explicitly religious significance " is a strange one to make by any one who has read Hopkins: because it is a fact that all his nature poems have a spiritual significance or lesson, which is not merely implicit or something to be deduced, but which is explicitly expressed. In all these poems he illustrates the truth he states in *God's Grandeur* : " The world is charged with the grandeur of God." If any one doubts this statement he has only to glance at the series of poems which Mr Gardiner has included in his admirable *Penguin* edition—from numbers eight to seventeen—and he will find that every one of them conveys an explicit spiritual lesson ; and, moreover, that Christ is expressly addressed in four of them. Of the poems he wrote after he became a Catholic, and especially after he became a Jesuit, there are very few which are not religious poems in the strictest sense. It would be strange then if the one nature poem he dedicated to Christ were to be the one exception to his practice and be remarkable as having no reference to Christ ; it would be a case of *lucus a non-lucendo*, a poem dedicated to Christ but having nothing to say about Christ.

The Windhover is Hopkins's very distinctive and characteristic expression of the mystery of Christ the Redeemer ; his poetic expression of a truth expressed many times and in many ways in the Scriptures—both Old and New Testaments. The most beautiful and suggestive expression of this mystery was given by Christ Himself when He said in the Temple to the group of Greek Proselytes on Palm Sunday : " Amen, Amen I say to you, unless the grain of wheat falling into the ground die, itself remaineth alone. But if it die it bringeth forth much fruit." (John xii, 24, 25) The grain of wheat, to be fruitful, to be the source of a new shoot and ear, must be buried, must die to its own confined self, by shedding its husk, in order that a new life may spring from it. Christ Himself foretold that such was to be for Him also the condition of fruitfulness—He was to die and be buried before He could be the source of life to the world. And it was not merely fruit or profit, He foretold, which would come from this destruction, but even attractiveness, an irresistible power to win others to Himself : " And I if I be lifted up from the earth will draw all things to myself." (ibid, v. 32) The Evangelist who recorded these words notes expressly that Christ was speaking of His Crucifixion.

In a sermon which he preached two years after writing *The Windhover*, in November 1879, Hopkins expounds this truth at length, in a way which forms a commentary on the poem. " There met in Jesus Christ", he said, " all things that can make a man lovely and loveable." Then he goes on to describe the beauty of Christ the man, His beauty of body, His beauty of mind and heart and character. He sums up in a

vivid portrait : " I leave it to you, my brethren, to picture Him in Whom the fullness of the Godhead dwelt bodily, in His bearing how majestic, how strong, and yet how lovely and lissom in His limbs, in the look how earnest, grave, but kind." But, he goes on to point out, it was not by the natural play or exercise of these qualities that He achieved His work of redeeming the world and drawing men to Himself. " In His Passion all this strength was spent, this lissomness crippled, this beauty wrecked, this majesty beaten down." From frustration, destruction, sacrifice came life and victory, " the achievement, and mastery " of His work.

Moreover, that lesson of Christ's life, that victory comes from what seems to be failure, Hopkins did not merely expound in sermon or poem ; he came to see in it the meaning of his own life. " In all things", says Dr Pick, " he took as a model Christ whose life was doomed to succeed by failure."

That is how Hopkins expressed the mystery of Christ the Redeemer in a sermon—the same mystery he had expressed as a poet in *The Windhover*. I should mention that in his brief comment on the poems Mr Gardiner has referred to this sermon and quoted the most significant portions of it and at times seems to come close to the interpretation proposed here ; but he does not reach it, as far as I can judge from his remarks.

With this background of Hopkins's religious ideas we may approach the interpretation of the poem.

> I caught this morning morning's minion, king-
> dom of daylight's dauphin, dapple-dawn-drawn Falcon, in his riding
> Of the rolling level underneath him steady air, and striding
> High there, how he rung upon the rein of a wimpling wing
> In his ecstasy ! then, off, off forth on swing,
> As a skate's heel sweeps smooth on a bow-bend : the hurl and gliding
> Rebuffed the big wind. My heart in hiding
> Stirred for a bird,—the achieve of, the mastery of the thing !

There is no difficulty in the octet and little or no ground for the many cryptic references that ingenious commentators have professed to find in it. The poet who had such a fine, original sense of the beauty of the visible world, for " the dearest freshness deep down things", watches the windhover as it mounts, swoops, planes, in the morning air, and is stirred to admiration at this display of grace and power, where " brute beauty, valour and act, oh, air, pride, plume " are expressed in every movement. (Hopkins's marvellous poetic picture of the uncon-

scious, abounding vitality of the windhover excites in a reader a like admiration for his own art—for his own achievement and mastery.) It is perhaps not fanciful to see some signification in the phrase " my heart in hiding stirred for a bird". If a bird can display such beauty and power, can excite such admiration by its achievement, what may we not expect from Christ?

In the sestet is contained the meaning of the poem—and its difficulty.

> Brute beauty and valour and act, oh, air, pride, plume here
> Buckle ! AND the fire that breaks from thee then, a billion
> Times told lovelier, more dangerous, O my chevalier !

The key words in the sestet are " *here* " in the first line and " *then* " in the second. The windhover is not a symbol or image of Christ ; it is a *contrast.* The beauty and power of the bird is something physical, external, something at once evident and visible. But such is not the true beauty and power of Christ. " *Here*", in the case of Christ, the purely external qualities, beautiful though they are *buckle*, that is collapse and are brought to nought, and " *then*", as a result, His true greatness will flash out. " Brute beauty and valour and act, oh, air, pride and plume " were His in an unique measure ; but it is not in their natural, visible exercise that He will achieve His greatness ; that will come from and through their destruction. When they are brutally destroyed in His Passion " the fire that breaks from Thee *then* " is His true greatness ; it is only *then* that His true beauty and power are made visible ; only then is His achievement and mastery. " *Thee* " is Christ, and " *then* " is His Passion. In His Passion the beauty of virtue and sacrifice, of love, shines out like a fire ; *then* He is a billion times lovelier and more dangerous than if He manifested only His external human beauty ; the loveliness displayed in the sacrifice of His superb human qualities make Him all the more dangerous, i.e., attractive.

The admiration which the bird stirred in the poet is now stirred by Christ in His Passion and makes him cry out " O my chevalier !" These words can be addressed only to Christ. That way of addressing Christ comes well from one who was familiar with St Ignatius's meditation, the *Kingdom of Christ* in the *Spiritual Exercises.* There Christ is represented as a king who goes around the earth seeking for men to help Him in His expedition to re-conquer the world for His Father ; and who tries to win helpers for His cause by pledging that He Himself will share with them the hardships of the campaign and will guarantee that they will share the victory with Him. St Ignatius says that the man who would not respond to the call of such a king would be a *perverso caballero*, a mean-spirited cavalier, unworthy of the name. Christ is then the Head of all true Cavaliers, the Chevalier *par excellence.* Surely this is the source of Hopkins's choice of the word.

The last three lines find their natural application in the interpretation given.

> No wonder of it : shéer plód makes plough down sillion
> Shine, and blue-bleak embers, ah my dear,
> Fall, gall themselves, and gash gold-vermilion.

The poet finds in nature examples of that paradox which is the mystery and meaning of Christ's career—that from destruction or apparent destruction a new life, an unexpected beauty will come. He gives two examples which are highly characteristic of his peculiar way of looking at things. A plough-share, one might expect, would only be soiled and blackened by being dragged through the clay ; and yet at the end of the sillion or furrow, it emerges from the ground shining, brighter as a result of its immersion. What should have destroyed its shine has only increased it. Or again, a coal in the grate, blue-bleak, that seems to have lost all its heat, to be dead, falls out on the hearth and breaks and in the very breaking reveals the fire, gold-vermilion, that lay concealed in its heart ; from destruction came heat and fire.

To look to a sermon for the explanation of a sonnet is justifiable in the case of Hopkins. " His sermons are closely associated with his poems", says Dr Pick, who confirms his statement from a letter of the poet's to Bridges. " I am going to preach to-morrow . . . What I am putting not at all so plainly to the rest of the world, or rather to you and Canon Dixon, in a sonnet." The sermon and the poem were the two mediums by which he expressed his truest self. He is the most religious of poets ; his religion was an integral and essential part of himself and determined his outlook completely ; he saw life and the world *sub specie aeternitatis*.

Parody: James Joyce and an Irish Tradition

by VIVIAN MERCIER, M.A., PH.D.

Assistant Professor of English, The City College, New York.

Puck Mulligan footed featly, trilling :

I hardly hear the purlieu cry
Or a Tommy talk as I pass one by
Before my thoughts begin to run
On F. M'Curdy Atkinson,
The same that had the wooden leg . . . .[1]

Here we have the Irish tradition of parody represented in full career, travestying the lines of a great poet almost as soon as they are published. The time is supposedly 1904, the place the National Library of Ireland ; " Baile and Aillinn ", the poem parodied, formed part of *In the Seven Woods*, which Yeats published in 1903. Buck Mulligan's parody follows the brief prologue to the poem line by line :

I hardly hear the curlew cry,
Nor the grey rush when the wind is high,
Before my thoughts begin to run
On the heir of Uladh, Buan's son,
Baile, who had the honey mouth . . . .[2]

Oliver St John Gogarty, universally recognized as the original of Buck Mulligan, may not in fact have parodied this particular poem, but friends of Yeats did regularly produce travesties of his work for his and their amusement.[3] There is a reference to this practice in his published correspondence. A letter of 5 November 1922, written while the Irish Civil War was still raging, describes a dinner given in his honour at the Dublin Arts Club :

> At 10.15 . . . somebody threw a bomb outside in the street and the parodist, who was in the middle of a parody of my " Innisfree," did not pause nor did his voice hesitate.[4]

Joyce depicts Dublin as so saturated in parody that Stephen Dedalus,

[1] *Ulysses* (Hamburg, 1935), p. 223.
[2] *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats* (London, 1952), p. 459.
[3] Conversations with the late Mrs Kathleen Cruise O'Brien (*née* Sheehy).
[4] *The Letters of W. B. Yeats*, ed. Allan Wade (New York, 1955), p. 692.

who rather despises Mulligan's mockery, allows more than one snatch of parody to intrude upon his own reverie.

Before going any further, I should like to sketch a definition of parody and to indicate some of the ways in which Joyce uses this device in *Ulysses*. Toward the end of this article I hope to throw light on some aspects of *Finnegans Wake*, which is in effect one vast parody. Joyce's work prior to *Ulysses* appears to me to contain a great deal of pastiche, such as the poem recited in "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" or the juvenile poems by Stephen in *A Portrait*, but almost no parody.

Buck Mulligan's lines, however, constitute parody in the strictest sense, for they bear a very close metrical, verbal and syntactical resemblance to their original. Parody is always traced to the Greek rhapsodists, who often interspersed their recitals of Homer with

> . . . little poems composed of almost the same lines as those they had recited, whose meaning they twisted in order to express something else calculated to amuse the audience.[1]

Octave Delepierre, whose excellent book on parody I have just quoted, underlines this expressing of "something else" as essential to parody:

> It is . . . the substitution of a new subject which separates parody from the burlesque or the comic.[2]

As anybody who reads the Yeats lines and their parody to the end can see, not only have the personages been changed, but a passage exalting platonic love has been twisted so as to refer to something very different.

Most definitions of parody agree that it need not confine itself to the imitation of a specific passage or even of a specific work. Prose parodies frequently limit themselves to the imitation of an author's characteristic *style;* such are the parodies of English prose style through the centuries in the hospital ("Oxen of the Sun") episode of *Ulysses;* some of these even parody the *general* style of a period rather than that of a particular author.

We may go further still and speak of parodying an entire literary or sub-literary genre: Gerty MacDowell's reverie in the "Nausicaa" episode imitates what used to be called the *Peg's Paper* style, after an English publication once popular among servant girls. The newspaper headlines in the "Aeolus" episode may also be described as parodies.

[1]Octave Delepierre, *La Parodie chez les Grecs, chez les Romains, et chez les modernes* (London, 1870), p. 8n. My translation.
[2]*Ibid.*, p. 10.

In the " Cyclops " or pub episode we find parody of such genres as nineteenth-century translations of the Early Irish sagas ; accounts of spiritualist séances ; newspaper reports (of an execution, a G.A.A. meeting, a parliamentary debate, a wedding, etc.) ; an almost apocalyptic description of a religious procession, with copious illustrations from the Latin liturgy ; and a hilarious excerpt from a Gaelic League journal, purporting to deal with the dog Garryowen's ability to recite Irish verse. The supposed translation of " the canine original " runs as follows :

The curse of my curses
Seven days every day
And seven dry Thursdays
On you, Barney Kiernan,
Has no sup of water
To cool my courage,
And my guts red roaring
After Lowry's lights.[1]

This parody has so many possible applications that one wavers between the original verse of Synge and the translations of Douglas Hyde, or between Yeats and Lady Gregory in certain of their phases, before finally deciding that the entire Anglo-Irish Literary Revival is their true victim.

Before leaving *Ulysses* we must take note of the type of parody implicit in the book's title. I say " parody " advisedly, for the subject of *Ulysses* is no longer that of the *Odyssey*. Even if Bloom were called Odysseus and all the other characters were allotted their Homeric names, I do not think we could describe *Ulysses* as a burlesque. In true burlesque Bloom would have to draw the bow of Odysseus while speaking with the accents of Dublin. He would have to undergo shipwreck and all kinds of other physical hardships, or at least some semblance of them, for vulgarization of lofty material is essential to burlesque. The " tedious brief scene " of Pyramus and Thisbe acted by Bottom and his friends is a good example of the genre. An older Irish contemporary of Joyce begins a characteristic piece of burlesque thus :

> " Essex," said Queen Elizabeth, as the two of them sat at breakwhist in the back parlour of Buckingham Palace ; " Essex, me haro, I've got a job that I think would suit you. Do you know where Ireland is ? " " I'm no great fist at jography," says his Lordship, " but I know the place you mane. Population, three million ; exports, emigrants."[2]

[1] *Ulysses*, p. 324.

[2] *Prose, Poems and Parodies of Percy French*, ed. Mrs De Burgh Daly (Dublin, 1953), p. 174.

On the other hand, *Ulysses* is not a stylistic parody of Homer, as are the *Batrachomyomachia* and *The Rape of the Lock*. The chief formal elements of the *Odyssey* parodied in *Ulysses* are the over-all rhythms of search for the father, wandering, and return home, emphasized by the division of the book into three unequal parts, indicated by Roman numerals.

No doubt one could say that the personages of the *Odyssey* are parodied, though "caricatured" would be a more precise term. The plots of individual episodes—plot, of course, constitutes a formal element—are travestied also. It would hardly be stretching the meaning of "parody" too far to describe *Ulysses* as a thematic and structural parody of the *Odyssey*. This type of parody has at least one precedent in Irish literature: *The Vision of MacConglinne,* which I shall discuss later, presents many parallels with the life of Christ, though it makes no recognizable attempt to imitate the language of the Gospels.

It may be objected that *Ulysses* is not a true parody, since it does not expose the work of Homer to even the mildest sort of ridicule, though it belittles modern life by comparison with the heroic past. I disagree. In the light of *Finnegans Wake* we can safely read into *Ulysses* the implication that Homer's heroes were not quite so heroic as he painted them, and that Penelope, like Molly Bloom, was no better than she should be. Hugh Kenner, in his forthcoming *Dublin's Joyce,*[1] reproduces Joyce's own table of the Homeric correspondences in *Ulysses*. Twice, Joyce seems to show a knowledge of Bacon's *The Wisdom of the Ancients*: first, when he equates Proteus with Primal Matter; second, when he has Scylla ("The Rock") symbolize Aristotle and Charybdis ("The Whirlpool") symbolize Plato. Bacon writes of "the Rocks of Distinctions and the Gulfs of Universalities; which two are famous for the Wrack both of Wits and Arts."[2] If Joyce did know Bacon's work, he cannot have missed this surprising account of the origin of Pan:

> . . . others attribute to him a far different beginning, affirming him to be the common Offspring of *Penelope's* Suitors, upon a Suspicion that every one of them had to do with her . . . .[3]

Those who are not convinced should at least consider the possibility that the past as well as the present is being held up to ridicule in *Ulysses*.

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[1]Having read this book in typescript and again recently in proof, I must express my general indebtedness to and agreement with Mr Kenner's assessment of Joyce.

[2]Francis Bacon, *The Essays . . . with the Wisdom of the Ancients*, ed. S. W. Singer (London, 1857), p. 340. For Proteus see pp. 291–3.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 262.

II

I shall have more to say later about the ways in which Joyce uses parody to focus the past upon the present and *vice versa*. First, however, I want to justify the reference in my title to an Irish *tradition* of parody. It will be necessary to examine in some detail certain Irish works which may be unfamiliar to most readers of Joyce, even though they have been translated into English. I must also speak more briefly about several rather more familiar Anglo-Irish parodists, some of whom may have had a direct influence on Joyce.

The Vision of MacConglinne, referred to above, may be the oldest as well as the best major work of parody in Irish. Professor Myles Dillon, in a recent book, finds no reason to disagree with the judgment expressed by Kuno Meyer and Wilhelm Wollner in 1892—namely, that the *Vision* " was composed in the twelfth century . . . the work of a wandering scholar with a grudge against the church . . . " [1] The oldest surviving version is found in the *Lebor Brecc,* a codex of the late fourteenth century.

The *Vision* tells of a clerical student named Aniér MacConglinne who has abandoned his studies for poetry and become a *scholaris vagans.* Having received the most meagre hospitality at the Abbey of Cork, he recites a satire on the monks. The Abbot sentences him to be crucified, but during the night before his execution MacConglinne has a vision of a land so abounding with food that everything—boats, houses, clothing—is made of it. When the Abbot hears of this vision, he decides that the poet may be able to cure Cathal, King of Munster, of a hunger demon that makes him perpetually ravenous.

After various preliminaries, MacConglinne arranges to have the King bound firmly to the wall of the palace. He then prepares a delicious meal and passes tasty morsels before the King's mouth while describing last night's vision of gluttony. Finally the demon leaps out of the King's mouth to get at the food. MacConglinne traps him under an overturned caldron and has the palace evacuated and burned to the ground. The King rewards MacConglinne, who triumphs over the monks. In the words of the late Dr Robin Flower :

> The tale . . . is one long parody of the literary methods used by the clerical scholars. At every turn we recognize a motive or a phrase from the theological, the historical, and the grammatical literature. A full commentary on the Vision from this point of view would be little short of a history of the development of literary forms in Ireland. And it is not only the literary tricks of the monks that are held up to mockery. The writer makes sport of the most sacred things, not sparing even the Sacraments and Christ's crucifixion. He jests at relics, at tithes, at ascetic practices, at amulets, at the sermons and private devotions of the monks . . . .[2]

[1] Myles Dillon, *Early Irish Literature* (Chicago, 1948), p. 143.
[2] Robin Flower, *The Irish Tradition* (Oxford, 1947), p. 76.

We must regret that Dr Flower never found time to provide such a "full commentary" himself. Even a reader who knows the *Vision* only in translation and has done but little collateral reading can substantiate some of Dr Flower's statements. For instance, the beginning of this riotous tale solemnly adheres to a traditional formula:

> The four things to be asked of every composition must be asked of this composition, *viz.*, place, and person, and time, and cause of invention.[1]

The ending, too, is a conventional one for saints' lives or other edifying narratives:

> There are thirty chief virtues attending this tale, and a few of them are enough for an example.
>
> The married couple to whom it is related the first night shall not separate without an heir . . .
>
> The new house, in which it is the first tale told, no corpse shall be taken out of it . . . .[2]

Many of MacConglinne's adventures seem devised intentionally to parody the life of Christ. He is unjustly convicted, scourged, condemned to be crucified, tied to a pillar-stone instead of a pillar. (In the later version of the tale found in a Trinity College, Dublin, MS., H.3.18, King Cathal plays the role of Pilate; he "said he would not crucify a bard, but the clerics might do it themselves, for it was they that knew the wrong he had done."[3]) Aniér himself makes the blasphemous comparison, saying, ". . . we will go in humility, as our Master, Jesus Christ, went to His Passion."[4] He carries his own cross to the place of execution. When he is finally triumphant, he is permitted to sit always at the King's right hand and is granted the right of intercession—all but one-third of it, which is reserved to the men of Ireland.

Within its loose framework the *Vision* includes several very specific parodies of literary and liturgical forms, all harping on the food theme. In one, Aniér traces the genealogy of Abbot Manchín up to Adam, as the genealogy of Christ is traced in the third chapter of St Luke's Gospel:

> "Bless us, O cleric, famous pillar of learning,
> Son of honey-bag, son of juice, son of lard . . ."

and so on for twenty lines more, up to

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[1] *Aislinge Meic Conglinne*, ed. and tr. Kuno Meyer (London, 1892), p. 2. The translation only is reprinted in *Ancient Irish Tales*, ed. Tom Peete Cross and Clark Harris Slover (New York, 1936), pp. 551–87.

[2] *Aislinge*, pp. 110–2.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

" Son of bone-nourishing nut-fruit, son of Abel, son of Adam."[1]

Elsewhere we find what seems to be a parody of a *lorica* or " breast-plate prayer " for protection, several of which survive from the early Celtic Church :

> ' Off with thee now to the suets and cheeses,' said the phantom.
> ' I will certainly go,' said MacConglinne, ' and do you put a gospel around me.'
> ' It shall be given,' said the phantom, ' even a gospel of four-cornered even dry cheese, and I will put my own paternoster around thee, and neither greed nor hunger can visit him around whom it is put.' And he said :
> ' May smooth juicy bacon protect thee, O MacConglinne ! ' . . .
> ' May hard yellow-skinned cream protect thee, O MacConglinne !
> ' May the caldron full of pottage protect thee, O MacConglinne !
> ' May the pan full of pottage protect thee, O MacConglinne ! ' [2]

In similar vein, Austin Clarke makes the King say an act of *nu*trition instead of *con*trition in his verse play, " The Son of Learning," based on the *Vision.*[3]

This kind of blasphemous parody has of course the utmost relevance to Joyce's work, but it was commonplace during the Middle Ages ; blasphemy has little charm except in ages of faith, just as we relish most those parodies which ridicule the authors we most admire. The most sacred portions of the Catholic liturgy were the most frequently parodied, so that the Council of Trèves felt obliged to pass the following decree :

> *Item, praecipimus ut omnes sacerdotes non permittant Trutannos et alios vagos scholares, aut Goliardos cantare versus super* Sanctus *et* Agnus Dei, *in missis, &c.*[4]

No doubt it was frequently disobeyed. Delepierre mentions the great number of parodies of the Mass which still survive, and quotes a typical one in honour of Bacchus from Harleian MS. 913 :

> *INCIPIT MISSA DE POTATORIBUS*
> *Introibo ad altare Bacchi.* R. *Ad eum qui laetificat cor hominis.*

It continues in the same spirit down to

> . . . *per dominum nostrum reum Bacchum, qui bibit et poculat, per omnia pocula poculorum.*[5]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 32–4.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 80–2.
[3] *The Collected Poems of Austin Clarke* (London, 1936), p. 195.
[4] Delepierre, p. 54n.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 39–40.

Joyce might well have written the last phrase if he had thought of it. Two of the changes that he rings on *saecula saeculorum* in *Finnegans Wake* —" *Insomnia, somnia somniorum* " (p. 193) and " from circular circulatio " (p. 427)—can be allowed to stand for all the thousands of such blasphemous parodies in the book. Protestants may take note, for instance, of two parodies of the Lord's Prayer, on pages 530–1 and 536.[1]

Since the *goliardi* were such notorious parodists, they may well have forged more than one saint's life. Professor R. A. S. Macalister says flatly that the " Life of Findchua of Bri-Gobann " in the *Book of Lismore,* a codex of the late fifteenth century, is a goliardic parody.[2] Father John Ryan, S.J., makes a less sweeping statement. Referring to the hospitality given visiting monks in early Christian Ireland, he writes :

> So common was this feature that it was burlesqued by the imaginative writer of St Findchua's life. When this abbot was informed that Ronán the Fair, a holy elder of Fir Breg, was on the way to visit him with some companions, he is reported to have exclaimed : " Let a vessel of ale, enough to intoxicate fifty, and food enough for a hundred be given them, and if they deem that insufficient, add more ! "[3]

Such a piece of exaggeration would not prove anything by itself, since even the account of Findchua's suckling a boy at his right breast is hardly out of keeping with the other saints' lives in the *Book of Lismore.* But the saint is represented as taking part in seven battles and giving way constantly to the sin of anger ; on one occasion his head gets so hot that it burns his tutor's cowl ; his lay neighbours describe him as a " slaughterous warrior." In one battle he behaves more like a Celtic war-god than a Christian saint :

> Then the cleric's nature rises against them, so that sparks of blazing fire burst forth out of his teeth. And that fire burnt up the shafts of the spears, and the wrists and forearms of the marauders . . . [4].

It is comforting to learn that at the end of his days Findchua made a pilgrimage to Rome : " . . . for he was repentant of the battles which he had fought and the deeds which he had done for friendship and for love of brotherhood."[5]

If the " Life of Findchua " is a parody, it missed its mark, for it was obviously taken seriously by the compilers of the *Book of Lismore.*

[1] *Finnegans Wake* (New York, 1947). All later quotations are from this edition, but incorporate Joyce's own corrections, as given on pp. 629–43 of the same edition.
[2] *The Book of Mac Carthaigh Riabhach* (Dublin, 1950), p. xvii.
[3] *Irish Monasticism* (London, 1931), p. 326.
[4] *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore,* ed. and tr. Whitley Stokes (Oxford, 1890), p. 236.
[5] *Ibid.,* p. 243.

Nobody who has even the most superficial knowledge of the saints' lives in Irish will wonder why. Typically, the earliest version of a saint's life is written in Latin and is a sober enough document. Later come the Irish versions, in which the Latin life is either ignored or overlaid with a tissue of pagan folklore.[1]

It will cheer many people to learn that the *goliardi* did not have all the laughers on their side. As Robin Flower has shown, lay learning regained its independence in Ireland about the twelfth century, when the hereditary bardic families once more achieved prominence under the patronage of the native, and even of the Anglo-Norman, aristocracy. Naturally the bards incurred the jealousy of their clerical rivals.[2] It is probably to this rivalry that we owe the uproarious parody and burlesque of earlier Druidic pedantry which we find in *Imtheacht na Tromdháimhe* or *Tromdámh Guaire,* which was edited and translated from the *Book of Lismore* almost a century ago by Professor Owen Connellan. He translated the title as *The Proceedings of the Great Bardic Institution,* but Dr Flower gives a more accurate version, *The Proceedings of the Burdensome Bardic Company.*

This satire studded with parodies and burlesques seems to consist of four different stories ; the hero—or rather, victim—of the first is a *fili* (a poet who is also something of a seer, like the Latin *vates*) named Dallán Forguill, who belongs to the late sixth or early seventh century. His *Amra Choluim Chille* or " Eulogy of St Columba " is a well-known but not well-understood poem, for its language is " very obscure."[3]

The three remaining stories deal with Dallán Forguill's successor as chief of the poets of Ireland, Seanchan (Senchán) Torpéist. The first of these, in which Senchán and his huge company of poets, students, servants, and womenfolk make extravagant demands upon the hospitality of King Guaire, seems to be the main source of *The King's Threshold,* a tragedy in which Yeats ignores the satire and takes the side of the poet against the king.

In the next story Senchán satirizes the mice that steal his food and the cats who should have killed the mice. A giant cat carries him off, and he is saved only by the intervention of St Ciarán of Clonmacnois. Senchán does not show the least gratitude to the saint, " . . . for", says he, " I would rather that Guaire would be satirized than that I should live and he not satirized."[4]

The last story recounts a battle of wits between Senchán and Marvan (Marbán) the hermit, who has already helped Guaire to meet the harsh

[1]See R. A. Stewart Macalister, *The Secret Languages of Ireland* (Cambridge, Eng., 1937), pp. 64, 67.
[2]See Flower, pp. 67–93.
[3]Dillon, p. 172.
[4]*Transactions of the Ossianic Society,* vol. V (Dublin, 1860), p. 87.

demands of the bards. Marbán, champion of Christian learning—and something of an old wizard into the bargain—completely outwits the bards by forcing them to admit that they do not know *Táin Bó Cuailgne,* the greatest of the Irish sagas. In order to learn it, they finally have to summon the hero Fergus from the dead.

Dallán Forguill's mission in the first part of the satire is to obtain the magic shield of the King of Oriel for his own patron, Hugh the Fair, King of Brefney. First he tries to win it by compliments; the poem he addresses to the King of Oriel must be either a parody or a burlesque:

> "That is a good poem", says the king, "whoever could understand it." "That is true for you", says Dallán, "and whosoever composes a poetic remonstrance, it is he himself who ought to explain it . . . ."[1]

Inevitably, by the time he has finished we wish he would explain his explanation. Having failed to get what he wants by flattery, Dallán tries satire; the King again replies politely:

> "We must confess . . . that we do not know whether that is better or worse than the first poem you composed."[2]

The bard then proceeds to gloss his own invective. His satire, being unjust, recoils on his own head, in accordance with the laws laid down by the saints of Ireland, and he dies three days later.

The satires of Senchán against mice and cats, which cause ten mice to fall dead before him, but merely anger the giant cat Irusan, are true parodies, since the scathing verses usually directed against humans —and widely credited with the power to cause disfigurement or even death—are here directed against insignificant victims. The outrageous demands or wishes expressed by Senchán and his companions are obvious parodies, being long, almost meaningless, and seemingly impossible of fulfilment until Marbán comes to the rescue.

In the final story Marbán obtains his choice of whatever music he wishes because he can show his relationship to the arts:

> ". . . the grandmother of my servant's wife was descended from poets." "You shall obtain your choice of the arts, though very remote is your connection with them," said Senchán . . . .[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

From such examples as the *Vision of MacConglinne* and the *Proceedings of the Burdensome Bardic Company* we can learn what kind of social and cultural situation it is that gives rise to major works of parody, such as *Don Quixote* or the attacks of Aristophanes upon Euripides and Socrates. Mere intellectual rivalry is not enough ; an outmoded literary tradition or one that has yet to establish itself must be seen as the symbol of a rival social group, whether it be a class or a political party. The lay intellectuals—*goliardi* or bards—lampoon their clerical rivals for social power and prestige ; the clerics return the compliment.

We find the same efflorescence of parody, and an even greater bitterness, in the attacks on the " Cockney School " of poetry in early nineteenth-century England. Mistrust of and contempt for a new kind of poetry were reinforced by class and political prejudices in the minds of writers for the *Quarterly Review*, *Blackwood's*, and, later, *Fraser's*. The same complex of feelings produced the parodies of *The Anti-Jacobin* a little earlier.

Joyce's astonishing outburst of parody results from his fighting a war on two fronts at once. On the one hand, he is fighting the old battle of the wandering scholar against the clergy, who must inevitably tend to dominate intellectual life in a Catholic country. On the other hand, he is fighting the battle of philosophy and the humanities, as he had learned them from his Jesuit teachers, against the science and pseudo-science that capture the allegiance of an untutored man of good will like Leopold Bloom and encourage his native vulgarity. Such an intellectual position as Joyce's may not be entirely self-consistent, but it is a grand place from which to start a fight.

A more personal type of rivalry, one which has proved a fruitful source of parody in Irish down the centuries, finds expression in the poetic contest—or " flyting ", to give it its Scots name. Since the exchange of poetic abuse is probably as old as Irish poetry itself, there is every likelihood that the Scots exponents of " flyting " adopted the tradition from their Gaelic-speaking contemporaries. From " The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie " itself we learn that Walter Kennedy could speak Gaelic.

The neatest way of retorting to an opponent in such a verbal battle is obviously to parody his verses. Macalister cites an example from the eighth century. Cú Cuimne, who died in 742, was attacked in the following quatrain for leaving the seminary and taking a wife :

> Cú-Cuimne read half the pages
> Ever written by the sages.
> At the rest he never fags ;
> He has left it all—for hags.

Cú Cuimne replied in a parody or palinode :

> Cú-Cuimne read half the pages
> Ever written by the sages :
> Now the rest with care he'll read
> Till he is a sage indeed.[1]

A thousand years later we find the same tradition still alive in Irish-speaking Ireland. John O'Tuomy (Seán Ó Tuama an Ghrinn), a poet who kept a publichouse in the city of Limerick until he went bankrupt, advertised his tavern in a poem which James Clarence Mangan afterwards translated. I give the first stanza only :

> I sell the best brandy and sherry,
> To make my good customers merry ;
> But at times their finances
> Run short, as it chances,
> And then I feel very sad, very ![2]

His scapegrace friend Andrew Magrath (Andrias Mac Craith—" An Mangaire Súgach "), a hedge schoolmaster and a true wandering scholar, better known than O'Tuomy as a poet, replied in a much longer poem, of which I again give only the first stanza in Mangan's translation :

> O, Tuomy ! you boast yourself handy
> At selling good ale and bright brandy,
> But the fact is your liquor
> Makes everyone sicker,
> I tell you that, I, your friend Andy.[3]

These translations of Mangan's are believed to have provided the " limerick," a very old stanza-form, with its modern name.[4]

I need hardly point out the relevance of the " flyting " tradition to the work of Joyce, who mercilessly parodied his critics in the " Shem " episode (pp. 169–95) of *Finnegans Wake*.

In dealing with the Anglo-Irish tradition of parody I shall say nothing of Swift for fear of saying too much. Parody is implicit in some of his finest work—*A Tale of a Tub, A Modest Proposal,* even *Gulliver's Travels*. I have no wish to attempt anything like a full history of Anglo-Irish parody, which is indistinguishable from English parody whenever

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[1] Macalister, *Secret Languages,* p. 127.
[2] *1000 Years of Irish Poetry,* ed. Kathleen Hoagland (New York, 1947), p. 186.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 187.
[4] See Eric Cross, " The Limerick and Limerick," *The Bell* (Dublin, March, 1953), XVIII, 615–21. For the two poets, see Daniel Corkery, *The Hidden Ireland* (Dublin, 1925), pp. 273–81.

its victims are the great English poets. William Maginn's best parody, "Don Juan Unread," based on Wordsworth's "Yarrow Unvisited", may stand for all such work. I should like, however, to mention one remarkable squib of Maginn's, on which he lavished all his humour and learning, the "'Luctus' on the Death of Sir Daniel Donnelly, Late Champion of Ireland" which appeared in *Blackwood's* for May, 1820. This symposium of mourning for an Irish prizefighter fills 35 pages in Maginn's collected works and includes commemorative poems allegedly by Byron, Wordsworth and others; a Greek elegy; a Latin one; a Hebrew dirge, supposedly by "Jackie" Barrett, the eccentric Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, accompanied by a characteristic letter; and fulsome poems and speeches said to be the work of leading citizens in Maginn's native Cork.[1] Here and elsewhere in Maginn's work we find anticipations of Father Francis Mahony's audacious and sometimes libellous pranks in his *Reliques of Father Prout,* a series which appeared in *Fraser's* under Maginn's editorship. I prefer Mahony to Maginn; though perhaps not so versatile, he draws on a far richer personality.

Mention of "Father Prout" brings us to a vein of parody which is peculiarly Anglo-Irish. Irish as a spoken language was dying out as the eighteenth century faded into the nineteenth, but the traditional Irish tunes did not die. New English words were fitted to them, which often bore no relation to the Irish. Usually these words were supplied by Anglo-Irishmen—including Goldsmith, it is said—but sometimes they were the work of folk poets. One such ballad, "Castlehyde", by an itinerant heir of the bards from County Cork whose name has not come down to us, inspired a famous parody, "The Groves of Blarney", which in its turn was imitated and parodied *ad nauseam.*

The poet of "Castlehyde" admittedly knew more Irish than English, but those who scoffed at him failed to realize that he was attempting to render the assonantal patterns of Irish poetry in English. What seem to be ludicrously bad shots at rhyme are really assonances; in accumulating these, the poet has undoubtedly strained the English language severely. Here is my favourite excerpt:

The grand im*prove*ments
They would a*muse* you
The *trees* are *droo*ping
With *fruit* all *kind*;
The *bees* per*fum*ing
The *fields* with *mu*sic,
Which *yields* more *beau*ty
To Castle*hyde.*[2]

[1] *Miscellaneous Writings of the Late Doctor Maginn,* ed. Shelton Mackenzie (New York, 1855), II, 47–82. For "Don Juan Unread" see I, 179.

[2] Hoagland, p. 255. I have divided the lines and used italics to emphasize the assonances.

" The Groves of Blarney", by Richard Millikin of Cork, while it won its author's bet that he could write something more ridiculous than " Castlehyde", displays little of the skilled vowel harmony of its original. I shall quote here not Millikin's authentic text, but the one given by " Father Prout " in " A Plea for Pilgrimages", his tongue-in-cheek account of the pilgrimage of Sir Walter Scott to the Blarney Stone in 1825. Beside it I give an excerpt from what Mahony claimed was the Greek original, an incredibly accurate rendering, as I hope my literal translation will show. He also offered a French version which avoids all the absurdities of the English and a Latin version which is not up to the usual high standard of Mahony's Latinity. There is even an alleged rendering into Irish of one stanza. Mahony later produced an Italian version also.

THE GROVES OF BLARNEY	*Ἡ Ὑλη Βλαρνικη*
I.	*α.*
The Groves of Blarney,	*Της Βλαρνιας αἱ ὕλαι*
They look so charming,	*Φερισται, καλλιφυλλαι,*
Down by the purlings	*Ὅπου σιγῃ ρεουσι*
Of sweet silent brooks,	*Πηγαι ψιθυριζουσαι·*
All decked by posies	*Ἑκοντα γεννηθεντα*
That spontaneous grow there,	*Ὁμως τε φυτευθεντα*
Planted in order	*Μεσσοις εν αγκονεσσιν*
In the rocky nooks.	*Εστ᾽ ανθε᾽ πετρωδεσσιν.* [1]

(*Literal translation of the Greek* : " Of the Blarney the woods, best, with beautiful leaves, where silently flow springs murmuring ; spontaneously generated and likewise planted in the middle dells are flowers." The last word in the Greek means " rocky " and agrees with the word for " dells " in the previous line. A prose translation could hardly be more faithful to the original than Mahony's rhymed one is.)

Mahony wrote at least two imitations of " The Groves of Blarney " in English ; one is entitled " The Attractions of a Fashionable Irish Watering-Place " and sings the praises of " The town of Passage."[2] Much more famous, however, is " The Shandon Bells ". This *jeu d'esprit* has somehow stumbled into *The Oxford Book of English Verse* and thence to a terrific " New Critical " drubbing at the hands of Messrs Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren,[3] thus answering Pope's rhetorical question, " Who breaks a butterfly upon a wheel ? "

[1] *The Works of Father Prout*, ed. Charles Kent (London, 1881), pp. 34–5. Greek accents omitted in original.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

[3] Cleanth Brooks, jr., and Robert Penn Warren, *Understanding Poetry* (New York, 1946), pp. 220–4.

In truth " The Shandon Bells " is but a pastiche of a parody ; the occasion for its first appearance throws a light on the perverse wit of Francis Mahony. In one of the " Prout Papers " he presented what he alleged to be the French, Latin and Greek originals of poems by Thomas Moore—who, being a Whig, was a favourite target of Maginn and Mahony. These " originals " were written by Mahony himself with the help of a former pupil, Frank Stack Murphy, who appears as " an obscure Greek poet, called *Σταχκος Μορφιδης*." The article ended with Father Prout's account of how he had sung his own " The Shandon Bells " to Moore—verses which the latter soon plagiarized in " Those Evening Bells ", one of the songs in his *National Airs*.[1]

I have dwelt rather long on Mahony because, like Joyce, he received his entire formal education from the Jesuits. Any remote chance Mahony still had of being ordained a Jesuit priest disappeared when he was forced to resign from the post of Master of Rhetoric at Clongowes Wood College, Joyce's first *alma mater*, partly as the result of a drunken spree with his students ; some of the blame for this escapade rests with the father of one of them.[2]

Mahony's long residence and death on the Continent of Europe and his skill in polylingual puns also remind us of Joyce. I cannot prove that Joyce knew of Mahony's connection with Clongowes, but he is mentioned at least once in *Finnegans Wake* : " The prouts who will invent a writing there ultimately is the poeta, still more learned, who discovered the raiding there originally " (p. 482). One could not be sure that Father Prout, as well as Marcel Proust and the Latin dissyllable *prout*, was among those present, were it not that the same paragraph contains a reference to " the bells of scandal ".

Both Maginn and Edward Vaughan Kenealy—a linguist, but hardly a wit, who translated " Castlehyde " into Greek—were graduates of Trinity College, Dublin, where the undergraduate weekly magazine, *T.C.D.*, is still known for its parodies, as *Hermathena* is for its Greek and Latin renderings of English verse. Robert Yelverton Tyrrell, a Fellow of the College and one of the great Latin and Greek scholars of his day, carried on the Maginn tradition admirably. Shortly after being elected to Fellowship in 1868, he founded a magazine named *Kottabos* which became world-famous for its parodies and Greek and Latin verses, as well as for the original English poetry of Oscar Wilde and others. The best of the work in its scarce volumes was reprinted in an anthology, *Echoes from Kottabos*.[3] Tyrrell's own " Herodotus in Dublin (*The original Greek is added when it is deemed necessary*) " was a

[1] *The Works of Father Prout*, pp. 83–103.
[2] See *ibid.*, pp. vii–xxxiv.
[3] Ed. R. Y. Tyrrell and Sir Edward Sullivan, Bart. (London, 1906).

favourite parody, as was R. F. Littledale's "The Oxford Solar Myth." The latter, which put forward the view that Max Müller, the German philologist and dabbler in comparative mythology, was the sun, had the distinction of being translated into German! The link between Tyrrell and Joyce was of course Gogarty, who was at one time a friend of both.

III

Finally we come to a Trinity graduate whose work as a parodist and author of popular songs was peculiarly dear to James Joyce, as to many other Irishmen of his generation. William Percy French (1854–1922), better known as Percy French, was distinguished for his banjo-playing rather than his classical learning while at college. His greatest achievement there was the writing of "Abdullah Bulbul Ameer," now better known to American undergraduates than to Irish ones. A London publisher pirated and copyrighted the song, so that French never earned a penny by it nor even had the satisfaction of being acknowledged as its author.

After futile attempts to settle down as a civil engineer, French became, first a humorous journalist, then a travelling entertainer singing his own comic songs, giving his own recitations, and doing clever lightning cartoons.[1] This Anglo-Irish successor to the medieval gleemen wrote a number of songs to original or traditional Irish tunes, some of which have become so popular that they are often mistaken for anonymous folksongs. "The Mountains of Mourne", "Phil the Fluter's Ball", and "Come Back Paddy Reilly (to Ballyjamesduff)" are probably the best-known.

"Phil the Fluter's Ball" bulks almost as large in *Finnegans Wake* as the ballad which gave the book its title. As a matter of fact, the paragraph on p. 6 of *Finnegans Wake* in which the wake of the hod-carrier Tim Finnegan is first described contains at least two detailed allusions to "Phil the Fluter's Ball". First we read, "And the all gianed in with the shoutmost shoviality", which corresponds to the line in the fourth verse of the song, "Then all joined in wid the greatest joviality . . . " Later comes, "Tee the tootal of the fluid hang the twoddle of the fuddled, O!" which parodies the opening of the chorus, "With the toot of the flute, And the twiddle of the fiddle, O . . . ."[2]

[1] *Chronicles and Poems of Percy French*, ed. Mrs De Burgh Daly (Dublin, 1922) contains a great deal of biographical detail about French, some in his own words.

[2] Sheet music. "Copyright 1937 by Keith Prowse & Co., Ltd. Published by arrangement with Messrs Pigott & Co., Ltd., Dublin."

Even in the previous paragraph on p. 6 there is what may be described as an allusion to French's song. Tim when drunk is called "Phill", ". . . wan warning Phill filt tippling full." Wherever one finds a further allusion to "Phil the Fluter", a reference to the hod-carrier's wake is usually not far away. Not counting those on p. 6, I have found at least sixteen allusions to French's ballad in *Finnegans Wake.*[1]

I can find no allusion to "The Mountains of Mourne"—which does not prove that there is none—but on p. 485 we read these words: "Come back, baddy wrily, to Bullydamestough! Cum him, buddy rowly, with me!" The following other songs by French are alluded to: "Mick's Hotel (by the Salt Say Water)", p. 50; "Phishlin Phil McHugh", p. 50; "Shlathery's Mounted Fut", pp. 137, 181, 405; "Are Ye Right There, Michael?", pp. 66, 296; "Abdullah Bulbul Ameer", p. 355; and "Drumcolliher", pp. 60, 176, 540.

The "Drumcolliher" references on p. 540 require special explanation. The song tells of a typical one-horse (and one-shop) town:

> There's only one house in Drumcolliher,
> For hardware and bacon and tea . . . .[2]

None the less, the native of Drumcolliher is proud of it and wouldn't live anywhere else. Hence the travel agent's slogans in four languages on p. 540 of *Finnegans Wake.* The last of these, however, strikes a sinister note: "*Vedi Drumcollogher e poi Moonis.*" You will say that it is merely a variation on "See Naples and die". No doubt—but note the spelling of "Drumcollogher." There is a real town of that name in County Limerick; in 1926, 48 people were burned to death there in a cinema fire.[3]

In accordance with Joycean punctilio, Percy French is mentioned twice by name in *Finnegans Wake,* once in the first footnote on p. 296 as "Parsee ffrench", and again on p. 495 in the phrase "skirriless ballets in Parsee Franch . . . ". Percy French indeed wrote many ballads, but none of them was scurrilous; the nearest this kindly man ever came to satire was in verses entitled "The Queen's After-Dinner Speech", as supposedly reported by a waiter at the Viceregal Lodge during Queen Victoria's state visit to Ireland in 1900. The references to Maud Gonne and W. B. Yeats should be better known than they are:

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[1]Pp. 12, 58, 63, 230, 240, 277–8, 297, 318–9, 335, 341, 351, 363, 444, 491.

[2]Sheet music. "Copyright 1940 in the U.S.A. by Pigott & Co."

[3]*Irish Independent* (Dublin), Golden Jubilee Edition (Jan. 3, 1955), p. 39.

"That Maud Gonne", sez she,
"Dhressin' in black", sez she,
"To welcome me back", sez she;
"Though I don't care", sez she,
"What they wear", sez she,
"An' all that gammon", sez she,
"About me bringin' famine", sez she.
"Now Maud 'ill write", sez she,
"That I brought the blight", sez she,
"Or altered the saysons", sez she,
"For some private raysins", sez she,
"An' I think there's a slate", sez she,
"Off Willie Yeats", sez she.
"He should be at home", sez she,
"French polishin' a pome", sez she,
"An' not writin' letters", sez she,
"About his betters", sez she,
"Paradin' me crimes", sez she,
"In the 'Irish Times'", sez she.[1]

This verse form, if I may so dignify it, has a long history in Anglo-Irish humorous writing. French's lines appear to be an imitation of "Looey Philip and Her Grayshus Majesty", by M. J. Barry of Cork, a squib which presumably dates from 1848.[2] Barry's verses stem ultimately from the "Dialogue Between Tom Flinter and His Man," quoted in Sir Jonah Barrington's *Personal Sketches of His Own Times* (otherwise known as his *Recollections*):

Dick! said he.
What? said he.
Fetch me my hat, says he;
For I will go, says he,
To Timahoe says he . . . .[3]

I could prove that Joyce knew Barrington's book, but I feel sure that it is French's verses he is parodying on pp. 519–20 of *Finnegans Wake*; "He is doing a walk, says she, in the feelmick's park, says he, like a tarrable Turk, says she . . . ."

In the "Proteus" episode of *Ulysses* Stephen's meditations include his own parody of some lines by Percy French:

[1] *Prose, Poems and Parodies of Percy French*, p. 56.

[2] *Cork Lyrics*, ed. Daniel Casey (Cork, 1857), pp. 148–52.

[3] *Recollections of Jonah Barrington*, with an introduction by George Birmingham (Dublin, n.d.), p. 93.

The aunt thinks you killed your mother. That's why she won't.
Then here's a health to Mulligan's aunt
And I'll tell you the reason why.
She always kept things decent in
The Hannigan famileye.[1]

The original is entitled " Mathew Hanigan's Aunt " ; the first four lines of the chorus are almost identical with those above, except where " Mulligan " is substituted for " Hanigan."[2]

French himself was no mean parodist ; note particularly his renderings of nursery rhymes in the styles of various nineteenth-century English poets. These can be found in *Prose, Poems and Parodies of Percy French,* a volume still regularly reprinted in Ireland.[3] It is curious to see Joyce, the arch-parodist, so frequently parodying a fellow-parodist. What were his motives ? A satisfactory answer to that question would tell us a great deal about his choice and treatment of sources for *Finnegans Wake.*

In the first place, we must remember that Joyce was still working in the Flaubert tradition, which places a premium on historical accuracy. Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker, the dreamer of *Finnegans Wake,* recapitulates the history of the human race in his Jungian dreams, but he is also a dweller in a particular time and place. He is an Irish middle-class Protestant, aged fifty-odd in or about 1939 ; so was my late father, who was able to give me many of the words of " Drumcolliher " before I obtained a copy of the sheet music. It would be surprising if H.C.E's free association of ideas in dreaming did *not* contain reminiscences of songs by Percy French, as well as of Moore's *Irish Melodies* and the *Irish Country Songs* collected by Herbert Hughes in this century.[4]

To reinforce my argument on this point, I must stress the fact that Joyce introduces a number of very precise contemporary touches into the bar-room scene of *Finnegans Wake* (pp. 309–82). When the customers pay for their drinks, they do so in our Irish coinage, introduced in 1928[5] : " he scooped the hens, hounds and horses, biddy by bunny, with an arc of his covethand . . . " (p. 321). The " bunny " on the threepenny piece is more correctly termed a " hare " on p. 313. On p. 324 the radio announcer prefaces an S.O.S. (" lessonless ") message with the words " Rowdiose wodhalooing ". The allusions to the noise in the

[1] *Ulysses,* p. 46.
[2] *Prose, Poems and Parodies,* p. 155.
[3] Pp. 84–98. See also pp. 64–83 and 121–5.
[4] *James Joyce : sa vie, son oeuvre, son rayonnement,* ed. Bernard Gheerbrant (Paris, 1949). An exhibition catalogue ; see nos. 120, 122.
[5] See *The Letters of W. B. Yeats,* p. 749.

bar and the Battle of Waterloo are clear enough, but only those who have heard an Irish announcer say *Radio Átha Luain* recognize the primary reference ; this is an authentic period touch, as of course announcers now say *Radio Éireann.* On p. 325 we have radio commercials, not all of them authentic. I am not sure that Arthur Guinness, Son and Company (" Art thou gainous sense uncompetite ! ") or Anne Lynch's Teas (" Anna Lynchya Pourable ! ") advertised over Radio Éireann before 1939, the year in which *Finnegans Wake* was published, but I do remember that the Irish Hospitals Sweepstakes advertised regularly (" Don't forget. I wish auspicable thievesdayte for the stork dyrby."). As for references to De Valera, such as " Devine's Previdence " on the same page, Andrew Cass has collected a number of them and has presented his case for the identification of " Shaun " with De Valera in two brilliant articles.[1]

In the second place, French's songs would naturally form part of the equipment of the ideal reader of *Finnegans Wake*—one who, like Joyce himself, knew both the microcosm and the macrocosm, both twentieth-century Ireland and the wider human world in time and space to which that Ireland—often reluctantly—belongs. The more familiar the underlying jingle, the more extravagantly can Joyce counterpoint his puns against it without the experienced reader's losing the melodic line altogether. Look at the distortions suffered by the three-word phrase " Phil the Fluter " without becoming totally unrecognizable ; I have arranged them in the order of their difficulty, not that of their occurrence in the text :

Phil fluther (p. 444) ;
fillthefluttered (p. 63) ;
foil the fluter (p. 230) ;
foil the flouter (p. 363) ;
fill the flatter (p. 335) ;
feel the Flucher (p. 58) ;
Finn the Flinter (p. 240) ;
Puhl the Punkah (p. 297) ;
Tham the Thatcher (p. 318) ;
Pied de Poudre (p. 12).

The longer the recognizable quotation parodied, the greater the opportunity it offers for verbal arabesques. Here are some variations on the passage from the chorus of " Phil the Fluter " which I quoted above :

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1 " Sprakin Sea Djoytsch ", *Irish Times* (Dublin, 26 April 1947), p. 6 ; " Childe Horrid's Pilgrimace ", *Envoy* (Dublin, 1951), vol. V, no. 17, pp. 19–30.

> for the total of your flouts is not fit to fan his fettle, O ! (p. 58) ;
> to the tickle of his tube and the twobble of his fable, O . . . (p. 319) ;
> with the sickle of a scygthe but the humour of a hummer, O . . . (p. 341) ;
> To the tumble of the toss tot the trouble of the swaddled, O. (p. 444).

To go back for a moment to " Pied de Poudre "—why am I confident that this is a reference to " Phil the Fluter " ? Let me quote part of the context :

> . . . hopping round his middle like kippers on a griddle, O, as he lays dormont from the macroborg of Holdhard to the microbirg of Pied de Poudre.

The citizens of Dublin are hopping round the middle of the sleeping giant—who is Finn MacCool, H.C.E., Finnegan, and the city of Dublin, among other things. The giant's head is Howth Head (" Holdhard "), while his feet lie at the Powder Magazine in Phoenix Park (" Pied de Poudre "). Now, " hopping round his middle like kippers on a griddle, O " is almost a direct quotation from the chorus of " Phil the Fluter's Ball," where the words are " Hopping in the middle like a herrin' on a griddle, O ! "

Furthermore, if one reads " Pied de Poudre " with a Dublin pronunciation instead of a Parisian one, it sounds much closer to " Phil the Fluter." It cannot be too often stressed that, as Joyce's own recording shows, the basic language of *Finnegans Wake* is English with a Dublin accent. The quickest way to understand almost any passage is to read it *aloud* as if it were English. If a passage in roman type seems to be entirely in a foreign language, then the reader must be particularly on guard against a hoax. The reference to " that once grand old elrington bawl " on pp. 55–6, coupled with the parody of Swift's epistolary style which takes up most of p. 413, suggests that Joyce was familiar with F. Elrington Ball's edition of Swift's *Correspondence*. If so, he must have known the language which Swift and the Rev. Thomas Sheridan called " Latino-Anglicus." It looks like Latin, but turns out to be English. Sheridan began his first letter in the new language with the words " De armis ter de an," which mean nothing more than " Dear Mr Dean"[1]. So when we find, on p. 91 of *Finnegans Wake,* what seems at first sight a passage of modern Irish, " . . . mhuith peisth mhuise as fearra bheura muirre hriosmas," we must beware. The rule, " Read aloud as English", does not apply here, but when given an Irish pronunciation the words sound very like " with best wishes for a very merry Christmas".

[1] *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, ed. F. Elrington Ball, vol. V (London, 1913), p. 73.

In the third place, the songs of Percy French, besides forming part of the culture of H.C.E. and the ideal reader of *Finnegans Wake,* also helped to make up the culture of Joyce himself. He could not have parodied them if he had not known them. I deliberately use the word "culture" in its anthropological sense. In recapitulating the history of mankind through the ages Joyce was fully aware that he must represent "culture" in the most inclusive sense of that word. Man's religion, politics, art, science, and technology are all parts of his culture—but so are his dirty jokes, his children's games, and the songs pounded into his head by gleemen or crooners. Everything was grist that came to Joyce's mill; much of it did not come spontaneously, but had to be sought for by Joyce and his band of unpaid researchers; other material, including most of the popular culture he used, was already stored in his memory. We can be sure of this last point, because Joyce's parodies of the Percy French songs often reflect a version which varies considerably from the printed text.

Like every other reader of *Finnegans Wake,* I am deeply indebted to Messrs Campbell and Robinson's *Skeleton Key.*[1] They will, I hope, pardon me for regretting that, in their analysis of Joyce's references, they show so much knowledge of Sanskrit and so little of "stage Irish", so much of the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* and so little of the Irish book of the living.

IV

Having explained, at least tentatively, why Joyce parodied so much trivial verse, I must go on to ask a more fundamental question: *why parody at all?* I have suggested above that much of the parody in *Ulysses* had a satirical intention, but I cannot detect the same animus in most of *Finnegans Wake.* A majority of the critics I have read agree that the latter is by far the mellower book, yet parody is far more integral to its structure than to that of *Ulysses.* If Joyce wished to fuse past and present into a single work of literature, why did he not quote the great and trivial phrases of the past without parody, as Ezra Pound has done in *Cantos*? One answer, of course, is that Joyce was not Pound. Another might be that the Irish mind is innately destructive; though appallingly loosely phrased and impossible to prove, this answer has the merit of being difficult to refute. Even the philosophic systems of Berkeley and Eriugena contain an undeniable element of nihilism. However, I do not think we need discuss this second answer, as the view of history which Joyce was putting forward almost inevitably finds expression in parody.

[1] Joseph Campbell and Henry Morton Robinson, *A Skeleton Key to Finnegans Wake* (New York, 1944).

If I were to attempt a philosophy of parody, I might produce merely a parody of philosophy ; instead, let me look for help from the philosophers. A reading of Susanne K. Langer's chapter on " The Comic Rhythm " in *Feeling and Form* suggests that the sense of human continuity which Joyce sought to express is basically comic ; the moment history is represented as imitating itself, parody is only a step away. The following quotation forms the kernel of Mrs Langer's argument :

> What justifies the term " Comedy " is not that the ancient ritual procession, the Comus, honouring the god of that name, was the source of this great art form—for comedy has arisen in many parts of the world, where the Greek god with his particular worship was unknown—but that the Comus was a fertility rite, and the god it celebrated a fertility god, a symbol of perpetual rebirth, eternal life.[1]

" Eternal life " here of course means eternal life on earth ; the Christian view of life is tragic, not comic.

Support for the view that there is something inherently comic in the repeat performances of history comes to us from an unexpected quarter :

> Hegel remarks somewhere that all great, world-historical facts and personages occur, as it were, twice. He has forgotten to add : the first time as tragedy, the second as farce . . . . The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living.

Who wrote that ? Can it have been Joyce himself, who made Stephen Dedalus say " History is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake "? Is not *Finnegans Wake* the nightmare in question, weighed down with the tradition of all the dead generations ?

Let us read on :

> The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionizing themselves and things, in creating something entirely new, precisely in such epochs of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle slogans and costumes . . . . Thus Luther donned the mask of the Apostle Paul, the Revolution of 1789 to 1814 draped itself alternately as the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire, and the Revolution of 1848 knew nothing better to do than to parody, in turn, 1789, and the revolutionary tradition of 1793 to 1795.[2]

[1] *Feeling and Form* (New York, 1953), p. 331. Compare Francis Macdonald Cornford, *The Origin of Attic Comedy* (Cambridge, Eng., 1934), and Albert Cook, *The Dark Voyage and the Golden Mean* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949).

[2] Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (Moscow, 1934), p. 13.

Joyce would have disagreed with Marx on only one score : he did not believe that men could revolutionize themselves or create something entirely new. Just at the point in *Finnegans Wake* where the cycle of history turns and a new age begins, we read :

> Yet is no body present here which was not there before. Only is order othered. Nought is nulled. *Fuitfiat !* (p. 613).

Fuitfiat we may interpret as " It was. Let it be". Or " Let what was be". It is, of course, a parody—of God's creating word in Genesis : " *Fiat lux* (" Let there be light ").

Nevertheless, few people would be likely to see the comic possibilities inherent in a cyclic theory of history ; most of us would regard the implied futility of human life as pathetic rather than comic. Joyce, however, had watched his own countrymen " conjure up the spirits of the past to their service", in Marx's words. Sometimes the results had struck him as hilarious, at other times as nauseating. There is a tone of bitterness underlying his parody of the various manifestations of the Gaelic Revival in the " Cyclops" episode of *Ulysses*, which suggests that he regarded the whole movement as fundamentally anti-intellectual. A similar view was expressed in his early attack on the Irish theatre movement, " The Day of the Rabblement", and we find it in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait* too. No doubt he was partly right. Still, one who had distilled an aesthetic theory from the teachings of Aristotle and Aquinas ought to have better understood the motives of those who genuinely sought the future in the Gaelic past, as he sought it in the European past.

On the other hand, the image of the Gaelic past offered for the young Joyce's admiration was probably not one with which he could very easily identify himself. What sympathy could he feel for those bloodthirsty, unreflecting warriors and kings ? With impatient, intellectually arrogant saints like " fiery Columbanus "[1] he had more affinity, at least in his youth. Such symbols of non-conformity as Bricriu, the mocker of the Cuchulain cycle, and Conan the Bald, who plays the same role in the Finn cycle, seem to have remained unknown to him—at least I cannot trace any allusions to them in his books. Though he was so much more in the true bardic tradition than were the minor figures of the Anglo-Irish Literary Revival, I doubt that he ever became fully aware of this fact. I have no evidence that he knew *The Vision of MacConglinne,* for instance. Most of his knowledge of the Gaelic past seems to come from secondary sources, often of the most

[1] *Ulysses,* p. 46.

unscholarly kind. This was partly deliberate policy, of course ; Earwicker's dream had to contain the sort of history that is made up half of folklore, half of inaccurate recollections of primary-school history lessons. *Finnegans Wake* is in part a parody of text-book history, not unlike Sellar and Yeatman's *1066 and All That.*[1]

What remained of Joyce's reference library after his death was pathetically inadequate. Several of its Irish items were compiled for secondary or even primary schools : Dinneen's *Smaller Irish-English Dictionary ;* Fourier D'Albe's *English-Irish Dictionary and Phrase-Book ;* P. W. Joyce's *Illustrated History of Ireland.* There is nothing that could be termed a first-hand source.[2]

Is it possible for a writer to work in a tradition without being fully aware of it ? I believe that it is, and I have tried to prove that Joyce was such a writer. However poor his Irish library and his Irish scholarship may have been, they were sufficient for the purposes of one who was, like so many of his countrymen before and after him, a " bawd of parodies." (*Finnegans Wake,* p. 296).

Note—Acknowledgements are due to the English Institute, New York, before which body the earliest version of this article was read. Another version was given as a public lecture under the auspices of the English School of Trinity College, Dublin.

[1] Walter Carruthers Sellar and Robert Julian Yeatman, *1066 and All That* (London, 1930).
[2] *James Joyce : sa vie, son oeuvre, son rayonnement,* nos. 366, 376, 391.

Reading a Poem

EMPSON'S 'ARACHNE'

by DENIS DONOGHUE, M.A.

Department of English, University College, Dublin

THE text first :

Twixt devil and deep sea, man hacks his caves ;
Birth, death ; one, many ; what is true, and seems ;
Earth's vast hot iron, cold space's empty waves :

King spider, walks the velvet roof of streams :
Must bird and fish, must god and beast avoid :
Dance, like nine angels, on pin-point extremes.

His gleaming bubble between void and void,
Tribe-membrane, that by mutual tension stands,
Earth's surface film, is at a breath destroyed.

Bubbles gleam brightest with least depth of lands
But two is least can with full tension strain,
Two molecules ; one, and the film disbands.

We two suffice. But oh beware, whose vain
Hydroptic soap my meagre water saves.
Male spiders must not be too early slain.[1]

This poem is much less 'clotted' than several in Empson's recent *Collected Poems* ; than *Bacchus*, for instance, which repays little of the labour one expends in puzzling out how the thing works ; or *China*, in which syntax offers to do a great deal but, in fact, does very little. *Collected Poems* contains over fifty pieces, most of them fairly short ; there are a number of trivial poems, which Empson retained, one must suppose, just for fun (*Anecdote from Talk*, *Just a Smack at Auden*, *Reflection from Anita Loos*), and a handful of poems which satisfy the most exacting critical demands. These include : *Arachne*, *Legal Fiction*, *Missing Dates*, *Letter II*, *To an Old Lady*, *This Last Pain*, and a beautifully shaped little poem called *Manchouli*. These seem to me to deserve the kind of attention which we feel happy to give to poems such as Eliot's *Ash Wednesday*, Stevens's *Sunday Morning*, Herbert's *Church Monuments* or Jonson's *To Heaven*.

[1]All quotations from Empson (including his Notes) are from *Collected Poems* (Chatto and Windus, 1955).

Empson's note on *Arachne* reads :

> The caves of cavemen are thought of as by the sea to escape the savage creatures inland. ' Man lives between the contradictory absolutes of philosophy, the one and the many, etc. As king spider man walks delicately between two elements, avoiding the enemies which live in both. Man must dance, etc. Human society is placed in this matter like individual men, the atoms who make up its bubble. The spider's legs push down the unbroken surface of the water like a soft carpet, which brings in the surface-tension idea. The bubble surface is called land, the thin fertile surface of the earth, because the bubble is the globe of the world. The water saves the soap because the soap alone couldn't make a bubble. Arachne was a queen spider and disastrously proud. (pp. 100-1)

Perhaps the first thing one notices about this poem is that it is such a *made* piece ; nothing could be more formal than these five stanzas, *terza rima*, every line a perfect decasyllabic. There is nothing ' free ' about this, and the stringency of the poem's construction is part of its decorum. That decorum, on first reading, strikes one as surprisingly lofty, until one associates it with lines like

> *The sands are shifting as you walk ; walk on,*
> *The new is an emptier darkness than the old . . .* (Letter II)

or with

> *All losses haunt us. It was a reprieve*
> *Made Dostoevsky talk out queer and clear. . . .* (Success)

and then one realizes that these, above all, are the kind of lines Empson *wants* to write. The label ' metaphysical ' and the link-up with Donne, these are incidental. By nature and by inclination Empson is a didactic poet, heir to Pope rather than to Donne, and the source of his despair (the despair of *This Last Pain* which turns up as facile sidestepping in *Your Teeth are Ivory Towers*) is the loss of his natural inheritance. Poems like *Arachne* force the notion of 'alienation' out of cliché into truth.

The problem is at the root of this poem. How, for instance, do we take the ' King Spider ' lines ? Empson says :

> As king spider man walks delicately between two elements, avoiding the enemies which live in both . . .

And this sounds simple enough. For " spider" read " man", and you may proceed to write your own History of Western Civilization as a gloss on the whole poem. Your own version of Puny Man's Predicament will then become the ' meaning ' of the poem, just as Geoffrey Strickland comments :

> The particular feeling behind the poem is, in fact, a satiric gaiety in which humanity is reduced to insect-like proportions. [1]

But surely it is not as simple as that : leaving the satire aside, where do we find 'gaiety' in these early plangent rhythms ?

This illustrates the difficulty. When Pope describes someone as a spider, there is no mistaking his point or his attitude :

> *Who shames a Scribbler ? break one cobweb through,*
> *He spins the slight, self-pleasing thread anew :*
> *Destroy his fib or sophistry, in vain,*
> *The creature's at his dirty work again,*
> *Throned in the centre of his thin designs,*
> *Proud of a vast extent of flimsy lines ! . . .* (Arbuthnot, 89-94)

Pope knows his audience : the pressure of confidence which we find in the lines is a measure of his easy assumption of contact with that audience. Knowing who his readers are and how they feel about spiders, literature and life, Pope is quite confident that they will condemn, with him, the " self-pleasing thread " and the " dirty work " ; they will enjoy the sneer in " throned", see what he is up to in " designs", and laugh out loud when he achieves the climactic word-play of " lines". Pope's feeling of a known audience is so firm that, when he wishes, he can even talk about spiders in a purely neutral way, blocking off irrelevant attitudes, and trusting in the tone of his writing to call out the precise response :

> *Far as Creation's ample range extends,*
> *The scale of sensual, mental powers ascends :*
> *Mark how it mounts, to Man's imperial race,*
> *From the green myriads in the peopled grass :*
> *What modes of sight betwixt each wide extreme,*
> *The mole's dim curtain, and the lynx's beam :*
> *Of smell, the headlong lioness between,*
> *And hound sagacious on the tainted green :*
> *Of hearing, from the life that fills the Flood,*
> *To that which warbles through the vernal wood :*
> *The spider's touch, how exquisitely fine !*
> *Feels at each thread, and lives along the line :*
> (*Essay on Man*, I, 207–218)

Empson's dilemma is that of the didactic poet born into an age in which no positive values are shared, and in which only the most approximate and basic communication is possible :

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[1] The Poetry of William Empson : *Mandrake*, Vol. 2. No. 9 (1953), p. 249.

We could once carry anarchy, when we ran
Christ and the magnificent milord
As rival pets; the thing is, if we still can
Lacking either. . . . . (Your Teeth)

Hence the prominence in Empson's vocabulary of tentative words like "feign" and "assume", and the pathetic assertion that the pseudo-statements of art are "spry" enough to "keep a steady hold on the controls". Hence, again, in *Arachne*, the uncertainty of "King Spider". Does the poem reduce humanity to insect-like proportions? If so, is the reduction final and therefore simple? There is room for doubt; but I think not.

For one thing, the rhythm of the second stanza seems to concede to the spider (and therefore to man) a considerable measure of skill and poise: we are encouraged, I think, to feel that if man can succeed in avoiding these contradictory absolutes (bird, fish, god, beast) his achievement is remarkable; although, in the nature of things, circumscribed. This suggestion of great, though pathetic, ingenuity turns up again in Empson's *Sea Voyage*:

Pillowed on gulfs between exiguous bobbins
The Son of Spiders, crucified to lace,
Suspends a red rag to a thousand dobbins
And sails so powered to a better place.
All his gained ports, thought's inter-reached trapeze,
Map-sail, transport him towards Hercules,
Earth-bound . . . . . (p. 12)

"Trapeze" is a brilliant invention, and it suits my point: man is the *ingenious* spider, the circus-artist; "some spiders fly on a thread overseas."

We have more in "King Spider", then, than mere reduction. I should argue that the use of metaphor here is contemplative rather than simply illustrative. Professor Wimsatt has recently commented:

> . . . in understanding imaginative metaphor we are often required to consider not how B (vehicle) explains A (tenor), but what meanings are generated when A and B are confronted or seen each in the light of the other.[1]

It would appear that when "man" is confronted by "King Spider" in this context the meaning generated is a complex which certainly gives man credit for ingenuity, skill, courage, and several other virtues which complicate the "reduction to insect-like proportions". Are

[1] W. K. Wimsatt, Jr.: *The Verbal Icon.* (University of Kentucky Press, 1954), p. 127.

we not, for instance, to take the subsidiary simile of the angels as referring not only to 'angelism' but to the few real similarities between man and the angels: does the simile not, in fact, complicate by counteracting the basic "reduction"? We get the meaning of the lines more accurately, then, not by equating the spider with man and then filling in the blanks with our own notion of man's predicament; but by working from the opposite direction, as Eliot suggested in his essay on Dante:

> I do not recommend, in first reading the first canto of the *Inferno*, worrying about the identity of the Leopard, the Lion, or the She-Wolf. It is really better, at the start, not to know or care what they do mean. What we should consider is not so much the meaning of the images, but the reverse process, that which led a man having an idea to express it in images.[1]

In the case of Empson's poem we know that spider 'means' man, but it is much more important (instead of dissipating the image into a concept) to find why this particular image is chosen; and if we take as evidence the poem itself, its tone and rhythm (with a glance at other poems by Empson) we shall be much more likely to appreciate the tremendously complex attitude to man which the image implies; how much praise and pride it contains to modify the simple satirical reduction which Professor Strickland is content to see.

* * * * *

This discussion has probably obscured the fact that *Arachne* is a love-poem, and indeed a casual reading can easily miss the point. Certainly the poem does not sound like Sidney's *Stella, the only planet*, or even Fulke Greville's *Who Grace for zenith had*, and there are readers who feel that the love-interest is merely tagged on in the last stanza as a casual afterthought. This strikes me as an inadequate view; particularly the implication that Empson's supply of metaphysical observations petered out after three stanzas and that he then yoked the whole structure to a love-theme for want of anything further to say.

Once we have come to know *Arachne* fairly well, we find the unity of the poem striking and very beautiful; we see that it is a love-poem throughout, and that the love is presented in a scene of great metaphysical moment. Not only that; the love is conditioned by the nature and predicament of man as presented in the opening stanzas and especially in the "King Spider" lines. It is a good instance of Kenneth Burke's 'scene-act ratio', taking 'scene' as the metaphysical setting in which the 'agents' (the "you" and "I" of the poem) enact a corresponding kind of love. The whole poem, therefore, has a dramatic unity; act, scene and agents working together.

[1] *Selected Essays* (Faber and Faber, 1934), p. 242.

The point at which 'scene' reveals the particular nature of the 'act' which the poem presents is at the beginning of stanza 4 :

Bubbles gleam brightest with least depth of lands
But two is least can with full tension strain . . .

and the movement here may be seen as accurately in terms of texture as of syntax. At this point in the poem the lofty tone of the opening stanzas relaxes noticeably into the lighter, more intimate tone of

Two molecules ; one, and the film disbands.
We two suffice . . . .

The contingencies of " two " and " one " call for more flexible treatment, and here the poem's curve moves very beautifully down, rising again at

. . . . But oh beware, whose vain
Hydroptic soap my meagre water saves,
Male spiders must not be too early slain.

The last line is the full close ; the major chord returns us to the key of the opening stanza.

And thence to the title of the poem, which is clearly more significant than, say, Pope's easy reference to

The learned Baron Butterflies design,
Or draw to silk Arachne's subtile line. . . .
(*Dunciad*, IV, 590)

The story of Arachne (as told, for instance, in *Metamorphoses*, Book VI) is a highly suggestive instance of man's overreaching, and of his splendid, if doomed, challenge to the gods ; Niobe's reluctance

cedere caelitibus verbisque minoribus uti

is Arachne's as well. Her skill in weaving leads her to challenge Athena ; when Athena, defeated, tears up Arachne's weave, the latter hangs herself but is changed by Athena into a spider. In Empson's poem the spider-motif is wonderfully agile ; king-spider in the early stanzas symbolizes man's predicament and also his pride and skill ; " mutual tension " leads directly to

But two is least can with full tension strain,

and thence to the idea of the mutual dependence of the lovers. The description of this love includes the " disastrous pride " of the queen-spider, her vanity (" vain " works in its two main senses, surely, as well as providing a transition to the " soap " of the penultimate line), her fine skill (corresponding to Arachne's weaving), her basic dependence on the male-spider, and, at least as important, the metaphysical conditions which define this love. The tone of the poem culminates beautifully in

Male spiders must not be too early slain

in which the fine excess of "slain" reaches out to include the human as well as the insect lover. This excess, in addition, imposes on the *terza rima* a kind of finality which comes to that form only under pressure.[1]

"Hydroptic" in this context is rare enough to invite special attention, especially as its place in the line receives some of the force of the double-meaning in "vain". Admittedly, the word can be found easily in seventeenth century literature and again in Browning:

> *He, soul-hydroptic with a sacred thirst,*
> *Sucked at the flagon. . . .* (*Grammarian's Funeral*)

but it nevertheless stands out from the poem's characteristic vocabulary. The N.E.D. mentions Greek ὑδρωψ, derived from ὕδωρ, water, and the hint is worth taking. The "soap" (to which are added, as overtones, the vain and swollen pride of Arachne, and the idea of thirst, as in Browning's lines) needs the male-spider's meagre water before a bubble can be made: "the bubble is the globe of the world". Empson's note does not encourage us to read

> *. . . . But oh beware, whose vain*
> *Hydroptic soap my meagre water saves*

both ways, taking "water" as both subject and object, but the idea of mutual dependence seems to demand this reading.

* * * * *

I find *Arachne* an exciting poem, mainly because of the way in which the love is presented and defined in relation to a highly complex metaphysical scene. It is also beautifully in keeping with our age that this love is shown as necessarily a circumscribed thing; as in some of Graves's love-poems, no hyperbole, no grand gesture. Notice, for instance, that the poem's attitude is much more modest and drily reticent than Donne's

> *For love, all love of other sights controules,*
> *And makes one little roome, an every where.*
> *Let sea-discoverers to new worlds have gone,*
> *Let Maps to others, worlds on worlds have showne,*
> *Let us possesse one world, each hath one, and is one.*
> (*The Good-Morrow*)

The unity, economy and poise of *Arachne* are the measure of its success. The more closely we read the poem the more clearly we see that with fine husbandry and imagination nothing has been left out of this action of pain and love. The presence in the poem of bubbles, spiders, soap and

[1] Francis Fergusson ('Action as Rational': *Hudson Review*, I, 2, p. 201) notes that "*terza rima*, with its endlessly interlocking rhymes, reflects at any moment only a provisional unity; as the angle of vision shifts, it follows the process of change".

molecules may on first reading appear bizarre, but their part in the poem's economy soon emerges ; the details fuse, nothing flies off.

To enjoy the poem is to recognize with delight that every fragment of the meaning has been used up in the form: there are no gaps, no loose ends. Not that the form is therefore a mere container: the sense in which it contains is that it discovers, controls and defines the meaning ; and in so doing refuses to detach itself from the meaning. The dancer in the dance, to invoke Yeats for our smaller purpose.

The imaginative grasp which *Arachne* reveals is not continuously active in Empson's poems : in the unsuccessful *Villanelle*, for instance, the quasi-elegiac tone of " It is the pain, it is the pain, endures " falls away from the chemical images, and the poem splits into fragments ; at no point do the various worlds impinge :

> *It is the pain, it is the pain, endures.*
> *Your chemic beauty burned my muscles through.*
> *Poise of my hands reminded me of yours.*
>
> *What later purge from this deep toxin cures ?*
> *What kindness now could the old salve renew ?*
> *It is the pain, it is the pain, endures.*

In a recent essay (Studies, Winter, 1955), Dr Donald Davie takes me to task for making complexity " very nearly the ultimate criterion " of poetry : his warning is timely and acceptable. But he would concede, I hope, that there is a great poetic virtue which reveals itself as a refusal to yield to the attraction of glib simplification ; a refusal to exclude from the reckoning any, even the most fractious and discordant, aspect of the poem's material. It seems to me that these are precisely the terms in which *Arachne* is to be praised ; though for " complexity " I am quite willing to substitute " imaginative and intellectual grasp ", or even " maturity ".

Films and Children

by BRIGID REDMOND, M.A.

IT has been calculated that about fifty million visits to the cinema are made yearly in this country, that nearly half the population attend the cinema once a week and that almost a million children between the ages of five and fifteen are among these weekly film-goers.

The films they see are all imported, rented from American and British branch-offices in Dublin. The only supervision exercised over the choice of film is the negative form provided by the Censorship of Films Act, 1923–'30 ; and it is no part of the Censor's function to classify or recommend films of value to children. Admittedly the worst kinds of film are not shown here, but too many of those that are exhibited suggest ways of life that are lacking in social sense and moral responsibility. Adults may appraise these films at their true worth and thus be unaffected by them ; but what is their effect on the minds of children ?

I

During the past decade in Great Britain there have been many varied kinds of research into the reactions of children to films. These enquiries were made by the Government, by the cinema industry itself, by teachers' training colleges and social welfare organizations. The most convincing and authoritative was that of the Departmental Committee set up in 1947 " to consider and report on the effects of attendance at the cinema on children under 16".

The Committee examined the evidence of all groups concerned with the cinema, with child welfare and with education. The information thus collected was supplemented by the results of enquiries conducted by the Social Survey of the Central Office of Information, the national organization of women and by several of the universities in their departments of education and psychology.

As regards physical effects, a number of witnesses stressed the undesirability of attendance at evening performances resulting in late hours ; " lack of sleep and consequent fatigue and inattention next day, sore eyes and inability to concentrate and neglected homework were all cited as the direct result of cinema attendance."

Concerning nervous reactions the Committee found that " the cinema's vivid illusion, suspense and violent action cause fears that result in nervous and even physical disorders". From the moral and psychological standpoint the most harmful films were those " glorifying crime, violence and sexual licence, while paying lip service to morality in their denouements". The low standard of sexual morality might be considered as going over the heads of younger children, but it was possible that " a great deal sticks". This, as might be expected, is particularly true of adolescent boys and girls.

The most dangerous aspect of the films' impact on young minds was held to be the repetition and glorification of false patterns of life : " the regular

portrayal of false values in films is more persuasive and dangerous than the depiction of crime and impropriety. It stands to reason that the moral values, social habits and standards that are dinned into the public in film after film must make a mark, if only by repetition."

Considering how ready children are to imitate what they see, it was stated that the evidence of general imitation is fairly strong, " not so much the imitation of acts as the assimilation of habits, sentiments, attitudes, manners and styles which have a bearing on social behaviour. These were bound to affect children not only in their manners but in their ideals and ambitions".

Similar investigations have been carried out by the Institute of Filmology at the Sorbonne in Paris and by enquiry centres in the universities of Milan and Wiesbaden. These centres examine how far and from what age children understand cinema techniques, the variety of " shots " and camera movements. Other questions to which an answer is sought are : how do children receive and interpret a film story ? and, how do films influence child behaviour?

Enquiries that use letters, questionnaires and interviews are not considered to produce such accurate results as psychological tests and direct observation combined with the use of infra-red photography. These two latter methods are used by the Danish Statens Film Central, the New York Childrens' Library Foundation and, uniquely, by Mary Field of the J. Arthur Rank organization to secure guidance in the production of films for children.

Young children can understand only certain types of pictures. Their perceptions must be trained before they can assimilate grouped scenes. They do not distinguish clearly between the real and the make-believe. They perceive only what is familiar to them in a film. When a road safety film was projected before children of an infant school, they understood nothing of the film and recognized only the image of a horse at which they shouted with delight. Questioned afterwards, they said : " there was a horse, then a little boy." They grasped neither the subject matter nor the relation of a " shot " to the whole film.

From the age of six or seven the child leaves his imaginary world and becomes a practical realist. M. Zazzo, a research worker on childrens' films at the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, Paris, states that from that age " the child can begin to understand the theme of a simple story film, but children of this age confuse the identities of characters and the order of events in a film. Only at the age of eleven do the majority of children understand the sequence of events in space and time". Before that age the child is simply bewildered by shifting of the scene of action and by abrupt cutting of sequences.

These views are confirmed by the results of Mary Field's enquiries in England. She worked out two methods of recording childrens' reactions to both adult films and those specially made for children. The first method was to record on films, during a children's show, the sound track of a film together with the noises made by the audience. The second method consisted in selecting certain " frames " or pictures from a film and photographing, by means of infra-red photography, the same group of children in the audience when these " frames " appeared on the screen. It was then possible to place the picture and the reaction it caused side by side for consideration and deduction.

From this research some important facts emerged about the reaction of children to adult films. Children believe that everything they see on the screen is real ; they identify themselves with the film characters, talk to them, and warn the hero when the villain is not far off. As they react intensely to sequences showing quick action and movement, they deceive adults into thinking that they follow the film as a whole. They do partially comprehend exciting or amusing scenes in " cowboy " films or cartoons.

Children need a long apprenticeship before they can assimilate all the artifices of the movies. They find it hard to distinguish essential features in the long shots ; they require close-ups to explain details. On the other hand as they easily identify themselves with close-ups, exaggerated features such as enormous faces or hands can frighten them.

On the screen as in real life children have their own attitude to adults. They need to trust, respect and idealize the more mature grown-ups ; they expect security and protection from parents and those in positions of authority. It is difficult, then, to judge the harm done to young audiences by bringing them into contact with not only the brutal heroes of gangster films, but also the dubious fathers and mothers of " triangle " affairs.

Film psychologists recognize that the influence of films on children depends on two factors : the extent to which the language of the film is understood, and the way in which they absorb and interpret its meaning. This is conditioned by various circumstances : the child's personal history, his home, family and social background, his moral and intellectual maturity, the extent to which cinema-going is habitual with him, the kind of film that he habitually sees. He easily identifies himself with appealing characters and situations ; and he tends to imitate the acts of his film heroes.

In connection with this last point Fr Lunders, O.P., writes :

> The child identifies himself with the cowboy and imitates his violent acts, but as the setting is outside his experience it is only in play that he imitates. The normal child does not carry his imitation into real life. But with scenes shown in the child's familiar surroundings it is different. Placed in the same circumstances as those shown in the film, he may imitate the acts of his film hero with whom he identifies himself. The sight of a window broken, the blow of a fist, the start of a fire in a realistic film may be more harmful to a child than the destruction of a whole tribe in a Western film.

Children and adolescents differ from adults in their keener susceptibility to suggestion, their incapacity to exercise self control, their imagination less controlled by reality, their inability to foresee and to weigh the consequences of different kinds of behaviour. In the words of Pius XI :

> at the very age when the moral sense is being formed and when the notions and sentiments of justice and rectitude, of duty and obligation and of ideals of life are being developed, the motion picture with its direct propaganda assumes a position of commanding influence.

II

It is evident that the attendance of children and adolescents at cinemas constitutes a serious social and educational problem. This has been recognized by most Governments that have set up Censorship Boards. Many of their regulations are concerned particularly with the protection of children, fixing an age limit for their entrance into cinemas or imposing restrictions on their admission to certain films or at certain hours. In Canada, Switzerland and Portugal, for example, children under 16 are excluded altogether from the cinemas.

Protective measures of this nature, however, are negative in their approach ; to deal more positively with the problem several international bodies have been established. Since 1948 UNESCO has been dealing with the improvement of facilities for the free international circulation of educational films. Agreement on this point was reached by the participating countries in 1954. At Locarno in the same year UNESCO organized its first international congress on problems relating to children and the cinema, with the object of furthering co-operation between the film industry and welfare organizations. Last year it was decided to establish a permanent international centre for child films in Paris. It is intended to distribute information on the production of child films and lists of films approved by various countries as suitable for the entertainment of children.

The work of the International Catholic Cinema Office (O.C.I.C.) and of other organizations has resulted in many practical suggestions. These include special shows for children with programmes selected from films commercially produced for adults, the production of special films for children, the initiation of appreciation courses for children and adolescents. It is worth noting that in Great Britain there are 2,000 clubs and childrens' matinees attended by almost a million young people each week.

The English Departmental Committee on cinema and children examined conditions relating to these clubs and matinees. The Committee agreed with the main body of evidence given (by teachers and youth leaders), and recommended improvements in club management. They also took the decisive step of recommending that a new category of films be established, the " X " category, from which all children should be excluded. In future no film should be screened at the special shows unless it had been passed as fit for childrens' entertainment by a new committee to be set up for that purpose.

Similar selection is made in the U.S.A. by the National Childrens' Films Library, established in 1946. Films are provided for children aged 8–12. Adult films are shown, but before these are recommended they are tried out on child audiences by means of a special infra-red photography test. Unsuitable scenes are deleted and films are re-edited before screening.

The idea of films for children is as old as the cinema itself ; in fact, the first story film of all was a film for children. This was *L'arroseur arrose*, the story of a small boy who treads on the garden hose. As long ago as 1897, a French Christian Brother wrote scenarios for childrens' films, had his pupils enact the parts and produced the films. They were distributed to various

schools. Fantasies styled on the stories of Jules Verne and some of Chaplin's early comedies were adapted to the mentality and understanding of children.

In the early thirties the League of Nations and the American authors of the Payne Studies recommended the production of recreational films for children. At that period the U.S.S.R. had already started production of such films.

Great Britain was the first country west of the Iron Curtain to initiate a planned scheme for the production of childrens' films. In order to provide programmes for the 400,000 children who attended his cinema clubs each week, J. A. Rank launched the plan with his Childrens' Entertainment Films. Mary Field, executive officer of the group, describes the project in her book, *Good Company*. As the aim was to build up programmes rather than to produce unrelated films, all sorts of films were made : stories, cartoons, comedies, travel documentaries, nature films, magazines and newsreels. Many of the films were made in other countries including *Tim Driscoll's Donkey*, produced in Ireland and awarded a prize at the Venice Film Festival. In 1950 C.E.F. was dissolved for economic reasons, but a year later a new non-profit making body, Childrens' Film Foundation, was set up.

Different nations tend to make films for different age groups. While Great Britain produces for children aged 7–12, most European countries produce for the under sevens, mainly cartoons, fantasies and puppet films. Italian films include stories based on childrens' classics, for example, *Cinderella* and *Pinocchio*. As these films receive government tax concessions they are usually well produced. Two distinctive films made by a French company, L'Ecran des jeunes, are *Bim*, about a boy and his donkey, filmed in Tunisia, and *The Wild Stallion*, about a boy and a wild horse. In the U.S.A. a number of films for under sevens are adapted from Aesop's Fables.

Educators have long realized that the appreciation of literature, music and art, requires careful training, but they are only now awakening to the fact that there is far greater urgency for training young people in the values of the cinema, the twentieth century art of universal appeal. Educational authorities in many countries are arranging planned courses in film appreciation. Through universities and training colleges youth leaders and teachers are being equipped to guide and develop film discrimination among the young.

It is useful to distinguish between this kind of training and that which aims at the cultivation of an élite in the art values of the cinema. The new teaching, reaching out to all classes, embraces not only cinematic art but also the human and dramatic values of cinema. In primary schools children from the age of twelve are initiated through showing them good films and encouraging them to talk about the films seen. In secondary schools and colleges students are given thorough and comprehensive courses in film appreciation. Through clubs and associations of all kinds post-primary teenagers are guided to penetrate the meaning of film content and attitudes, and to evaluate these on the basis of Christian principles. When the young learn to choose films intelligently, rather than to accept them blindly, cinema will lose much of its power to harm them.

III

Here in Ireland no authoritative enquiry has yet been undertaken by any responsible body on problems connected with the cinema and children. Here even the youngest can see pictures made solely for adults. With the exception of a few urban districts, there is no restriction on the hours of admission. Our censorship system does not allow the certifying or recommending of films as of value for children. We have no way of providing films reflecting our Christian and national standards. A cinema industry mainly controlled by aliens imposes its entertainment on our young people. Every year we spend large sums of money on education, while at the same time we ignore the fact that much of our education is hindered or negatived by the uncontrolled cinema-going habits of our children : there is too great a cleavage between the discipline and endeavour of school and the easy, futile satisfaction afforded by the cinema ; the contrast must create restlessness and confusion of values in the child's mind.

There seems to be no valid reason why means used in other countries to meet the same problem should not be adapted to our conditions. It must be recognized that all film shows for children need to be educationally controlled in the same way as their other leisure activities. Granted that, the solution to our problem should be the prohibition of children under 16 from commercial cinema, combined with the organization of special shows for young audiences.

Two methods of providing regular film programmes might be considered. First, through the co-operation of the Government, the cinema trade and educational authorities, arrangements might be made to supply childrens' pictures to be shown on standard-size film in the cinemas. We should need a committee to approve films for young people, distinguishing between acceptable or adapted adult films and those specifically produced for children. To encourage renters and exhibitors to promote shows for the young it would be necessary to reduce entertainment taxes on these showings and to allow duty-free entry of the films.

Secondly, the utilization of sub-standard or 16 mm films might offer more practical scope than the standard-size (35 mm) ones. The work of certifying and distributing might be undertaken by a central, responsible body representative of groups concerned with the education and welfare of children. Perhaps the National Film Institute could be entrusted with this work. Here, too, the films should be imported free of customs duties.

The success of non-theatrical 16 mm films in this country and elsewhere demonstrates the possibilities of this medium for childrens' education and entertainment. Groups like the G.A.A., Young Farmers' Clubs, etc. have discovered the uses of the sub-standard film. A few excellent and many competent films of substandard size have been produced by Irish professionals and amateurs. These exemplify what could be done for children. Used effectively, the 16 mm screen could dramatize and interpret our faith and culture, our ideals and ambitions—films of this nature are being made by teachers in France, Sweden, Denmark and elsewhere.

Is it inconceivable that we could set up a 16 mm laboratory with sound recording facilities? Scholarships might be made available for young cine students, scholarships for training in film studios. A percentage of the entertainments tax could subsidize the scheme. In England, Gaumont British, a firm specializing in educational film production, has had a plan approved by the Ministry of Education whereby teachers can receive six months' training in film production. Could we not arrange something similar?

Certain it is that the time has come for us to do something towards resolving the situation. We have been lagging behind; we can no longer do so. The problem is now one of educational and social importance on a national scale.

Sponsored Radio and Television

by THE REVEREND THOMAS HALTON, B.A, B.D., H.D.E.

AMERICAN radio consoles itself at present with the thought that just as the silk business withstood the threat to its existence of nylon so radio will withstand the threat of TV. It may be so; but the short history of television is one of tremendous expansion as a medium of advertising, and this almost completely at the expense of radio.

A well-documented article in *Business Week*[1] made a detailed study of advertising returns from the various media for 1953 and 1954: it showed that while there was little or no change in the 1954 revenues of Magazines, Business Publications, and Newspaper Linage, returns on Network Television showed a percentage gain of 40.7 while Network Radio showed a loss of 14.3 and Non-Network Radio a loss of 44 on the previous year. More impressively, in dollars TV's gain in the year was 92½ millions.

There are two rays of hope for radio advertising, however, the popularity of car-radios (26% of the 111 million radios in the U.S. are in automobiles) and the growing popularity of what is termed 'scatter-shot' advertising—numerous spot announcements instead of full-dress shows—which is as effective on radio as on TV.

Radio, meantime, is making desperate attempts to hold its feet on the treacherous skating-rink of American advertising, and is racking its brains to discover new ways of capturing audiences and holding their interest. The immensity of the task can be judged from the fact that Lux Radio Theater, for 15 years one of radio's most successful drama shows, reached 11 million homes in 1949, while in March 1955, although it was still the highest rated show, it reached only 3 million homes.

[1]Business Week. (McGraw Hill) April 9, '55. Pp. 62–68.

Sponsored Radio had its beginnings in 1922 when W E A F broadcast a ten-minute talk delivered under the auspices of the Queensboro Corporation, a Long Island realty company. At the beginning, only a conservative courtesy announcement was permitted to identify the sponsor. In 1922, too, Mr Herbert Hoover made his famous pronouncement that " it is inconceivable that we should allow so great a possibility for service, for news, for entertainment, for education and for vital commercial purposes to be drowned in advertising chatter".

For a year or two the flood-gates were kept in check and lip-service continued to be paid to the dignity of radio, but soon its powers of salesmanship were recognized, and at once advertisers became its sole source of subsistence. The principle that he who pays the piper calls the tune became operative and the ' advertising chatter ' began in this new Tower of Babel. The emphasis shifted to ' popular ' radio in order to catch the widest possible number of listeners, and the original courtesy identification made way for advertising couched in emotionally charged slogans and extravagant superlatives. It was Simple Simon meeting the Pieman, but the Pieman was meeting him more than half way and doing an awful lot of talking. He was meeting him when his resistance to high pressure salesmanship was lowest, in the intimacy of his own home.

The new fashion spread from America, to Mexico, Luxembourg, Italy, Poland and our own country. England resisted, but Commercial Television is now making up for lost time. It will be interesting to see if the struggle for supremacy there will conform to the existing American pattern.

Radio Luxembourg is a private company holding a monopoly over all broadcasting in the Duchy and charging a licence fee to receivers. Proceeds from licences, however, go to the State, and the entire revenue for broadcasting is derived from the sale of radio time to advertisers.

Radio Eireann derives part of its revenue from licences, part from sponsors and part from a State subsidy. Likewise only part of its time is devoted to sponsored programmes. On an ordinary working day there are three transmissions : $1\frac{1}{4}$ hours in the morning of which $\frac{3}{4}$-hour is sponsored, $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours at lunch-time of which $1\frac{1}{4}$ hour is sponsored, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the evening of which only one half hour is sponsored. Thus in a working day of $9\frac{1}{4}$ hours, $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours are sponsored, or about 27%. This is not true of Sundays when only $\frac{1}{2}$-hour is sponsored, or of Wednesdays when Hospitals' Requests take over during the Lunch-Time transmission.

Though Sponsored Programmes do not claim too much actual time on Radio Eireann, they do claim the times of peak listening. Whether this is a cause or an effect of the type of programmes they put on it is hard to say.

Types of Advertising

Radio advertising in Eire is chiefly for inexpensive consumer goods—soaps, jellies, nylons, chocolates, sausages, to name the chief ones. In America in 1949 five major advertising groups accounted for almost three-fourths of

total net-work sales, namely (i) Food and Food Products, (ii) Toilet Goods, (iii) Smoking Materials, (iv) Drugs and Remedies, and (v) Soaps and Cleansers. Apparently smoking does not need to advertise in this country by radio, and most of the advertising for Drugs and Remedies is, fortunately, done on Radio Luxembourg. This Radio also carries what is probably the most widely heard sponsored programme in these islands—Sunday night's Top Twenty show, generally concerned with Toilet Preparations.

Some of the food products are very heavily advertised. For instance, most people have jelly much oftener on the lunch-time programme than on the table. The constant drip of advertising, no doubt, is calculated to wear down the stoniest of hearts, and the programmes, in any case, are not addressed to hard-hearted males but to the more tender-hearted housewives. The light nature of the entertainment offered is sometimes excused on the grounds that housewives are too busy at the times of broadcasting to concentrate on more serious fare, concentration, apparently, not being necessary to convince them of the excellence of the advertised products.

Sponsors make a close study of the psychology and buying habits of their audience, and at this the Americans excel. One reads, for instance, that " in Washington D.C. Friday is more than twice as important a shopping day as Wednesday, whereas Friday in Cincinnati is only one-fourth as important as Wednesday. In Houston, Texas, Monday is the most important shopping day, about one and one-eighth as important as Saturday ". Alka-Seltzer Tablets use Yiddish on the Jewish WEVD station, and the Kraft Oil people display equal sensitivity on the same station when they begin their commercial with : " When King Solomon said, ' There is nothing new under the sun ' he could not have foreseen Kraft Oil." No more could he have foreseen Sponsored Programmes. Is it too cruel to suggest that the bar of Irish thrown in here and there on some of our programmes is as calculating as the Alka-Seltzer use of Yiddish on WEVD ? It sometimes sounds too pious an outward expression of faith and fatherland.

There are seven forms of Commercials listed by Chester and Garrison,[1] and as all of them are in use here a word on each is in place.

1. Straight selling or description. This form predominated in the early stages of radio advertising, and is obviously good advertising but may be bad radio. The good salesman may not be a good showman, and ideally he should be both on radio. So rare is this combination that sponsors often employ two men, one to do the selling and the other to turn the tables. The importance of the human voice in this is obvious, and in America " radio's peculiar power to motivate listeners to purchasing action through the emotional urging of a persuasive voice, finances our whole broadcasting system and conditions all program offerings ". When Jerusalem has been searched with lamps for a suitably persuasive voice it is often exploited by more than one company, as witness the versatile Pete Murray, for so long a Jack of all trades and products on Radio Luxembourg.

[1] Radio and Television. Chester and Garrison. (Appleton-Century-Crofts. New York, '50.)

2. Testimonial. This may simply be a personal recommendation by the announcer, or some guest star may blow in to assure listeners that he or she has been satisfied. It takes a great effort of sincerity and conviction to carry this off. A personal recommendation is ever so much more successful on television than on radio. To be told on radio, for instance, that the announcer has had his own clothes Textoned recently can evoke only a very negative response ; the same thing on television might result in ' seeing is believing '. Then there is the reading of enthusiastic letters from satisfied customers.

3. Educational. This is a reasoning rather than an emotional approach, telling the listener where the raw materials for the product come from, the care exercised in the processing of it, the special facilities it affords, etc. This establishes the prestige of the company and wins the confidence of the prospective buyer. Again, television can say so much more than radio in this regard. Pal Razor Blades give a demonstration of their special Hollow-Ground process on TV ; who could hope to make it sound even vaguely interesting on radio?

4. Multivoice. A patter of voices creates the illusion of real life and this type of programme gives the advertised product a natural setting, allowing skilful use of question and answer and giving the impression of unanimity about the excellence of the product. It has not many advantages over the next form which is less expensive.

5. Dialogue. In a sponsored show run by a man, one sometimes feels that it would be better run by a woman, or vice-versa. To even up matters and to introduce an element of human interest many programmes employ a man and a woman, one affecting ignorance about some problem of say, cookery or beauty, and the other giving professional assurance that the advertised product is the answer to all the difficulties. This, doubtless, convinces those who are the targets of convincing, and if carried through with sufficient lightness and slickness it need not be too painful. Often, however, it sounds like a badly recited litany.

6. Humorous. This is almost synonymous with Arthur Godfrey on American programmes. It has been tried with varying success on Irish programmes. It is a mistake to suppose that a star of the stage will automatically become a star of a sponsored programme. The appeal of a stage star is often much more visual than aural, which explains the comparative failure of a well known Abbey player in this medium. This failure usually springs from trying to bring the humour into too close relationship to the advertised product.

7. Singing. This crude but effective system consists in taking a well-known tune, usually modern, and putting words to it which extol the wares of the sponsor. Repetition and emphasis are of the essence. This was used on a Donnelly programme, and the message : It's—Donnelly's—sausages—for—you was literally drummed home to listeners.

Excesses in Advertising

Sponsors are primarily concerned with selling their goods and only secondarily with the amusement or cultural improvement of their audience. To achieve their primary aim all the well-tried ways of advertising are called

on : the overworked superlative, the slogan repeated until it sounds as orthodox as a doctrine of a General Council. One hears far too many extravagant claims. To claim that any product is the finest of its kind ' in the world ' seems unnecessary until Radio Eireann starts Very High Frequency broadcasts.

Slogans, however effective at the start, should not be worked to death or allowed to get on people's nerves. Forced heartiness on the part of announcers and sign-offs like ' your old pal ' flatter only the very innocent. A certain anonymity had better be preserved until we can judge for ourselves on TV. An announcer too conscious of his ' radiogenic ' voice sounds as if the voice was the end and not the means of the advertising. Some programmes ambition to have the most up-to-date ' hits ' on their records and this gains them the bigger audiences. Others try rather too consciously to inject some ' tone ' into their programme, and grand opera is sung in strange surroundings. In this too there should be some proportion. What is being advertised may not be worth singing about : almost certainly it is not worth singing about in the grand opera manner. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*

The problem of excesses in advertising received consideration in the report of the Federal Communications Commission entitled *Public Service responsibility of Broadcast Licensees*, commonly called the *Blue Book* (1946). Failure to give enough time to local ' live ' talent, the piling up of commercials, poor taste and propaganda displayed in them, and excessive advertising material were among the points of criticism. These criticisms have still some force.

More fundamental, however, is the undesirable standardization that sponsored programmes impose on Radio Eireann. Why should they be irremovable ? Even granting that most of them keep above a Plimsoll line of artistic adequacy, it still seems unreasonable that a few commercial interests should have guaranteed freedom of the air at the same time on the same day or night of each week for an indefinite period. A greater variety of advertising interests would prevent the lucky few from settling down too comfortably to their long unbroken ' run'. Likewise a regular ' resting ' of announcers would eliminate a great deal of irritation at the mannerisms which are part of the occupational hazards of broadcasting. And finally, practical steps should continue to be taken by programme planners to ensure that sponsors who do not take their responsibilities to the public seriously enough should not mistake a radio for a juke-box.

In April 1952 the Federal Communications Commission in assigning channels for television ensured that 12% of all television broadcasting stations in America would be non-commercial. It is some attempt, but hardly a sufficient one, to stem the rising tide of advertising in the new medium. It was made clear that this provision did not relieve commercial stations from their duty to carry programmes which fulfill educational needs of the community. But it is more than likely that they will continue to serve their own interests first.

Meantime one awaits the further development of commercial television in Britain with a mixture of open-mindedness and caution. John Irwin

introducing Dame Edith Sitwell on his Parade of Personalities during the opening weeks of the new service showed a definite attempt to start on the right note of respectability. As she went out on this new channel Dame Edith's thoughts may have been the thoughts she put into the mind of *Eurydice*:

> But as I left the mouth of the Tomb, far off, like the noise of the dark wild bees
> I heard the sounds arise from the dwellings of Men, and I thought of their building,
> Their wars, their honey-making, and of the gold roofs built against Darkness.

The prosaic reflection perhaps occurred to her that the gold roofs of Commercial Television are foredoomed to have more to do with money-making than with the more fundamental kind of making that is the beginning of all Art.

A WELCOME PERIODICAL

REPORTORIUM NOVUM: Dublin Diocesan Historical Record. Volume I, No. 1. 1955. 20s.

This first number of a new Dublin diocesan record is most welcome, and its editor (who modestly conceals his name) is to be congratulated on a striking success. The bill of fare is varied, but the emphasis is throughout (and rightly) on the publication of documents rather than on narrative or criticism. The first article, by Fr Aubrey Gwynn, is indeed narrative in form, but it tells the story of the five bishops who ruled the see of Dublin from *c.* 1030 to 1150 as that story is revealed in contemporary records. Fr John Ryan gives in detail the impressive pedigree of St Laurence O Toole, back through many generations of royal ancestors. Fr Myles Ronan gives the history of the deanery of Taney; and Fr John Kingston traces the fortunes of some of the Catholic families of the Pale. Professor P. MacBride publishes some hitherto unknown letters of Mateo de Oviedo, the Spanish Franciscan Archbishop of Dublin (1600-10), which he has discovered in the Archivo General at Simancas. Mgr Curran, who has done so much to make this publication possible, gives a summary of the letters of Archbishop Carpenter (1770-80), copied by the Archbishop himself, and now preserved in the Dublin diocesan archives; he also gives us a very valuable first instalment of materials for a biography of Cardinal Cullen. There are notes on the priests of the diocese, both secular and regular, in 1697; on the Catholic schools of Dublin in 1787-8; an account of the library of Archbishop Piers Creagh (1693-1705); and a very interesting Irish form of preparation for Sunday Mass, which was made "for the benefit of the poor who receive their instruction in that language" in 1776, by Charles O Conor of Belanagare, at the request of Archbishop Carpenter, and which is here edited by Fr William Hawkes.

To the editor and contributors we offer our most sincere congratulations.

P. D.

Reviews

THROUGH A RED LOOKING GLASS

THE FIRST PHILOSOPHERS. By George Thomson. London : Lawrence and Wishart. 1955. Pp. 367. 27s. 6d.

A COMPLETE review of this book would have to include a refutation of Marx-Leninism, for that is the pattern to which it has been woven. Mr Thomson is apparently a teacher of classical philology at the Communist University of Prague where he interprets the Greek philosophers to his young Czech students according to the teaching of the four Marx brothers—Karl, Engels, Lenin and Stalin—though no doubt in any future edition of this work the name of the fourth of these " evangelists " will be discreetly expunged. The book carries a considerable load of learning, but it is all marshalled for the one purpose of justifying a pre-conceived thesis, that namely of the Soviet interpretation of society. When he deals with the Greek thinkers, the author gives greater weight to " political " authorities than to experts and specialists on the matter in hand. The result is a style totally foreign to Western scholarship in which, after a question has been examined, some ponderous platitude is introduced from one of these Soviet " evangelists ". The consequence is frequently bathos and the reader is left with an impression either of insincerity or of a total inability to study evidence. It is a blatant instance of what Bergson has termed *la revanche de ceux qui apprennent sur ceux qui comprennent.*

Though the title of the book suggests the early Greek philosophers, one hundred and fifty pages are devoted to a review of man's development through a materialistic process of evolution, of primitive customs and religion and social experience, and of Near Eastern and Greek calendars. Running through this complicated pattern may be detected positivist strands, deriving from Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl. And the text is punctuated with heavy chunks of Marxist masonry as though it were somehow disloyal to leave one or other of these " evangelists " unquoted for more than three or four consecutive pages. The gentlemen are introduced in the most fatuous manner. On page 36, for instance, we are given the, by no means, startling information that " a further characteristic of production is the use of tools ". Nothing very exciting or original about that. But poor Karl must be brought in somewhere. Here he is :

> An instrument of labour is a thing or a complex of things, which the labourer interposes between himself and the subject of his labour, and which serves as the conductor of his activity. He makes use of the mechanical, physical and chemical properties of some substance in order to make other substances subservient to his aims.

Ponderous ! Far simpler and clearer to leave it just as a " tool ".

We are next informed that a tool is a natural object taken and shaped by man to serve as an extra and artificial " hand " and so to permit greater control of man's environment. Marx again makes his appearance with a portentous bow :

> Thus nature becomes one of the organs of man's activity, one that he annexes to his own bodily organs, adding stature to himself in spite of the Bible.

This jibe against the Bible is not accidental. The book is not anti-religious in the sense that it attacks or reviles religion. It treats it as a social phenomenon, the creation of men who have lost their earthly hopes through exploitation, or of their cunning exploiters who use it to reconcile the exploited to their exploitation. It is the opium of the people, manufactured partly by their masters and in part by themselves.

If there is one instance which shows the utter inadequacy of this historical method, it is to be found in Mr Thomson's treatment of Israel. One may like or dislike the Jews ; one may think their history and experience of very high significance or of no significance whatsoever. What one just cannot do and remain within the bounds of common sense is to disregard the religious element in that experience. Yet for the author, the Hebrew prophets represent not God, but " the suffering of the exploited masses ". " The idea of Jehovah was created by the people themselves as a symbol of their memories and aspirations." (p. 101) To which is added the impertinent remark that the prophecies, e.g. Amos, vii, 12, and viii, 4, are at last being realized—in Soviet Russia.

Mr Thomson's thesis is that originally men lived in a primitive, classless society. There was a harmony between man and nature, which the individual approached within and through his social setting. Means of production were communally owned ; there was as yet no separation into social strata, and therefore no civic struggle. Goods were produced for use, not for exchange. The situation altered radically with the division into kings and priests on the one hand and the exploited peasantry on the other, and still more with the rise of a merchant class in Egypt and Babylonia and then in Greece. The " democratic " revolutions in Greece brought this new class into prominence, sometimes in alliance and at others at enmity with the aristocracy. Goods began to be produced not for use, but for their commodity value and usefulness. A rift was created within society between mental and manual work, and this was reflected in a divorce of thought from action. Philosophy, at any rate in the form it assumed with Parmenides and the Eleatics, was an escape from reality into the realm of the abstract, and it mirrored this new mentality which gradually dominated Greek social life. Marxism has a horror of what it terms the " abstract " which in Marxist eyes is a quality of bourgeois thought. And the abstract is identified with Idealism which again is sternly repudiated. Little wonder, therefore, that Plato receives rough treatment from Mr Thomson ! " Idealism ", he comments, " has nothing in common with science. It is a product of ' ideology ' in the special sense of that term used by Marx to denote the metaphysical mystification of reality which is a constantly recurring phenomenon in the thought of class society." (p. 322) " His (Plato's) philosophy expresses the reactionary outlook of a selfish oligarchy clinging blindly to its privileges at a time when their social and economic basis was crumbling away." (p. 328)

The same social thesis is employed as an explanation of Orphism and Pythagoreanism. The former represents in the author's view the reaction of the exploited and dispossessed, seeking other-worldly consolation to counterbalance their sublunary wretchedness. The latter, while incorporating some Orphic notions, became an instrument of the new bourgeois. The rise of Pythagoreanism coincided, he states, with the introduction of coinage. Their theories of number and harmony in the universe were conditioned, he insists, by their class background and commercial activities. " The basic factor, therefore, was the growth of a society organized for the production of exchange values and the consequent decay of the old relations based on the production of use values." (pp. 263-4).

To Heraclitus alone, among early Greek thinkers, does Mr Thomson show any tenderness. He is seen as a remote forerunner of Dialectical Materialism with his theory of opposites that merge continually into one another, and of the ceaseless flux and tension at the heart of the Real. But even Heraclitus does not pass without censure, for he was a member of a hieratic group and an aristocrat. However, " as one opposed to democracy, he was quicker to discern its internal contradictions, by which it was destined to be destroyed, and so was enabled to perceive the truth that only conflict, motion, change are absolute. *Alles was besteht, ist wert, dass es zugrunde geht* ". (p. 282)

No one would deny that social factors bring their influence to bear upon individual thinking, but to reduce all thought to social and economic elements is the crudest of absurdities. What is characteristic of Greek thought, what makes it so particularly *philo-sophical,* is precisely its quest for a reasonable explanation of the universe and of human life, its objective search for Reality and Truth. The splendour of its achievements in both the Platonic and Aristotelian traditions and its abiding influence upon the Western mind reveal how grand and how significant it truly was. It is, on the whole, the philosophy of Being rather than Becoming ; objective and not subjective ; for its truth is firmly grounded in Reality, science is made possible, and men are taught to lead moral and responsible lives in conformity with their rational nature. To offer in explanation nothing but catch phrases like commodity production and class distinction is to make absurdity doubly ludicrous. Aristotle, it was said, brought philosophy down from Heaven to earth ; Mr Thomson and his peers would like to tread it underfoot in the slush of Marxist inanities.

Every era, Marx and Mr Thomson assure us, has its particular illusion. That of the Greek thinkers, following upon the introduction of commodity production and the coinage, was the concept of " pure reason ", the illusion that the new categories of thought were endowed with an immanent validity independent of the social and historical conditions which had created them. Last year, Professor H. B. Acton published a book to which he gave the same title borrowed from Marx, *The Illusion of the Epoch.* Only in his case the illusion was precisely Marxism. How real an illusion it is, how it saps the roots of genuine scholarship and makes objective judgment quite impossible, can be seen only too clearly from this present work.

JOHN MURRAY

A STUDY IN RESENTMENT

TIBERIUS: A STUDY IN RESENTMENT. By Gregorio Marañón. London: Hollis & Carter. 1956. 25s.

THE career of Tiberius as treated by successive historians offers the salutary lesson that objectivity in historiography can never be fully attained. Velleius Paterculus, contemporary with the emperor, sees only his considerable merits; Tacitus (also a profitable subject for psycho-analysis as a study in resentment) looks at him through Domitian-coloured spectacles; and Suetonius, whom Dr Marañón regards as a 'conscientious and obliging commentator', trundles industriously through the muck-heap to regale his second-century audience with a mixture of fact and salacious legend. No doubt in medieval times the general hostility towards Tiberius was attributable to the fact that he had appointed the worthless Pilate as governor of Judaea and that Christ died in his reign, though he probably never heard of this event. The 'age of enlightenment' in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, reacting sharply against such judgements, transformed him not merely into 'the most capable emperor Rome ever had' (so Mommsen) but also into a paragon of virtue. Now in 1956, the centenary of Freud's birth, we have a psychological assessment which reflects the overriding preoccupation of our own day, and which ironically enough brings the wheel full circle. The historians of the ancient world looked for the causes of events chiefly in human thoughts, emotions and decisions; our psycho-analysts are now doing exactly the same, eschewing mention of impersonal 'processes' or 'forces', and ignoring economic and social factors.

This is a highly diverting and readable book which offers a novel approach to this fascinating period, discussing not merely the medical case-histories of the protagonists but also the hereditary traits which influenced the two main families concerned, the Julians and the Claudians. Unfortunately, however, Dr Marañón has not evaluated the sources in any consistent way; he recognizes that much of Suetonius and of that inveterate gossip-monger Dio Cassius is legend rather than fact, but he thinks that "legend is just as important, just as essential, as formal history itself". There is a certain symbolic validity in such legend, as Warde-Fowler remarks, when it is applied to the early history of a *nation* such as Rome, but to suggest that the legends attached to *individuals* necessarily have a similarly symbolic truth is much more dangerous. Dr Marañón explicily recognizes this when he refuses to accept the crude indictments of Tiberius as a senile pervert in retirement on Capri: but he is quite uncritical when he accepts without demur equally improbable stories of Tiberius's early life. One example out of many will suffice. Suetonius remarks upon Tiberius's strength of fingers, saying that he could bore through an apple, or with a flick *badly hurt the head of a baby or a boy*: Marañón solemnly comments: "It would be interesting to know why so serious a man should make such unseemly experiments on childish heads."

The fact is that this book, like Tacitus's, is a hostile witness. This does not in any way invalidate the central thesis that a series of misfortunes—the exile of Tiberius with his mother and father when he was two years old, their divorce two years later and his mother's marriage to Augustus when pregnant, the

dissolution of his happy marriage with Vipsania so that he could marry Augustus's lusty daughter Julia, and later in his life his contraction of a leprous skin disfigurement—induced a continual attitude of melancholia. From this developed a desire for solitude, and a resentment which caused him to condone if not actually to instigate the brutal treatment of Agrippina and her family, and to appoint as his henchman the unsavoury Sejanus, the Serov of the early empire, who had much responsibility for the encouragement of the dread delations about which Tacitus so rightly waxes indignant.

These are obvious failings, but the paradoxical feature of this book is that the author shows no hint of compassion for a man who, he admits, was mentally sick. There is sympathy for Julia, that victim of ' erotic delirium ', who was " so weak in her human failings, so harried by the strength of men ironclad in their hypocrisy " : as for Sejanus, " we need not blame him overmuch "—in fact he is deserving of our pity ! And Antonia, the sister-in-law of Tiberius, who was so odd that she kept a pet eel adorned with costly earrings, who behaved foully to her crippled son Claudius, and who groomed the monstrous Caligula for world power, is Dr Marañón's greatest heroine. Such a charity, one feels, will surely be extended to Tiberius as he grapples with a neurosis almost too severe to bear : and it is the absence of this sympathy which makes the book manifestly unbalanced. The author tries desperately to be fair : there is a chapter, characteristically entitled " The Ogre's Virtues ", in which he nobly restrains his barbs, admits that Tiberius led an irreproachable private life, performed his administrative tasks competently, was considerate towards his troops in the field, had a loathing of flattery and sycophancy, and was something of a scholar.

This fairness does not extend beyond the chapter. We read, for example, that Tiberius was " incapable of any generous gesture", an allegation patently untrue if we remember his kindness to the sick in Rhodes, his writing to Augustus on behalf of the outrageous Julia, his consideration for his troops, his two hundred-mile ride to the deathbed of his brother, his plea to the senate to spare Messalinus Cotta, the pardon given to Marcus Terentius when he freely admitted his former association with Sejanus, and his abhorrence of the gladiatorial shows. In other places much emphasis is laid on his alleged sexual timidity to explain his flight to Rhodes and his anti-social disposition, and it is claimed that he was married for seven or eight years before Vipsania became pregnant. This is based on speculation rather than facts : he probably left Julia from utter disgust, and the date of his earlier marriage is uncertain. But most unfair of all is the remark made when it is admitted that few, if any, of the unjust sentences as a result of delations could be attributed directly to Tiberius : " If Tiberius was responsible . . . for a single unjust sentence of death, that sole infamy suffices to make him a cruel emperor, responsible for all the cruelties of his reign." Unreasonable prejudice could hardly go further.

In spite of this fundamental criticism, and errors of a minor character, the book deserves a wide public for its clear and stimulating picture of the first years of our era.

P. G. Walsh

GOOD SENSE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FROM VIENNA TO VERSAILLES. By L. C. B. Seaman. London : Methuen. 1955. Pp. xi, 216. 9s. 6d.

THIS short volume on the relations of the European Powers is quite admirable : it is clearly argued, cogent and provocative. It is not a history of those relations for it presupposes a general acquaintance with nineteenth century history. Rather is it a commentary upon accepted historical judgments of individuals and situations. The author indulges in some judicious " debunking " and, setting out to be provocative, often begins with an overstatement which later is whittled down to something nearer its proper proportions. Just occasionally he " trails his coat ". I have the feeling that he greatly enjoyed composing the book and, if there is one class of opinion and historian he has particularly in mind, it is that of the woolly and unrealistic Liberal.

In one sense his rôle is that of devil's advocate in that he defends the less popular interpretation : as for instance, that the peace settlement of Vienna was far more successful—and therefore better—than those of Versailles, in spite of the fact that the former was based upon a dynastic *status quo*, while the latter accepted the principles of self-determination and national independence. The disregard of Nationalism and Liberalism at Vienna (so far as they were disregarded) did not cause war. For the men who made the treaty, chief among them Metternich, knew that before revolutions can make wars, there must be wars to create revolutions. On the other hand, the respect for Nationalism and Liberalism at Versailles did not prevent, and may be said to have encouraged, a second world war within twenty years.

The central chapters are concerned in the main with three important figures : Louis Napoleon, Cavour and Bismarck. Mr Seaman, to begin with, does not flatter Napoleon III when he describes him as a " seedy character ", like a shady Italian waiter recently dismissed from a fourth rate hotel, and when he compares him with Adolf Hitler. Yet he warms to him in the end, making him " brim over with good intentions " and recognizing in him a human decency and sincerity which he fails to discover in either Bismarck or Cavour:

> "In the breadth of his ideas, in the genuineness of his concern for Europe and the harmonious development of its peoples, he was a man of infinite generosity and good will compared with the always cynical Bismarck and the often mean-spirited Cavour. They did not believe in the causes they diverted to their own ends, whereas Napoleon did believe genuinely in Italian liberation and German nationality. One of the many mysteries of historical interpretation is the rarity with which it recognizes that Napoleon III alone made Italian freedom possible." (p. 65)

I was interested to see that Mr Seaman's verdict on Bismarck reflects some of the most recent opinions ventilated by German historians who are trying to reassess nineteenth century German development in a more objective manner. He is not always consistent in his handling of the German Chancellor, now giving the impression that he rates Bismarck as a supreme " bluffer " who himself created the Bismark legend, whereas in point of fact Bismarck improvised rather than planned ahead, and now granting that Bismarck, and Bismarck alone, created the German Empire of 1870-71.

> In the final assessment, Bismarck's outstanding achievement is to have imposed his personality on half a century of history. The state he created, and the means he devised for preserving it thereafter, were of his own unaided making. He had no collaborators ; only agents, and willing and unwilling accessories. He had no spiritual or moral roots in the Europe in which he worked and triumphed. He destroyed the past, but feared the future which he built on its ruins ; and for the deeper aspirations of his contemporaries he had nothing but contempt." (p. 127)

The author's argument, similar to some modern revision by the Germans themselves, is that Bismarck *divided* rather than *united* Germany. What he brought into existence was not a German, but a Prussian State, which in spirit and tradition was totally opposed to the wider German aspirations. Yet he has to admit the remarkable skill with which Bismarck controlled the machinery of his creation. He used armies, but only as a civilian employs them; it was he himself that commanded, not the military men. Germany's tragedy was, in the first place, that it was centred round Prussia and, secondly, that when Bismarck departed from the political scene, there was no competent Emperor or Chancellor to keep the machine coordinated and controlled. Mr Seaman perhaps overemphasizes the German responsibility for the first world war, exonerating Russia almost entirely, though in general his treatment of the relations of Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany is admirable. To-day there is a growing recognition in Germany that the Power Politics of Bismarck have proved the German disaster and tragedy. This is forcibly expressed by Mr Seaman ; the immediate reference is to 1914 :

> "But nothing could satisfy the Germans, because they had no aims to satisfy ; and nothing could satisfy the principles Germany stood for, since Germany did not stand for any. Thus diplomacy could not settle Germany's problems, because there were no problems that could be solved. There was only blind incoherent force, with which nobody could negotiate because it had no co-ordinating brain or directing intelligence. The Germans stampeded into war, the mindless and purposeless victims of their own monstrous history." (pp. 171-2)

JOHN MURRAY

SOLOVYEV : PROPHET OF RUSSIAN WESTERN UNITY. By Egbert Munzer. London : Hollis & Carter. 1956. Pp. vi, 154. 12s. 6d.

RUSSIAN Messianism is a phenomenon which has to be taken into account in any consideration of Russian development, not least in that of twentieth century Communism. It is no modern movement ; it can be traced back as far as the late fifteenth century and the religious tradition of Moscow as the Third Rome, heir in Russian eyes to the ' First Rome ' which had collapsed into heresy and to Byzantium, the ' Second Rome ', captured by the Turks in 1453. It was the Russian destiny—so ran the tradition—to be the special ' bearer ' of Christianity to the world, a true *lumen ad revelationem gentium.* The same Messianic consciousness may be detected in nineteenth century Slavophilism, only that here an idealized Russian peasantry is substituted for the Orthodox Church, and to some extent also in the movement of the Pan Slavs. The theme is again obvious, only too obvious, in Soviet Communism.

Dr Munzer, commenting on this Messianic quality in Russian thought, insists that one and the same idea persists throughout, that namely of a Russian mission and superiority to the West :

> " Lenin differs in no way from Tolstoy, even from Dostoievsky, in his impertinent treatment of literary opponents, which originates in inner insecurity ; it is not the divergent opinion but the fact that the other ventures to have an opinion at all which arouses the indignation of Russians. In spite of all changes in the external sphere of politics, the basic aspiration has remained the same—to achieve a uni-totality, to become the saviour of ' rotten mankind ', to speak the new watchword to a world which ' lies in evil ' and badly needs redemption through Russia." (p. 147)

Solovyev, the subject of this volume, had his own and far richer interpretation of this Russian tradition. Born in 1853, a man of wide reading and European contacts, he started with an anti-Western attitude, expressed in his first work, *The Crisis of Western Philosophy*. He saw this as either Rationalism or Empiricism, neither of which could satisfy a mind which was seeking the content rather than the manner of human knowledge. The failure of the Orthodox Church he attributed to its use of coercion, e.g., by the Patriarch Nikhon against the separatist movement of Raskol, and its alliance with the secular power, after the model of the West ; and he did not hesitate to refer to the " Petrine perversion of the Russian soul". At this period he reflects the outlook of Dostoievky, for instance in the *Legend of the Grand Inquisitor*, and it is said that Solovyev provided the pattern for Aloysha Karamazov in Dostoievky's last great novel.

However, in 1882, his attitude changed radically. He had studied St Augustine and was fascinated with the notion of the *Civitas Dei* and he had made his own the thesis of Leontyev, that the Russian spirit was Byzantine rather than national-Slav. In two books, *History and Future of Theocracy* (1885) and *Russia and the Universal Church* (1889), he argued that the Messianic vigour of the West had declined after exhausting itself in two theocratic experiments, those of Constantine and Charlemagne : it was Russia's destiny to succeed where the West had failed. The nationalist associations of the ' Third Rome ' must be swept away and Russia, reunited with the Church of the West, would lead mankind to a fuller and richer Social Christianity. He had already accepted the primacy of Rome. " If one admits," he wrote " in the Church the fundamental power of Peter, it must exist somewhere ; and the impossibility of finding it anywhere but in Rome seems to us a sufficient ground for adhering to the Roman thesis." There was no spiritual basis for the Schism and the Western *filioque* clause fitted in more harmoniously with his doctrine of the Blessed Trinity. Hand in hand with these considerations went a personal rapprochement with Catholic prelates, particularly in Croatia, where he studied the Uniat controversy. Pope Leo XIII remarked, after reading *Russia and the Universal Church*, which had been presented to him by Cardinal Rampolla : *Che bella cosa ma impossible fuor di un miracolo.*

These chapters by Dr Egbert Munzer, a German who migrated to Britain and Canada after the advent of Hitler and was Professor of Sociology and Statistics at Laval University, Quebec, provide a useful introduction to

Solovyev's thought. The section on his speculative theology is difficult, but this is due rather to Solovyev than to his German interpreter. Russian theological speculation is not grasped easily by a Western mind and, in addition, there enter into Solovyev's thought certain gnostic and cabbalistic elements which make him not a particularly 'orthodox' exponent of Orthodoxy. Very marked is Platonic and Neo-Platonic influence. Indeed his acceptance of an absolute 'Other' over against God stems directly from the *Timaeus*, and incidentally has some affinities with the 'creativity' of Professor Whitehead. But it is scarcely consistent with the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo sui et subjecti*. Revelation too is not something given once for all to mankind: it is a continuous and mutual process in which man also reveals himself to God. Throughout, man is seen as co-creator and collaborator with God.

Dominant in his theological outlook is a concept which Dr Munzer translates as *Godmanhood*, which is the reverse of the concept of *Mangodhood* of Nietzsche or the Socialists. The idea is linked closely with the double rhythm of the Incarnation of many of the Greek Fathers, according to which "God became man that man in his turn might be divinised". For Solovyev the essential work of Christianity is this divinization of man after the pattern of the God-man, Christ. Nor is man to be regarded only as an individual: society also has to be transformed in this movement of *theosis*. Solovyev posits three absolutes: the absolute *event*, namely the revelation of the perfect personality, Christ; the absolute *promise*—of a community conformable to this personality, the Kingdom of God; and finally the absolute *task*, the regeneration of both individual and social environment in the spirit of Christ. In the light of this he rejects Socialism as a secular parody of a spiritual community informed by a spiritual ideal.

In a valuable section Dr Munzer analyses the ethical system of Solovyev which fits in with this general ideal. It is based not on principles of Right and Wrong but on an all-pervading love: *amor ascendens*, which is reverence or piety, *amor aequalis*, pity or fellow sympathy, and *amor descendens*, that is shame. Through this *amor aequalis* we recognize the intrinsic spiritual worth of our neighbour and perfect ourselves by co-operating with him in his work of perfection. The 'categorical imperative' for Solovyev is expressed as follows:

> "In complete inner harmony with the higher wills, and recognizing the absolute worth of significance of all other persons, since they, too, are in the image and likeness of God, participate, as fully as in thee lies, in the work of making thyself and every one more perfect, so that the Kingdom of God may be finally revealed in the world." (p. 70)

What man must surrender to is and is only the Kingdom of God:

> "Unconditional surrender to any limited and immovable form of social life, so far from being the duty of the individual, is positively wrong, for it could be to the detriment of his human dignity." (p. 71)

Dr Munzer's volume is published posthumously and contains a number of chapters that were left with his literary papers. They are composed in a straightforward manner with here and there a cumbrous word or phrase. They form a valuable introduction to a subject which is little appreciated in the West, and they reveal a current of spiritual appreciation of human life

and the need for spiritual and even exterior integration, for which the world is certainly in search. Dr Munzer in a concluding section on the prophetic character of Solovyev stresses his conception of Antichrist, as it emerges from his last work, *Three Discussions*. It is very similar to the figure of the Grand Inquisitor in *The Brothers Karamazov*. " Solovyev's Antichrist is evidently meant to be the positive answer to the questions posed, but not resolved, by Dostoievsky's Grand Inquisitor." (p. 132) Antichrist, thus imagined, is the *antithesis* of Christ ; he is the man who will seek to unite mankind through coercion and not through persuasion or appeal, by totalitarian pressure and propaganda and to the exclusion of all that is spiritual and of God. For Solovyev as for Dostoievsky the Revolution which both men foresaw and feared would develop in Russia is more or less the kingdom of Antichrist because it is the perversion—even the ' inversion '—of an essentially religious idea.

JOHN MURRAY

DARK-AGE BRITAIN. Studies presented to E. T. Leeds. Edited by D. B. Harden. Methuen & Co. Ltd., London. 1956. Pp. xxii, 270. 63s. THIS splendid volume of essays was to have been presented to Mr E. T. Leeds, who had retired from the Keepership of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, in 1945. Unfortunately, Leeds died in 1955 (at the age of seventy-eight) while the work was still in the press. It is rumoured, however, that he had seen the volume in proof and, if so, he must have been gratified by the quality of the tribute paid to him by his friends and his old pupils.

The twin offices—Keeper of the Department of Antiquities and Keeper of the whole Museum—which Leeds held in the Ashmolean did not officially involve teaching and, therefore, officially he had no pupils. The University had not yet admitted European archaeology as an academic discipline. But, in his kindness and his desire to encourage, Leeds helped, inspired and guided. His teaching was by informal discussion ; his guidance was by example. He refounded the Oxford University Archaeological Society and, with the help of the members, excavated several notable sites including the settlements at Abingdon (Neolithic) and Sutton Courtenay (Anglo-Saxon). My own first meeting with him in Oxford, in 1932, coincided with one of his week-end excavation sessions and his kindness and hospitality to me remain a pleasant memory.

In the biographical sketch to this volume Leeds is described as a polymath —a survival into a generation when specialization was tending to become the order of the day. But his wide fields of interest did not lower his standards of scholarship in any one of them. His studies ranged from geology to numismatics (including Chinese coinage ; he had a competent knowledge of the Chinese language), and, on the archaeological side, extended from the Neolithic to glass wine bottles and tradesman's tokens. To all these tasks he brought a critical judgement and sound common sense. It is at once amusing and illustrative of his character to read the letter quoted here by Bruce-Mitford in which he talks of contemplating " on the amount of learning that drives away common sense".

It is to the study of Anglo-Saxon Britain that Leeds made his major contribution ; hence the appropriateness of this volume in his honour. In fact, if it were not for the pioneer work already accomplished by Leeds the more detailed work now achieved could, in many cases, not have been attempted. The essays which we are considering indicate the growth of knowledge of the period 400—1000 A.D. and how detailed it has, in some aspects, become. The other fact that strikes one is the extent to which this knowledge depends on archaeological research, and how incomplete the historical record would be without the material evidence. The opposite also is sometimes very evident ; the historical testimony is very full on some aspects, while the archaeological material is meagre or lacking.

All the papers in this volume are of interest as a background to the history of the Early Christian period in Ireland ; the more the period is studied the more insistent is the conclusion that Ireland not only influenced developments in Saxon Britain but was also influenced by them. This is shown in a notable manner by Dr Françoise Henry's paper on Irish enamels, in which she indicates that the Irish faithfully clung to the champlevé technique, even while imitating the Saxon cloisonne work.

The early wine trade with Ireland, to which there are literary references, was for the first time represented in the archaeological record when comb-ornamented amphorae were found at Garranes, Co. Cork. The same type of amphorae were found at Tintagel in Cornwall, and Mr Raleigh Radford, the excavator of Tintagel, devotes his paper here to the whole question of a group of imported wares, which he sets against their wider historical and geographical background. These are represented in Ireland at a limited number of sites (Garranes, Ballycatteen and Garryduff, Co. Cork, Lagore, Co. Meath, and Nendrum, Co. Down).

Dr D. B. Harden does a similar service for glass vessels. The quantity found in Ireland is small, but again the three Co. Cork sites find mention together with Ballinderry and Lagore crannogs and the unusual find of a flasklet from a souterrain at Mullaroe, Co. Sligo.

Mr Savory's treatment of sub-Roman brooches is of the highest interest for the chronology of the Irish zoomorphic brooches of penannular type, and will certainly necessitate a re-examination of the formerly accepted schemes. Mr. Lethbridge always presents stimulating ideas and, even if his suggestion of an early date for the Book of Durrow be not generally accepted, it will at least occasion critical questions. Professor Richmond brings to notice two Celtic stone heads from Corbridge ; his discussion includes Celtic gods, the stone figures of Boa Island, Fermanagh, and Kilnaboy, Co. Clare, and goes on to deal with manuscript representations and the Micklebostad (Norway) hanging bowl of, almost certainly, Irish origin. Mr Bruce-Mitford's paper on late Saxon disc brooches is of interest not only for the splendid works of art it presents and the surprising iconography of one of them but also for their importance in relation to illuminated manuscripts and to the artistic motives on other media, particularly to ornament of the pre-Romanesque centuries.

The other essays not mentioned above deal with such miscellaneous topics as early post-Roman coinage (C. H. V. Sutherland), Romano-Saxon pottery

(J. N. L. Myres), the Jutes of Kent (C. F. C. Hawkes), Anglo-Saxon burial custom (Joan R. Kirk), trade relations (G. C. Dunning), and historical problems pertaining to Exeter (Cyril Fox) and to Oxford (E. M. Jope). The book is well printed, illustrated and of pleasant format and fine binding. Its editor and his collaborators are to be congratulated.

SEÁN P. Ó RÍORDÁIN

THE LIGHTER SIDE

BALLADE OF DISTRACTIONS, AND OTHER POEMS. By M. F. Egan, S.J. M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd. Pp. 28. 2s. 6d.

FATHER EGAN's book is a tiny one, but it gives a lift to the heart. I am not so sure of his serious poems (didn't someone say that the cardinal temptation of the writer of religious verse is to put down, not what he feels, but what he knows he ought to feel?) but in his lighter pieces he has a sure touch and an impish humour and a fine way with words. Anyone who reads them and does not feel the better for it is in need of a spiritual stocktaking.

Writing of his ' umbereller ' he says :

> Its precursor, old and green,
> Speckled o'er with darns and stitches,
> Wasn't worthy to be seen.
> *Now* they'll talk of Jesuit riches !
> Look ! they'll cry : There's Rockefeller
> With his latest umbereller !

Writing of angels, he says :

> Such is, according to the *Summ.*,
> The state of things in Angeldom.

And writing to " Dear Sister " he says :

> And will your soul grow more interior
> By criticising your Superior ?
> (Although, *of course*, it's understood
> That for your spiritual good
> You're free to talk about your woes—
> Yes, all of them, including those
> Caused by your sisters or your Ma—
> Unto your spiritual Pa.)

This is not only deft, well-turned verse, but good reading—and good spiritual reading at that. The tone reminds me of that of *Cracks in the Cloister*, that book of inspired cartoons that gave such a wild and holy joy to so many men of God, for Father Egan's work is just as brilliant, though quieter, more kindly and less astringent.

Heavy religious poems are two a penny, so that penance is always at hand, but verse of this type and quality is rare indeed in these days. If you are in good heart spiritually, this book will set you chuckling ; if not, you should set your house in order and try it again.

Quoting is cheating, but I can't resist giving another excerpt :

The hour, my dear, has mischief in it ;
A lot of people seem to think
We may be blown up any minute,
And our remains poured down the sink.
But still, when all is done and said,
I think we'll live till we are dead.

Father Egan has no doubts on this point, and he has earned our thanks for calling our attention to it in times that are badly out of joint.

JOHN D. SHERIDAN

HISTORY

WADDING PAPERS, 1614-38. Edited by Brendan Jennings, O.F.M. Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1953. 63s.

LIBER LOVANIENSIS : A Collection of Irish Franciscan Documents, 1629-1717. Edited by Cathaldus Giblin, O.F.M. Dublin : Clonmore and Reynolds. 1956. 42s.

THE Irish Franciscan Fathers are making a very substantial contribution to our knowledge of Irish Catholic history in the seventeenth century. Fr Brendan Jennings has long been known for his devotion to the task of publishing the archives of his order from various sources. In the present volume, which (though it bears the date 1953 on its title-page) did not, in fact, appear before the end of 1954, he gives us the full text, whether in Latin, English, Italian or Spanish, of the letters which Luke Wadding had either received himself or preserved with his own papers, from the year 1614 to 1638. These letters have long been known to scholars from the calendar which was printed for the Historical Manuscripts Commission (of England) in 1906, though many of the letters here printed in full were very briefly summarized. In his short preface Fr Jennings recounts once more the wanderings of this collection, which was kept safe in St Isidore's College, Rome, until the year 1872 when it was moved to the library of the Franciscan Fathers at Merchant's Quay ; and thence (in 1946) to the archives of the new Franciscan House of Studies at Dún Mhuire, Killiney.

The letters printed in this volume form the earliest section of the whole collection, and stop short before the great crisis of 1641. It is to be hoped that the editor will continue his good work, and give us the full text of the numerous letters in this great collection which throw so much light on the history of the Confederation of Kilkenny. Luke Wadding came to Rome from Spain as theologian of a royal commission sent by Philip III to Pope Paul V, to promote the teaching of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The commission returned to Spain in 1620, but Wadding remained in Rome, where he had been appointed a consultor of the Holy Office. In this capacity Luke Wadding became one of the Pope's principal advisers on Irish affairs, and his influence was felt continuously at Rome until his death in 1657. He was cousin to Peter Lombard, the archbishop of Armagh, who was then resident in Rome ; and the letters printed in this volume throw vivid light on

the extent of his activities and the central part which he played in so many negotiations. They are perhaps of particular importance for the light they throw on the traditional rivalry of the regular and secular clergy of Ireland in these years of attempted reconstruction after the worst storms of the Elizabethan persecutions. They throw light also on the rivalry that existed between the various religious orders, and on the constantly recurring problem of choice between different candidates for the many vacant Irish sees.

The " Liber Lovaniensis ", which Fr Cathaldus Giblin has edited in a handsomely produced volume, is of a different character. Here the interest lies rather in the internal history of the Friars Minor of the Irish province. As its name indicates, the collection of papers here published was first made in St Anthony's College, Louvain, there being no house in Ireland which could be judged sufficiently safe to house the archives of the province in the seventeenth century. The papers were originally loose papers which Fr Francis O Donoghue bound into a single volume about the year 1720. The earliest document in the volume is a letter from Fr Andrew Soto, then commissary general of the Friars of the Strict Observance, to Fr Hugh de Burgo, directing him to go to St Anthony's College, where he had been elected guardian. It is dated 11 March 1622 ; and it is followed by a letter from Fr Andrew's successor, Fr Joseph Bergaigne, to Fr Hugh Ward, telling him that he has been elected (April 1626) as guardian of the same community.

But by far the most interesting and important type of document in this collection is the long series of " bills " of chapters, which begins with the provincial chapter of 15 August 1629, and ends with a " bill of the middle chapter held in the place of refuge of the Kilconnell community " on 10 May 1716. In his very helpful introduction Fr Cathaldus Giblin explains the precise meaning of these terms. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was customary to hold a provincial chapter every three years, which was presided over by a commissary visitor appointed, for this purpose, by the father general of the order. Midway between each triennial provincial chapter it was the custom (if circumstances permitted) to hold a " middle chapter " presided over by the provincial. Elections for the offices of provincial, custos and provincial difinitors were held at the triennial provincial chapters ; no elections were held at the middle chapters ; but a document was drawn up after every chapter (provincial or middle) in which the major superiors of the province at this date were first listed, and then the name of every religious house and of its superior. This excellent tradition makes it possible to have before us a very accurate picture of the Irish province throughout all the vicissitudes of the seventeenth century. We can see the Friars at work, slowly recovering the ground they had lost in the sixteenth century ; reopening old houses or founding new ones ; then exposed once more to the fierce storm of persecution under Cromwell ; then making slow progress under the milder regime of the Restoration ; and finally surviving into the eighteenth century with its Penal Laws.

It is a long time since we have had so welcome and valuable an addition to our slender stock of authentic religious records of this kind, and Fr Giblin is to be congratulated on the skill with which he has presented his material. Having described the manuscript which is the main source of his volume

and which is now preserved, with the Wadding papers and other precious Franciscan records at Killiney, he gives a brief account of Fr Francis O Donoghue (to whom we owe this volume) ; explains the internal organization of the Irish province at this period ; and traces the growth of the Irish province during the century from 1629 to 1717. One or two points are of general interest. If regular government had been possible throughout this period, there should have been some fifty chapters between these dates. In fact we have here the text of thirty-seven chapters ; some may never have been held ; of others it is probable that the official acts are missing. In 1629 there were 58 friaries in the Irish province, a remarkable testimony to the energy of those who had worked so hard for recovery. In 1717 this number had risen to 69 friaries, the highest number for the whole of this period. Yet, if we were to judge Catholic life simply by the severity of the penal laws, we might expect the number to have dropped under Queen Anne and George I.

This volume does not contain the whole of the *Liber Lovaniensis*. There are 466 pages in the book as it exists to-day, but this volume prints only the contents of the first 448 pages. At this point there is a break of more than thirty years (1717-51), and the bills of several chapters for these years are known from other sources. Fr Giblin has thus wisely decided to interrupt his edition at this point. He plans to give us a second volume, in which the bills of the missing chapters will be added to the documents preserved in the last twenty pages of the *Liber Lovaniensis*. He can rest assured that his second volume will be as welcome as his first.

AUBREY GWYNN

PUBLIC OPINION AND GOVERNMENT POLICY IN IRELAND : 1801-46. By R. B. McDowell. London : Faber and Faber. 35s.

THE CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION CRISIS, 1823-29. By James A. Reynolds. Yale University Press. 1954. $3·75.

THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN IRELAND, 1786-1841. By Brian Inglis. London : Faber and Faber. 1954. 25s.

THE first half of the nineteenth century saw great developments in modern democracy throughout Europe. Though the French revolution had died in the imperialism of Napoleon, and France had, after the fall of the Corsican, become once more a monarchy, nevertheless it was not possible to destroy the memory of the ideas which had led to the death of Louis XVI. The restoration of the Bourbons was not the restoration of the *ancien régime* and the succeeding decades saw the trend towards democracy gather fresh impetus. Public opinion became a more important factor in government and, "the masses" began to influence policy.

Dr R. B. McDowell follows his study of Irish public opinion in the late eighteenth century with a refreshing work on the first half of the next hundred years. As always Dr McDowell has something new to add to our knowledge but his present work suffers from the fact that, in this period, he has not had a Lecky to precede him. For this reason he has to cover ground, which in his previous work was not necessary. His title now indicates how much wider he must cast his vision. *Public opinion and government policy in Ireland, 1801-1846* succeeds his *Irish public opinion, 1750-1800*. Perhaps it is the breadth of the

field which Dr McDowell attempts to survey that makes this work less satisfactory than his earlier study. He does cover the administrative history and the story of government policy very well, but he fails to relate to it the growing tide of public opinion as exemplified in the Catholic emancipation and Repeal of the Union movements. He dismisses this latter movement rather summarily, and omits all reference to it in the index except under " O'Connell ". These were the two great questions which stirred popular feeling, yet no attempt is made to assess why a Conservative government should give in to organized public opinion in 1829 and stand firm against the same in 1843. Of course the difference is clear. In the first instance the House of Commons was split on the question, and public opinion in England favoured emancipation. On Repeal, however, there was no such division at Westminster. Despite these failings the book is a worthwhile contribution to our knowledge of a period in Irish history, which is now, for the first time, coming under the researches of historians. Dr McDowell's list of sources alone shows the extent to which he has succeeded in tracing the private correspondence of officials in Ireland within this period. He throws valuable light on many of the aspects with which he deals, and it is interesting to see how accurately his short section on Catholic emancipation summarizes a much more detailed study prepared by Fr James A. Reynolds.

Fr Reynolds takes the microscope to a subject that is included in a more general way by Dr McDowell, the story of the Catholic Association from 1823 to 1829. A detailed study is made of the organization of the Association, the parts played by O'Connell, Sheil and Wyse, the importance of the support of the clergy, the electoral system and the attitude of the government. The author has tapped many hitherto unknown sources for his excellent work, and throws much light on the seven years with which he deals. In his final analysis he summarizes his research by saying that " a handful of agitators created a mass movement extending from a central directory down to the remotest parish in the island, and so mobilized the Catholic population . . . that they presented for the first time in the long struggle for emancipation, and, indeed, in the history of political agitation in the British Isles, the ominous spectacle of a formidable national solidarity ". The pressure which this organized opinion was able to exert was enormous and created a precedent for future political action. Fr Reynolds is to be highly commended for his treatment of his subject.

One of the recurring problems which arise for the historian of public opinion is the rôle of newspapers. How far can they be accepted as a guide to public opinion and to what extent can they foster opinion? Dr Brian Inglis's study is illuminating on the dangers of placing too much reliance on outward appearances as representing true opinions in the Irish press of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Ireland.

In great detail and with admirable clarity he shows how the government sought to control the newspapers. Aid in the form of concealed subsidies from the secret service money, pensions for editors, and payments for publishing proclamations and government advertisements were judiciously distributed among the papers favourable to the government. Opposition papers, on the other hand, ran the risk of prosecution and editors were frequently imprisoned

on the slightest pretext because of criticizing the administration. While Dr Inglis is concerned only with the freedom of the press, his work contains a great deal of bibliographical information which will be of inestimable value to any historian who wishes to use newspapers as a source. At this period they have a great importance, but so far little effort has been made to offer a historical criticism of them. The information which Dr Inglis gives about individual editors and proprietors, and the occasional sidelights which he throws on newspaper organization, particularly on reporting, as well as the more direct account of the political outlook of newspapers will be of considerable assistance to historians. At one point Dr Inglis does not agree with Fr Reynolds. Dr Inglis is wrong when he says, (p. 168) of the Catholic Association's relations with newspapers, " no subsidy was given ". Fr Reynolds (p. 78), has found that the association's payments to newspapers in 1827 were probably greater than the government's subsidies from the proclamation fund. More fundamental is the difference between the two authors as to the importance of the rôle played by newspapers in the struggle for emancipation. The evidence which Fr Reynolds adduces (p. 74) shows that Dr Inglis underestimated their importance.

All three volumes are well produced and are welcome additions to the growing collection of works on Ireland since 1800. Dr McDowell's and Dr Inglis's contributions are published in the excellent series, *Studies in Irish History*, produced by Faber and Faber, while Fr Reynolds's book is in the *Yale Historical Publications* series.

THOMAS P. O'NEILL

MATT TALBOT AND HIS TIMES. By Mary Purcell. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son Ltd. 12s. 6d.

WHEN she gave us her studies of St Joan of Arc and St Francis Xavier, Miss Purcell was dealing with saints whose personalities and adventures were already the subject of many books. In them she could presume, to some extent, the evidence as known, and could concentrate on interpretation. Here it is quite otherwise. She is gathering and presenting the evidence about Matt Talbot, much of it for the first time, with studied accuracy and detachment. She has verified meticulously every possible detail about him ; she gives his contemporaries' estimate of him ; she scarcely expresses her own opinion at all.

The book is a " Life and Times ". The times never divert the interest from the life, but fill in a most revealing background. Even the very fact that Matt did not get deeply involved in the events of his time emphasizes the strength of his main purpose, for the events were very stirring ones and greatly affected the externals of his existence.

The period of his boyhood and youth is one of intense interest, and bears constant re-telling if we wish to understand modern Dublin. The social degradation of Dublin's poor, the appalling housing conditions, the souperism ; the pioneering work of the Irish Christian Brothers ; the achievements of Cardinal Cullen ; all these are fascinating aspects of the time, buried only a couple of generations beneath the present. Suddenly one small energetic figure pulls out of the gross, sluggish current that smothered ambition and

individuality in its oppressive mass. The unskilled labourer begins his task of building an interior castle. He had everything to learn about the spiritual life ; and how well he learned it. Books became his companions. The ideas won from them with difficulty, were valued, and quietly transformed into action. His is another of the conversions by print. He could be taken as a patron of adult education. Librarians too would gladly take him to their hearts for his scrupulous care in returning borrowed books.

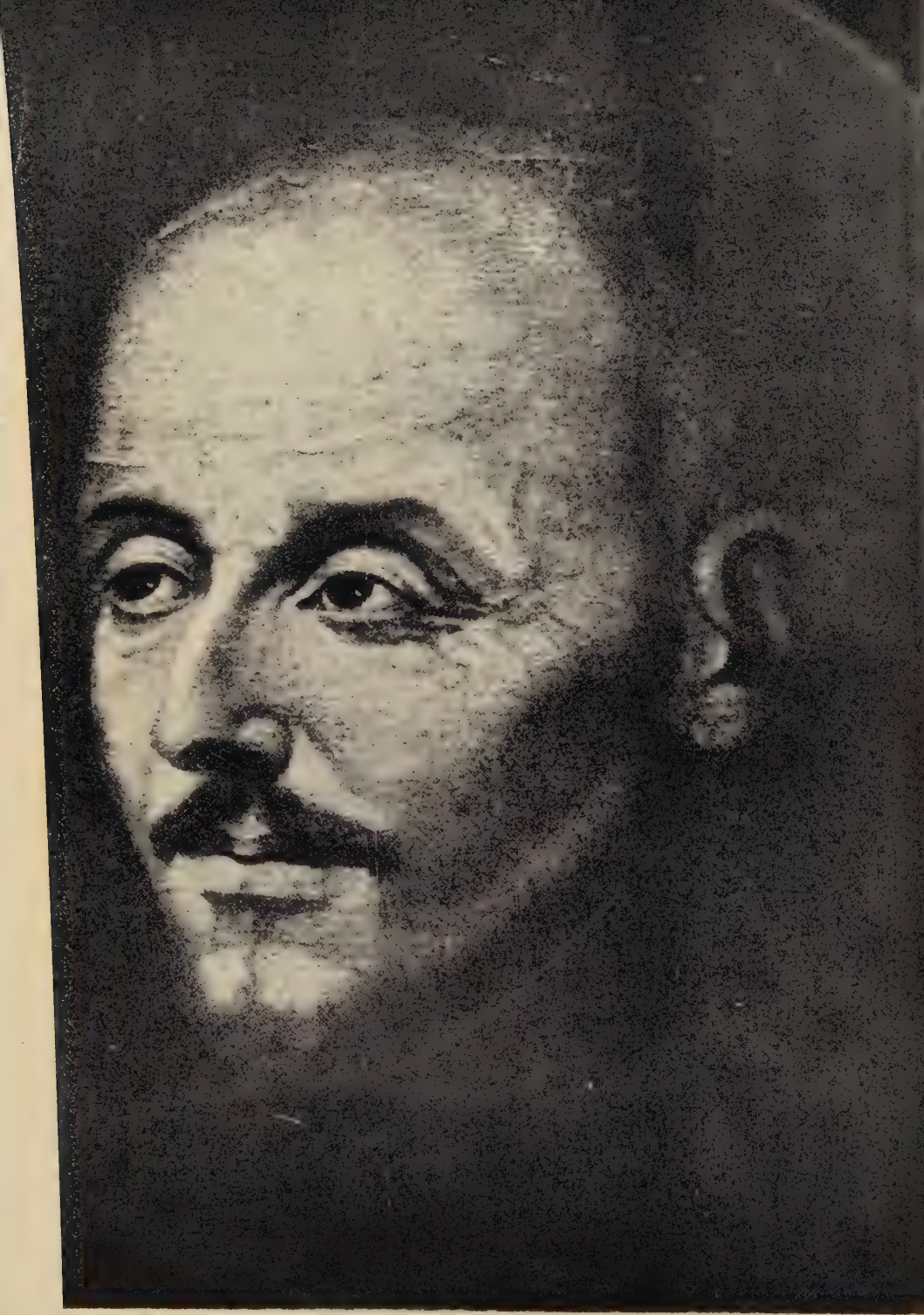
There are many things for which he would qualify as patron. Another, of course, is the conquest of drunkenness. And if there are any who would wish to have someone to encourage them to pay their debts or to make restitution, here is their man. He was wonderfully conscientious about this. He also gave up tobacco, and found it a harder sacrifice than drink. It was surely as a substitute that he used often put a little pebble in his mouth while someone else was smoking and chatting with him. I can imagine some enterprising salesman putting such a talisman on the market, if Matt is beatified, as a cure for ailments allegedly caused by excessive smoking !

But the central thing remains a secret. What was the substance of Matt's prayer ? How far did he progress along the traditional lines of mysticism ? What was the exact nature of his prolonged commerce with the world of the spirit ? He spent immensely long hours in prayer. What happened then ? We shall never know. During these hours something held him spell-bound ; someone gave him hope, and peace and strength. Not being an artist or capable perhaps of expressing it, he never told us. Rather, he might have said in his blunt way : go and find out yourself, you will not regret it. He confessed to only one remarkable spiritual experience. (The fact that Miss Purcell does not mention the story of his preternatural obstruction at the church door, may mean that she found it insufficently authenticated.)

The external result of the long prayers and extreme austerity was a normal, tidy, straightforward, vigorous, reserved but kindly man. The evidence of his having had constant and providentially wise direction is valuable and was needed. So also is the evidence of his reasonable, loyal and fearless attitude to the question of social strife and workers' rights. He made sincere and adequate efforts to clarify his conscience on these problems as they touched him. But though sometimes he was called a " Larkinite ", and once, at least, would not go back to work with a firm against which he had struck, (though others did without their claims being met) he didn't give his supreme energies and interest to social reform. He was concentrated on other, eternal, aims ; and his work-mates showed their sound sense of values by respecting his point of view completely. In the great strike of 1913, because he was not picketing, he did not seek strike pay, but the men brought it to him regularly. And, incidentally, he used it to help others even worse off than himself.

All this, and much more, has been selected and attractively recounted by Miss Purcell. Her book should prevent Matt Talbot from being falsified and ill-used as a model of this, that or the other. If anyone wants to take him as a pattern, he can find out here what he was really like. And we must frankly admit that he was not in the least like most of us even at our best, and that perhaps is why we may so justifiably admire him.

MICHAEL SWEETMAN



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Ignatius of Loyola: the Man, the Saint, the Founder

by DONAL O'SULLIVAN, S.J.

ST IGNATIUS of Loyola died in 1556. Since then some hundreds of biographies of him have been written, and pamphlets and articles innumerable. Friends and enemies, Jesuits and non-Jesuits, Catholics and non-Catholics, have been drawn like moths to the Ignatian flame and have singed their wings. To a man they would agree with Fülöp-Miller that " few great men in history have accomplished such great work as he ". But they have different standards of greatness and very different opinions as to the means by which Ignatius achieved it and as to the Company he founded. " To Ignatius and to his Order belongs the mournful glory of having checked the progress of the Reformation, and of having kept a great part of Europe under the yoke of superstition and tyranny." (Nicolini : History of the Jesuits. 1854) The edition of the Soviet Encyclopedia published just a hundred years later says that " his name is synonymous with hypocrisy and criminality masked by religion ", and Stalin (before his own de-canonization !) in the 13th volume of his works lifts horrified hands at the iniquity of Loyola's disciples : " The Jesuits are characterised by a systematised tenacity in their determination to arrive at their amoral ends by methods such as espionage, meddling with the human conscience and madness ".

It is a picture scarcely cruder in its blackness than that which Melchior Cano painted in the lifetime of St Ignatius himself. The troubled times into which the saint was born, the novelty of his energetic efforts at reform and the admiration and envy which almost necessarily followed his prodigious success have bedevilled almost every effort of friend and foe to write an objective biography. " It is probably true that the image of no great religious leader in history has been more distorted by his enemies than the image of Ignatius Loyola. But it is also true that few have more need of the prayer ' Save me from my friends '." So wrote in 1926 the Pyne Professor of History at Princeton, Paul van Dyke, a Protestant, in his own striking biography of the saint. With that statement the Jesuit of to-day heartily agrees.

It is unfortunate for all of us that the lives on which we were nurtured were mainly those of the Baroque period ; and for how many must Rubens's declamatory thaumaturgic Ignatius have made the discovery

of the real man, the gentle saint of Coello's painting, for ever an impossibility. The belief that the Baroque style architecture was the " Jesuit style " dies hard. Equally hard is it to free ourselves from the theatrical gilding of the seventeenth century with which writers like Bartoli and García, victims of their age, overlaid the comparatively unadorned biographies of Laynez, Polanco and Ribadaneira, disciples who knew the saint before the myth had been born.[1] But the publication over the last sixty years of all the Ignatian sources has cleared the way for a definitive biography. It is tragic that the historian who could most confidently have undertaken the task, the Spanish Jesuit, Pedro de Leturia, died suddenly in the April of last year. We can only be grateful that in his *El Gentilhombre Iñigo Lopez de Loyola* (Barcelona, 1941) he left us the authentic account of the saint's life up to the age of thirty. Fr Paul Dudon's *St Ignace de Loyola* (Paris, 1934) is judged by many to be the best biography we possess ; but it is open to the criticism of dealing inadequately with Ignatian spirituality and with the altogether extraordinary mystical experiences of the saint. And every Jesuit who writes on Ignatius is faced with the problem stated by the Marquis of Reading in the foreword to his biography of his father : " the difficulties are enhanced when sitter and painter are father and son, for in those conditions to give praise may be thought uncritical and to withhold it unfilial ".

* * *

Before seeing the circumstances and events that went to the shaping of the man we now know as St Ignatius of Loyola, it may be well to outline roughly his appearance and character.[2] " A wee Spaniard (un espannoleto piccolo), with a touch of a limp and very bright eyes " is the graphic description given of him by a Paduan when he was preaching in Northern Italy. It comes as rather a shock to find that this " soldier-saint " was only five feet two inches in height, even if Fr Ribaneneira does assure us that he was well built and with fine shoulders. His face had an air of distinction : Cardinal Quiroga who " must have seen

[1] This is really important for the understanding of St Ignatius : some even of his sons resent the modern process of humanizing. Van Dyke has stated the problem objectively : " With the close of the sixteenth century begins a style of biography of Loyola in which the legendary element grows stronger and stronger, and the desire to make an edifying picture where the most sensitively hyper-orthodox could find no possibility of the slightest shock of offence becomes more and more evident. This type of writing, which runs down well into modern times, completely dehumanizes Loyola. Frequently its style shows a kind of sugary sweetness which irresistibly reminds us of some of the overdecorated church interiors of the eighteenth century. It has been an absolute bar to the understanding of Loyola by Protestants, and many Catholics find it unreadable ".

[2] This outline is largely based on the studies of Fr Maurice de Iriarte *in Razón y Fe,* February, March, June, July 1944, July 1946 and January 1956 : and on Fr Anton Huonder's *Ignatius von Loyola* (Köln, 1932), a most valuable compilation from the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu.* The German writer, however, exaggerates the " soldierly " qualities of the saint.

him more than a hundred thousand times " testified that "no other face was like it". But it was not, according to Fr Manares, " handsome by human standards". Looking at the most authentic portrait of the saint we have, that by Sanchez Coello (see Frontispiece), one can agree with both opinions. It has the dignity of a born aristocrat and the serenity of a saint. It indicates reflective self-mastery, yet there is no loss of human understanding and kindness. It is the face of a man you would choose as a confidant or a confessor. Roughly pentagonal in form, it has the high cheek-bones that are so familiar to us in Ireland, and a markedly prominent bone-formation of nose and eyebrows. The full flexible lips have the slightest trace of a smile. The eyelids are " shrivelled and wrinkled ", and the eyes themselves have lost much of that sparkle noticed by the Paduan ; for they are the eyes of a man who for some fifteen years had wept copiously, and that almost every day. But even as they are in the portrait, we can well believe the statement of Fr Cámara that when Ignatius looked at a man, he had the impression that he was looking right into the depths of the soul.

This may sound alarming, yet all contemporary accounts indicate that the saint's expression was entirely winning. " I could not look at him enough," wrote the Fleming, Fr Coster in 1553. " From his eyes there radiated a genuine piety ; so gentle, friendly and approachable is he that . . . he is equally at ease with the most ordinary of men and persons of great standing." He had tremendous charm—the word is not too strong—and one can only regret the perpetuation, even in this centenary year, of the legend of the grim Ignatius by the publishing of portraits such as that by Salaverria which appeared in *Time* for 19 March 1956 with the caption " The will is the way ". Of this particular portrait it has been well said that it is such as " an intelligent enemy might have painted who had nevertheless some critical intuition of sanctity ".

It is the lack of balance that is to be criticized in such portraits and descriptions, not the fact of the extraordinary power of the saint's will. For extraordinary this was and altogether heroic. " The will was in Ignatius of exceptional quality, one of those greatnesses of the human soul that can only be properly appreciated by comparing it with other forms of greatness in certain men ; with the sovereign intellect, for instance, of a Plato, or the artistic genius of a Dante." (Iriarte : *Razón y Fe,* July 1946) Even in his errant years he had, as we shall see, a magnanimity of no common stamp : " he ever ambitioned great things ", says his secretary Polanco. How insidious the danger for one with such indomitable strength of character of becoming frigid, callous and domineering !

Yet this man who personified self-mastery, who " ordered " not merely his own life but the lives of millions (" Spiritual Exercises to *conquer*

oneself and to *order* one's life "), who " examined " himself hourly, who in almost continuous suffering displayed the apatheia of a stoic, was also the tenderest, gentlest, most sympathetic, most loving of men. If " to the strongest among them he gave hard bread and a man's food to eat " it was because he knew their strength and their possibilities for good. Polanco, Laynez and Nadal—three of his greatest sons and deepest admirers—hardly knew what it was to have a kind word from the saint. " Yet there never was a mother who was more concerned about her children and particularly about the sick and weak " (Ribadeneira). " *Totus ex caritate et amore concretus* " was the unanimous opinion of those who lived with him.

This strongly marked affective quality of his character—both before and after his conversion—made him highly susceptible to influences from without. His *Exercises*, so often wrongly presented as exclusively rational and volitive, are also highly emotional. One of the most important directives for the making of them stresses the principle that " it is not to know much that fills and satisfies the soul, but to *feel* and *taste* things interiorly ". And it is by the seismographic recordings of " consolation " and " desolation " that the ordering of a life according to the will of God is to be most delicately determined.

No document is so important for the understanding of St Ignatius as his private diary—or, to be exact, the comparatively small portion of it that escaped the flames—and it is only in the last twenty years that this invaluable document has been adequately studied.[1] Reading with awe, as we must, those intimate notings of this man's extraordinary dealings with God, one may well wonder if in all the records of the saints there is anything more passionately emotional. Here are examples taken at random : " great grace and devotion and quiet tears " : " most intense love " : " great abundance of tears " : " heat and great savour " : " holding the Blessed Sacrament in my hands, there came an intense inner locution and motion " : " new intensity of tears and sobs ". So copious indeed were his tears in the reciting of the Divine Office that he had to be dispensed from it lest he go blind ; and at times he had even to omit saying Mass because of its shattering effect on his health.

Yet all this time, this " contemplative in action " was busy about everyday affairs, directing with minutest interest the wide-world forays of his men ; corresponding with Popes and Kings and Queens, weary Jesuits and mystical nuns and unmystical Toms and Dicks and Harrys ; perfecting his *Exercises*, and planning and writing the Constitutions of his Company ; and all with so awe-inspiring an " indifference " to violent bodily pain and constant opposition and vituperation that his

[1] By far the finest study of St Ignatius's *Spiritual Diary* is that of Fr Joseph de Guibert in *La Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*. (Vol. 19, 1938)

" soul was always in his hands ". *Anima mea in manibus meis semper.* Complex indeed was the soul of that mystical organizing genius but never complicated. In it the most seemingly disparate of qualities were fused into unity by as single-minded a love of God's glory and man's perfection as this disintegrated planet has ever witnessed. Ignatius solved the philosopher's problem of unity in multiplicity by the simple and dreadful expedient of total unselfing : he was superbly human because he was supremely holy : he ranks among the most glorious of men because he sought with a graced uninterrupted singleness the greater glory of God.

* * *

Such was the sanctity of Ignatius. Let us now see something of its fantastic moulding. The military qualities of St Ignatius himself and of the Company he founded have, as we have said, been frequently exaggerated. But one's first sight of Loyola, the house where he was born, forces the reflection that at least he got off to a good military start. It is half fortress, half manor ; the lower portion being built with great stones, the two upper storeys of brickwork in a sober Moorish style that is rather surprising to meet in the quiet valley among the Basque mountains. Its exterior alone tells much of the Loyola men and the hot blood in their veins. Those two storeys were built by Don Juan Pérez de Loyola, Ignatius's grandfather, when he returned in 1461 from a four year stay in sunny Andalusia. He did not go south for the sun ; he despised comfort as much as did his grandson, and art styles were of as little native interest to the one as to the other. He went there by command of King Henry IV of Castille to fight the Moors as a penance for oppressing the King's towns in company with his fellow noblemen of Guipúzcoa. And he re-built in Mudéjar brick—stone was forbidden him—what the King had pulled down in punishment about his turbulent ears.

Loyola swords had for three hundred years defended their own small Guipúzcoan patrimony, and increased it. But the same swords were ever at the King's disposal for a greater cause. Don Beltran, Ignatius's father, had fought against the Moors. Four of his six brothers died fighting for Spain, two of them against Naples when Ignatius was five years old, another in the conquest of Mexico, and the fourth against the Turks in Hungary. Iñigo (for such he was christened), the Benjamin of the family, born in 1491, must at a very early age indeed have learned that life for many a Loyola meant two things : to fight and to keep the Faith.[1] The

[1] Iñigo was the baptismal name of the saint. Later in life he adopted the form Ignatius—mainly out of devotion to St Ignatius the martyr.

latter he learned from his mother Doña Marina, and a good deal also from the wife of his father's smith, María de Garín, by whom he was reared in their farmhouse of Eguibar, a stone's throw from the great house.[1] The seeds of his later conversion had been early sown.

As for the fighting, it must have been the everyday conversation of both castle and cottage, and songs about the Cid Campeador as common as hymns to Our Lady. The boy was not a year old when the Catholic Kings rode into Granada in triumph, and Columbus sailed into the unknown west to discover the east. His eldest brother had equipped a ship with eighty-five men to sail on Columbus's voyage ; and the rumours of Julius II's crusade plans must have reached his youthful ears.

But all was not wars, and rumours of them. Loyola had its rustic and patriarchal side as well ; its folk-songs and dances and its wayside shrines and sung Masses, all of which the boy loved and which moulded him more deeply than he then knew. " Before the imperial drums of Charles V echoed in Loyola, the rustic bells of the shrines had left their mark upon his soul." (Leturia) The quiet mountain valley was a good place to have one's roots and to shelter one's first growth—Ignatius the Saint owes much to his green valley and his red Basque blood—but the eleventh child of a none too wealthy family must soon have seen that any place he was to make in the world had to be carved by his own efforts—and the carving done with a sword.

His first chance came at the age of seventeen when he joined at Arévalo the household of his father's friend Juan Velásquez de Cuéllar, Chief Treasurer of the Catholic Kings, thus gaining access to the court. The page from Guipúzcoa was a ready pupil for the arts of the courtier ; and to the credit side of Arévalo may be written up the fine dignity that would stay with Ignatius all his days and mark his dealings with men, and those nobler aspects of sixteenth century Spanish chivalry that would play so marked a part in his later dedication to his Heavenly Lady and her Son. It was partly there, but more especially in his time with the Duke of Nájera, that the ideal of the King's service, that would later so stamp the Company he founded, really laid hold on his mind. Ignatius jousted and fought for glory and for love, never for loot or sordid gain. Also his faith remained intact and he neither swore nor lied.

But the debit side which all biographers, save those of his own day and our own, have from a false piety chosen to ignore, is at best trivial

[1] However little place biographers can give Doña Marina and Doña Magdalena de Araoz, his sister-in-law who looked after him on his mother's death, and María de Garín, they cannot but emotionally have played a great though probably unconscious part in the life of the boy who, once his salad years were past, became a man of deep and noble affections.

and unworthy and at its worst sordid.[1] It is indeed hard, but very consoling, to recognize the future Jesuit General under the fine feathers now sprouted by this young cock of the north. His own autobiography,[2] dictated some forty years later, opens with a summary description : " a man given over to the vanities of the world, delighting mainly in the exercise of arms with a great and vain ambition to win honour ". He looked the part. " The gay and vain youth wore a slashed suit of two bright colours, open cape, tight-fitting hose, and boots, sword and dagger at his waist, and upon his proud blond head from which fell curls reaching to his shoulders, a small scarlet cap, the insignia of Oñaz, adorned with a jaunty waving feather. At times he donned gleaming breastplate, and wore in addition to the inseparable sword and dagger a cross-bow with darts and other weapons ". (Leturia)

" Immodest in dress, he was still more immodest in his actions", relates the document which charges him and his priest brother with crimes in his own town " reckoned as enormous since they were committed by night with malice aforethought and after plotting ambuscade and treachery". What crimes Ignatius and his worldly clerical brother were here guilty of no biographer can with certainty say. But his later secretary, Polanco, and his friends and admirers Laynez and Ribadeneira, leave us in no doubt as to the sinfulness of the young man whose " head was filled " with the exploits of Amadis and Don Galaor and Oriana. " Free and easy in love affairs, in gambling and in duelling over points of honour." " Tempted and conquered by carnal vice." " A disordered and vain soldier." How far we are from the polite and false rhetoric of Bartoli : " Idleness and gambling had no charms for the young soldier. He employed the time which he might have spent in this manner in writing verses upon sacred or moral subjects ". But how near we are on the other hand to understanding the " shame and confusion " that is placed as one of the fundamental graces of the *Spiritual Exercises* and the magnitude of that conversion which, almost as a by-product, once and for all freed Ignatius from every consent to temptations of the flesh. *O felix culpa quae talem ac tantum meruit habere Redemptorem !* and, we may add, " *Co-redemptricem*" ; for it was a vision of Our Lady with her Child that effected this extraordinary grace.

[1] Fr Iriarte states this very strongly in his article in *Razón y Fe* of January 1956. " His youthful excess, flourishing in a licentious atmosphere, led him to the very brink both of a psychic and moral breakdown. Which is to say that the man whose solid rounded personality is universally admired to-day was on the point of settling into a life of empty worldly superficiality ; and that character so imposing and so finely carved would have been reduced to a handful of shameless shreds and tatters."

[2] At the repeated urging of his disciples Ignatius dictated his so-called *Autobiography* to Fr da Cámara in 1553 and 1555. It is written in the third person and deals with the saint's life up to the year 1538. Unadorned almost to the point of ruggedness it makes little appeal to the casual reader ; it is a document which he who runs may never read. Every sentence is a mine. It will be frequently used in this article, for what it shows above all else is how the man Don Iñigo became Saint Ignatius of Loyola.

He had thirteen years of this courtly and military life—the last four of them with the Duke of Nájera—when, leading against heavy French odds a do-or-die defence of a Navarrese citadel, he fell in the breach with his right leg smashed and the other badly injured. The time was Whit Monday, 20 May 1521 ; the town, Pamplona ; and the shot was fired by a man from God knows where who by this single anonymous fluke of artillery changed not only the course of a Spanish battle but the world's story for centuries to come. Fittingly on each recurring year Jesuits in every land celebrate that " shot of accident and dart of chance " which heralded, though none then knew it, their birth.

* * *

There are places in the world that fill the serious pilgrim with a sense of the *tremendum* and move him to the heart's core. One is the upper room in the north-east angle of Loyola where during his convalescence Ignatius discovered himself—and God. The statuary, the marbles, and the lapis lazuli and agates and sapphires, with which four centuries of piety—misplaced perhaps[1]—have adorned it, dissolve in the fire of the exquisitely simple phrase inscribed in one of the old rafters : *Aquí se entregó a Dios Iñigo de Loyola* (" Here Iñigo de Loyola surrendered to God ").

In this room he was for a time very close to death. The bones had not reset properly after the first medical butchery at Pamplona. " Break and reset", he ordered—a lame man could not joust or fight. The saint's *Autobiography* recounts the horror thirty years afterwards, and, in doing so, floodlights that nature on which grace was to build. " He had to endure this butchery a second time ; during this torture, as in all those which he had previously suffered or was to suffer, he did not utter a word ; the only sign he gave was to clench his fists tightly." Death came hourly nearer ; but " the sick man had a special devotion to St Peter, and it pleased Our Lord that night (the vigil of the feast of Saints Peter and Paul) to improve his condition ". His strength returned, but, horror of horrors for a caballero who counted the days till he could once again wear his fashionable hose, a fragment of bone protruded. Again the butchery was re-enacted. The long convalescence gave him time to dream of his Beatrice; " greater than a countess or a duchess she was ", and he planned " the great deeds " he would do in her honour.

But it also—for the first time in his extroverted thirty years—gave him time to think on the lives of Christ and His Saints which, for want of any novels of chivalry, boredom compelled him to read. The crisis

[1] " From Rome the generals suggested some respect for the original appearance of the building ; their advice was followed, but with a liberty whose only excuse was zeal." (Dudon)

of his bodily illness had passed ; the crisis of the soul was upon him. Of all the masses of men who have " made " the *Spiritual Exercises* perhaps only those who have studied and " given " them can fully appreciate the greater than atomic power latent in the struggle that now filled that quiet room in a backwater of northern Spain. Iñigo began " to reflect upon himself ", to use a phrase that will later mark Jesuit spirituality, and, by the whole " retreat " movement, the Catholic Church as well. And he did it, as he himself tells us in a revealing phrase, " with a magnanimous heart set on fire by God ". " St Dominic did this, therefore I must also do it ; St Francis did this, therefore I too will do it."

To the right and to the left the spirits tugged ; Heaven and Hell played at dice in and for his soul and for the souls of millions that the Company of Jesus would influence through the centuries from China to Peru. And thus he came little by little to " discern the spirits ", the spirit of the devil and the spirit of God, not as yet with the clarity and subtlety of the " Two Standards " of Manresa but clearly enough to produce " a change in his soul ", and to determine him to leave behind the world of illusions which he had so passionately served and to dedicate his life to reality and to God in penance for his sins. " Here Iñigo de Loyola surrendered to God."

From the upper room of Loyola the scene shifts to the cave of Manresa. On a March day in 1522, Captain Iñigo, still finely caparisoned, rode away from Loyola and his bewildered family, his ultimate aim Jerusalem and, he hoped, martyrdom ; his immediate goal the great monastery of Montserrat. But God's appointment was for Manresa, a country town nearby. His sins confessed, his Toledan sword and dagger hung by Our Lady's shrine before which he had vigilled in sackcloth through the night of the 24th of March,[1] this new caballero of hers limped next day all unwittingly along the Manresa road to his tremendous destiny. He was planning a few quiet days in which to " note down some things in his scrap-book which for his consolation he always carried about with him ". But God too was planning, planning as only God can plan, terribly and grandly. Darkness He was devising for him, the " dark night of the soul " ; and then brightness, the brightness of the very Trinity Itself subdued only by passing through the thin wall of mortal flesh.

A comparatively calm period of much vocal prayer and severe penance —partly in church, partly in a cave—was followed by months of darkness and scruples and hideous temptations to suicide and despair. So far are they outside our bourgeois spiritual experience that perhaps only by

[1] In Montserrat a tablet of the early seventeenth century commemorates this vigil. *Beatus Ignatius a Loyola hic multa prece fletuque Deo se Virginique devovit. Hic tanquam armis spiritualibus sacco se muniens pernoctavit. Hinc ad Societatem Jesu fundandam prodiit anno M.D. XXII.*

reference to the familiar " black literature " of to-day can we even remotely comprehend them. Compound *La Nausée* or *Huit Clos* with *Brighton Rock* and *Waiting for Godot,* multiply their horrible despair almost to infinity and translate the result to the supernatural sphere and you begin to have some faint inkling of what the saints meant by the " dark night " and of what Ignatius endured in the cave which he had chosen for his dwelling. " That night, that year of now done darkness I, wretch, lay wrestling with (my God !) my God."

It was a darkness that heralded an extraordinary dawn. The God of Light "invaded" Ignatius's purified soul and, mounting from sense images through intellectual visions, led him to the heights where he " saw ", as far as a *viator* may see, God, One and Triune, and in Him the reality of all that " is ". The place was the bank of the river Cardoner, the time was the autumn of 1522 ; but what was shown to him could be bounded by no categories of space or time. There—we have his own balanced mature assurance for it—he saw in that one single experience more than what sixty-two years of study and life were to teach him. And there—God be praised for it—the Society of Jesus was conceived.

Yet long years were to pass—seventeen of them—and Ignatius would be forty-nine years of age before the Society of Jesus came formally into being. (It is an amazing lapse of time, not sufficiently adverted to or wondered at.) This convert, who now " seemed to himself another man with another mind " and " to whom all things appeared in a new light ", saw beyond power of doubting that he must " bring help to souls ". Henceforth, *ayudar a las ánimas*—the phrase and the fact—will spur him beyond the seeming limits of endurance as he himself never spurred horse in his time of jousts and battles. The day that Iñigo once more " combed his hair and cut his nails " was as significant for him and his life-work as was for Newman the day he donned the grey trousers at Oxford ! The means to " bring help to souls " were carried by him in his God-flooded soul and in his pilgrim's scrip as, once again, he took the road for Jerusalem. Only a prophet, and there was none that day at Manresa, could have foretold the dynamic effect on Europe—and on the world—of the handful of notes that that scrip contained. For it contained, to quote the words of the Protestant historian Heinrich Boehmer, " one of the books that have decided the fate of humanity "—*The Spiritual Exercises.*[1] " Some things that he had observed in his soul and found useful . . . he noted down in writing." Such simplicity of statement is indeed fitting when we consider that,

[1] To attempt, as we do here, to sum up *The Exercises* in a few lines is no less ridiculous than dangerous. This famous book would be exposed to less incomprehension and certainly to less opposition, if it were remembered that only in the broadest sense can it be called a book at all ; and that only in the light of St Ignatius's *Constitutions* and *Letters* can its deepest meaning be grasped.

little more than a year before, the author of this spiritual masterpiece had been an unlettered and worldly soldier. Now he has become a guide—how sure a guide the Church has ever since insistently proclaimed—to the one all-important business of everyman : " the seeking and finding of the will of God for the ordering of one's life ". By these " exercises " Ignatius will aid men to " prepare and dispose themselves " " to smell and taste the infinite sincerity and sweetness of the Divinity " and to open their doors to their Creator " whose peculiar right it is to enter the soul, leave it, move it and draw it entirely to the love of His Divine Majesty ". He will tell them how to " seek and find God in all things ". He will show them the Christ he had himself so frequently seen and His standard—the Cross—hoping that by His example and grace they will enrol themselves in loving service under it for the spreading of His Kingdom. Ignatius, who had tasted God's infinity, had no illusions as to the value of a *turba hominum* ; the men whom he envisaged would be *rari, selecti*. To find them—though as yet but vaguely conscious of his taste—he was setting out again on the roadways of the world, " with love and faith and hope for sole viaticum ".

That supersubstantial bread nourished him on the perilous journey to Jerusalem and back. Few pilgrims can have followed with such intense devotion the footsteps of the Master ; nor did any crusader ever burn with such ardent desires " to bring aid " to Mahommedan souls. But " the most sweet providence of God ", acting by means of an anything but sweet threat of excommunication from the Franciscan Guardian (the good man had his work cut out to maintain an uneasy peace) guided " the Pilgrim " back to Barcelona. There, realizing that his intuitions of the high things of God had to be canalized for apostolic use into the categories of human knowledge, he began those fourteen years of study which must rank high—if not, indeed, highest—amongst the heroic deeds of a most heroic life. Contrasted with those years of laborious anonymity, the crowded hours on the Pamplona ramparts seem as trifling as the tops and marbles of the little boys of Master Jerome Ardevoll's grammar school, amongst whom—at the age of thirty-three ! —he now took his place. His distractions in class were scarcely those of his restless companions : he found himself deluged with " fresh intelligence and new delights in the things of the spirit ". The *amo* of the very first conjugation stole his mind away from grammar to God. He finally saw the temptation for what it was and he made in Church to Master Jerome as strange a promise as ever wandering pupil made to irate teacher. " I promise you never to fail in attention at your classes during these two years, provided that I can find bread and water in Barcelona to keep me alive".[1] The bread and water he found—and he

[1] St Ignatius was no linguist. In 1528, at the College of Montaigu in Paris, we find him resolving to begin again at grammar " in the midst of small children ". His contemporaries were lost in admiration—and with reason—at this stupendously humble perseverance ; but never at his knowledge of Latin.

ate or drank little more—and after the two years he set out to study philosophy in Alcalà his Latin alas ! as limping as his leg.

Some Ignatian scholars hold that he never saw the inside of Alcalà's university but that he studied privately a sorry mixture of science and philosophy. What he certainly did see was the inside of its jail ; for rumours about some curious " exercises " he was giving had reached Toledo, and the Inquisitors came post-haste to investigate. On examination they approved of him and his doctrine but forbade all preaching until his studies were finished. As that " shut the door on bringing aid to souls " he decided to try Salamanca. His luck was no better. Much of his time in that university city was passed first under house-arrest with the Dominicans—dividing, as he was fated to do so frequently, the community into fors and againsts—and later in the town jail. There is a tartness this time in Ignatius's comment on the judge's sentence which was almost identical with that of Alcalà. " The Pilgrim said that he would carry out all that the sentence commanded, but that he could not accept it, since although they found him guilty in nothing they were shutting his mouth from aiding his neighbour in as far as he was able ". And so, shaking the dust of inquisitorial Spain from his feet, " he resolved to go to Paris and study there ".[1]

* * *

When the lame man with a donkey laden with his few belongings passed on 2 February 1528 through the gates of Paris, he left behind the mediaeval world that had hitherto moulded him and made his unnoticed entry on to the crowded Renaissance stage where he was to become one of the principal actors. Paris was then the intellectual capital of Europe and its university was the crossroads of the western world. There, in the colleges of Montaigu and Sainte-Barbe, supporting himself by alms gathered during the vacations in England and the Low Countries, he slaved from dawn (the first lecture was at 5 a.m.) until late night, found

[1] " A sweet violence " says Fr Nadal " was leading him towards a goal that he himself was as yet unaware of." If one is to appreciate at all deeply Ignatian spirituality and the divine preparations for the founding of the Society of Jesus that coincided mysteriously with the seemingly haphazard meanderings of its founder, *quasi sapienter imprudens*, it is important to note his acute realization that " the most sweet providence of God " extended to every moment of time, to every tiniest circumstance of life, to the innermost marrow of man's " intentions, actions and operations ". And it bred in him a marvellous confidence in God. If we prescind from what is blind and mechanical in radar guidance, we may be able to form some slight idea of how this great mystic kept continuously in touch with his " Creator and Lord ", ever listening for His voice, ever watching for His hand, and that in failures, hindrances and oppositions no less than in successes and achievements ! He had imbibed by the banks of the Cardoner that theology of history which Christian historians to-day are trying so belatedly to elaborate.

For him divine providence was—as he repeatedly describes—*suavis*, because while demanding the cooperation of greatness it inspired their liberty without ever constraining it. Those who sneer at the *id quod volo* of the *Exercises* ignore the accompanying verb *petere* : they will never understand Ignatius or his Society.

time somehow to *ayudar a las ánimas,* met and conquered the now familiar opposition and, in 1534, achieved the stupendous feat of graduating as a Master of Arts. There too, at last, he found his first *selecti homines* and wooed and won them by his sanctity and charm. And the pick of that picked bunch—even Ignatius would never find a greater—was a brilliant, popular, passionate, ambitious lecturer and athlete, Master Francis Xavier from Navarre.[1]

To him and to five other university men Ignatius gradually unfolded his plans for a little group who would surrender themselves entirely to God for the aid of souls ; and to each he gave the *Spiritual Exercises.* And when after much prayerful deliberation, the seven knelt in the little chapel of St Denis at Montmartre on 15 August 1534 and vowed poverty, chastity and a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, they formed—without knowing it—the foundation stones of a new religious order. *Fabri polita malleo hanc saxa molem construunt.* But six years of polishing by the Artificer of souls still lay ahead before those living stones, now bonded only by love, would become formally—and through obedience—the Company of Jesus. To their pilgrimage vow they placed a prudent limitation—to offer themselves to the Pope for the service of souls if within a certain time they could find no ship to Jerusalem.

Providence saw to it that all through 1537, the year of their arrival in Venice, no ship could venture into Turkish waters. Ordained priests by this time, their studies finished and their numbers increased to an international band of ten, they gave themselves with marked fruit to prayer, penance and sadly-needed preaching in the university towns of northern Italy. " When the first companions"—so writes Laynez, one of their number—" were on their way from Paris to Venice, people were struck by their dress and behaviour. ' Who can these men be ' they said. And one day some one answered : ' They're off to reform some country ' ". That was exactly the formidable task Pope Paul III was to suggest to Ignatius, Laynez and Favre when they came from Venice to place their plans before him. " Italy is a good and true Jerusalem if you are seeking to produce fruit in the Church of God."

The long-delayed hour of " sweet Providence " was approaching and for Ignatius it had been marked on the way to Rome, in the chapel of La Storta, by a vision which holds the same importance for the

[1] The friendship of these two great men is one of the loveliest things in all the Jesuit story. The greater glory of God was to place them half a world apart. But Xavier's 1552 letter from Cochin (his last, save for one brief note) shows that love need not wane with the miles and years. " My true Father, just now when I landed in Malaca from Japan, I received a letter from your holy charity ; and God our Lord knows how consoled my soul was to have news of your life and health. And amongst other consoling words in your letter I read the concluding ones : ' All yours, without the possibility of at any time forgetting you, Ignatius '. And these words I read, as I now write them, with tears ; recalling the old days and the great love I always bore you and still bear ". There is little sign here of that desiccation which hostile fiction attributes to Jesuit training.

foundation of the society of Jesus as that of the Cardoner held for the *Spiritual Exercises*. He saw " Christ with the cross and beside Him the eternal Father, Who said : ' I wish you to take this man as Your servant". And Jesus accepted him and said : ' I wish you to serve Us ' ". It was the divine answer to the " Triple Colloquy " of the *Exercises* which Ignatius had been repeatedly praying over the years. " He felt such a change in his soul and saw so clearly that God the Father joined him to Christ His Son that never would he dare to doubt this point." And to these words of the *Autobiography* Laynez adds : "From that he conceived a great devotion to the name of Jesus and wished that the group be called the Company of Jesus ".

The course of events was now gradually making clear to the companions that if they were to remain as one body and increase, they would have to take on the form of a religious order. It had not been at all their intention ; they feared for their apostolate. They were the " light horsemen whose job it is to stand always to arms to repel enemy onslaughts and to attack and withdraw, skirmishing now here, now there. And for that we need to be freed from charges and offices which would tie us down."[1] It was a very different conception from anything hitherto known as a religious order. No fixed religious habit, no obligatory practices of penance, no elections, and above all, no office in choir ! It did seem monstrous at the time and many Cardinals and religious of the existing orders said so with much heat. And then there was the proposed name to which the Ignatius of La Storta clung for dear life. " Who are these men " demanded an angry Cardinal " that we must lift our hats every time we mention their name ! " Meanwhile " these men " went quietly on with their prayers and their discussions. And their leader had them begin the offering of three thousand Masses to beg God's help ; and true to his principle of cooperating with grace he used every Roman influence that he could bring to bear. Divine grace, working through that most determined of human wills, won over opponent after opponent. On 27 September 1540, the eighteen years of faith and labour of the " fiel apostol de la providencia " were crowned by the Bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae* which canonically established the Society of Jesus as a religious order. The promise made at La Storta—" I will be propitious to you at Rome "—had been generously fulfilled.

* * *

Ignatius of Loyola was now forty-nine years of age. Sixteen years of life remained to him and much of these were to be spent in giving Constitutions to his Company ; though it is of importance to note that

[1] This was among the reasons given by St Ignatius to the Pope against accepting a Bishopric for Fr Le Jay.

formed Jesuits existed before the order to which they would belong was established. The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus are, by any standards, an extraordinary code of laws. Clear, balanced, admirably arranged, never merely speculative yet not niggling nor " dated " in their practical applications, they are, all in all, models of that prudence so esteemed by their author. But, first and foremost, they are of God : written " not with ink but with the spirit of the living God ". From the preamble to the tenth and final part, they proclaim that " it is the sovereign wisdom and goodness of God Our Creator and Lord which is to conserve, govern and advance in His holy service this least Society of Jesus as He has deigned to call it into being ". " Prayers and Sacrifices " will therefore be the first and most proper means for a body " not established by human devices ". These phrases, we must insist, were not mere pious clichés for the saint : what he preached he practised. " The manner he observed when drawing up the Constitutions was to say Mass every day and present the point he was treating of to God and pray about it ; and always he said his prayers and his Mass with tears." [1] We may recall here the Fragments of his Spiritual Diary described on a previous page. They date from this time.

From first to last, also, the Constitutions are permeated with the thought of God's greatness and goodness and man's corresponding duty of an ever-increasing service of love. The Jesuit is " in all things to seek and find God ". " The greater glory of God", the " greater service and praise of His Divine Majesty ", is the Constitutions' *leit-motif* and aim. Every line betrays the life-secret of a soul so passionately in love with God that, like the fire, he could never say, " it is enough ". Always it had to be *magis,* more. Hence, mainly, the striking dynamic quality of the Constitutions and their preoccupation with the *majus ac universalius bonum.* But this law of service was not for conscripts or cravens. No man ever solved better than Ignatius the problem of reconciling authority with freedom : how great a craftsman of liberty he was his sons in every age have gladly attested. He schooled them first in sincere openness and in " indifference "—not the indifference of a stoic but that of an ardent lover—and then they found his dictum right that " it is easy to obey when we love that which is commanded ". They could distinguish with him and St Paul between " the law of the spirit of life " and the " letter that killeth ".

Ignatian obedience was not designed for the many who jeer at its supposed rigour and tyranny. It was meant for men who wish to

[1] Ignatius's spiritual life centred on the Mass. Whatever the merits or demerits of Rubens's paintings of the saint, he at least reflected the sure tradition of his contemporaries when he depicted him in Mass vestments. It is a point that later came to be somewhat ignored—and to our loss. An awareness of it would have prevented the somewhat ridiculous recriminations of Liturgists and Anti-Liturgists of a quarter of a century ago.

" distinguish themselves . . . by offerings of greater worth and moment "—offerings to " serve Christ under the banner of the cross " in poverty and total self-abnegation. For Ignatius the " Kingdom of Christ " was the continuing of Christ's own work on earth ; and that could be done only in obedience to the continuing Christ in the Church. So, as Christ is especially represented by the Roman Pontiff, the professed members of the Company will make a special vow " to obey all that the Holy Father . . . will command for the advancement of souls and the increase of faith ". " And we will go with no delay to whatever country he send us, without repugnance or excuse, whether to the Turks or other infidels, even to the parts they call the Indies, or to heretics or schismatics or to any Catholic Christians whatsoever."

Those who extol the organizing genius of Ignatius are only partly right unless they see that in him it was an affair of the heart no less than the head. Long before the days of Himalayan expeditions he knew that the Everests of the world can be conquered only by carefully selected men who form an united team, even though but a climber or two may savour the exhilaration of the summit ; and that many a brilliant climber's glory must be to serve in the humble tasks of commissariat and base. The " Power and Secret of the Jesuits " is not to be discovered in any of the five-hundred exciting but misleading pages of René Fülöp Miller, but in that exalted passage of the Constitutions which treats of " The Third Degree of Humility " and stimulates à man to such an unselfing for love of Christ that, even in failure, he can only be a success. When all legitimate means of human learning, culture and influence are used by a body of such selfless men—and the Constitutions urge their use—" great things for God " will almost inevitably ensue. And such achievement will, as long as human beings remain sons of Adam, awaken not only admiration but also envy and mistrust. The Society of Jesus, once entirely suppressed, and at one time or another expelled from almost every country in the world, has shared in significant measure the hatred which was the lot of its " King and Captain " and of its founder. " No storm " the latter once said " is worse than complete peace ; no enemy is more dangerous than to be without an enemy ". His Society, while it lives according to his Constitutions, need have no fear on that score !

" Not to be limited by what is greatest ; yet to remain hemmed in by what is smallest : that is divine." These lines written by a seventeenth century Flemish Jesuit are, in their admirable paradoxical brevity, not only an epitaph of the Founder but also an epigraph for his Constitutions and an epitome of the world-embracing work he stimulated and guided from his two small rooms in Rome, supporting it all on the shoulders of his prayers. Whilst his Company still numbered only ten, the Portuguese

Ambassador asked him one day for six men for the Indies. " Good heavens ! Excellency, if of ten, six go to India what will remain for the rest of the world ? " The half-jocose reply was whole in earnest. Almost " the entire space and surface of the territorial globe " that Ignatius had contemplated in his Incarnation vigil at Montserrat, was to see his men in action even before his death. *Ite, incendite, inflammate omnia* was his valediction to them as he sent them off on " expeditions " to Japan, the Indies, Brazil, the Congo and the " Kingdom of Prester John " and to the countries of an old Europe which was experiencing at once both the agony of death and the travail of re-naissance, and where " the True Spouse of Christ, our holy Mother the hierarchical Church " was in such sore need. In the Germanic lands, the sea of revolt had risen almost to the spires of Cologne ; and it was that great Dutch Jesuit, St Peter Canisius, who was to stem and turn the Lutheran tide. On 1 March 1522 the ex-monk Luther had left Wartburg Castle for Wittenberg ; and seven days later Iñigo, the Jesuit-to-be, rode out from Loyola Castle for Montserrat. These two men were destined to be " the real antagonists of the first half of that century. In comparison, Charles V and Francis I seem but children quarrelling over a broken toy " (Papini). That the great struggle was to be pre-eminently a cultural one Ignatius, ever alert for the " sweet " voice of Providence, soon realized. Into the unforseseen battle-ground of school-room and university lecture-hall he threw his *caballos ligeros ;* and a great part of his seven thousand letters, written often in the severest bodily pain, is concerned with the foundation and day-to-day problems of Europe's first Jesuit colleges. " Not to be limited by what is greatest ; yet to remain hemmed in by what is smallest : that is divine."

* * *

There remained for him only the final " hemming-in " of death. " The manner of life is ordinary " had been his prescription for his sons. For himself he was content that Providence should sweetly arrange that his own manner of death should be likewise and that he should die in the heart of Rome almost as lonely a death as that of Xavier on Sancian and even without the last sacraments. *Quod si sine sacramentis obierit,* wrote Fr Nadal, *dispensatio fuit Dei.* On the evening of 30 July 1556 he asked his devoted secretary Polanco to tell Pope Paul IV that his death was near and that he begged his blessing. It was a last act of loyalty to the Church in the person of one who had never shown him much sympathy. But the post for Spain had to be sent off that evening and Polanco suggested that next day would be soon enough. " The sooner, the better", answered Ignatius, " but you do as you think best ; I place

myself entirely in your hands." The Company's work for God's greater glory must come before its founder's private needs! The secretary dispatched the Spanish post and went off to bed, satisfied that the saint, who had over supper discussed the details of buying a house, was in no immediate danger. Ignatius knew better; but, in his "discreet charity" he gave no further sign nor did he call anyone during the night. All the days since Manresa, and in all the hours of them, he had "found" God. Neither the darkness of night nor of death held any terrors for one whose sole remaining desire was that "God should be glorified and praised in his death". At sunrise two fathers who came to his room were dismayed to find him *in extremis;* and while Polanco was hurrying to St Peter's, Ignatius of Loyola quietly died. It was half-past five in the morning of 31 July 1556.

St Ignatius and the Spiritual Exercises

by HUGH KELLY, S.J.

ST IGNATIUS is in a special sense a man of one book, the book of the Spiritual Exercises. He expressed his mind and soul in that small book, and his other writings are but a further development of it. It preserves his spirit and has been an abiding, powerful means of impressing that spirit on a great spiritual posterity ; it contains the record of his own conversion from a worldly, ambitious life to a complete orientation of his whole being to God ; in it he has recorded the emotions, the resolutions, the spiritual aims which were either the cause or the result of his conversion. He surveyed carefully and methodically the road he had himself travelled with much pain and difficulty under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and he saw that the way he had mapped out might well be the way for others. We may say that in the book of the *Spiritual Exercises* he has generalized his own experience.

But it is not a historical or biographical record of a conversion : it could not be classed with the Confessions of St Augustine. It is rather a systematic record, in the sense that he gives the ordered and logical steps through which he passed from being a worldly soldier to being a saint ; it is a clear, easily read map of his route. One who knew nothing of him could read the little book without a thought of the author or of the experiences and emotions, at times searing, at times ecstatic which lie beneath the curt, unemotional words. But those who know the man and love him can feel the living emotions of a powerful, sensitive soul that are generalized in his written word. Scholars have discussed the sources on which he drew, but the essential and principal source was his own experience.

The beginning of his dramatic conversion is well known. The wound he received from a ricochetting cannon ball on the walls of the citadel of Pamplona did not cause, as he and his family hoped, merely an interruption of his military career ; it caused a complete change of direction. His conversion did not come as did St Paul's suddenly and like a lightning flash. It was a matter of long summer weeks during which he lay in his room in the ancestral home at Loyola, passing through the vicissitudes of an illness that seemed likely at times to be fatal. In a fragment of autobiography, which he gave by word of mouth years later, he has described with extraordinary vividness the phases through

which he passed, or rather through which he felt his soul being drawn by divine grace. He tells how he oscillated between worldly and spiritual day-dreams, as if he were the play-thing of contrary forces or spirits competing for his soul ; and how he stumbled by accident on a rule or series of rules by which he could judge which spirit was acting on him at the moment. These rules he recorded as his first religious discoveries. And it is of great significance that this discovery, so hardly won, was specially appropriate for a director of souls. It may be considered as the nucleus of the *Spiritual Exercises*.

The books which he read during his convalescence, a life of Christ and a collection of the legends of the Saints, were the occasion of his spiritual dreams. They excited in him a desire to emulate the deeds of "holy Dominic and holy Francis", especially their austerity of life ; and he resolved to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, by foot and begging his way.

Once he had discovered the means of judging by what spirit he was being influenced, he could combat his worldly dreams ; and he was more and more strongly drawn to the examples of Christ and the Saints. He copied out extracts in a note-book, taking great pains with the writing, with Our Lord's words in red ink and Our Lady's in blue. He carried that book with him on his many journeys ; but it was not, except in a very indirect way, the origin of the *Spiritual Exercises*.

* * *

The actual composition of the book of the *Spiritual Exercises* in its entirety was the work of years. As he advanced in spiritual insight, as a result of his experiences, he carefully noted his discoveries. A close study of the text has distinguished different strata belonging to different stages in his career : some documents dating from the very beginning of his conversion give the fruit of his own observation, while others show clear traces of his theological studies at Paris. There were mystical experiences, visions to which the central idea and core of the Exercises are due. From time to time he incorporated additions, annotations, rules for various spiritual purposes, a series of meditations on the life of Christ, which integrate the book as we know it and make it a systematic handbook of conversion and election.

The most fruitful period of his spiritual life, and the one in which he wrote the greater part of the *Spiritual Exercises*, was the year he spent at Manresa, close to the Benedictine Monastery of Montserrat. This year was a period of intense penance, of severe austerity of life, of many mystical experiences. He was favoured with visions of the Blessed Trinity and of the Humanity of Christ ; he was given supernatural

illumination on the way in which God had created the world and of how Christ is present in the Blessed Sacrament. He went through a searing attack of scruples, when he was making his general Confession, which caused him such agony of soul that he was tempted to suicide, and which he sought to cure by a rigid fast of eight days.

These visions, illuminations, sufferings of soul were the foundation of the central ideas and meditations of the *Spiritual Exercises*. In some of his meditations the note of an intense personal experience is clearly evident—as in the first and second meditations on sin, which are developed more fully and with greater feeling than any other meditation. We may say that the whole of the first week of the *Spiritual Exercises* is but a record of his own complete return to God as he made the passage at Manresa. The visions of the Humanity of Christ would be the foundation of his meditation on the Kingdom of Christ, which is the heart of the *Exercises*. The opening meditation, the *Fundamentum,* which gives a plan of human life and the setting of the whole retreat, is a systematic statement which might well be the theological expression of his vision of Creation. His year at Manresa was his *annus mirabilis* ; when it ended he had written most of the *Spiritual Exercises* ; he had grasped firmly his spiritual system ; he was equipped and prepared to be a leader and guide to others : he began at once his apostolate with individual souls. His teaching, instructions and notes were examined by the Inquisition at Alcalâ and Salamanca and pronounced free from error. His lonely painful period of formation is over : he now enters on his career as an apostle. *Ayudar a las ánimas*, to aid souls was from this on the driving force of his life—but it was in the form of a personal apostolate : he had as yet no idea of being a founder.

The written sources of the *Spiritual Exercises*, the books to which St Ignatius was indebted, have been carefully investigated. His early Christian education, the few books read at Loyola, the books and the instructions heard at Manresa, have been submitted to a close examination. But making full allowance for what he learned from these books, it is clear that the *Spiritual Exercises* in their essence, in their individuality and power, are his own discovery, are the result of his own experiences, the fruit of his own observation and of the way of life he himself walked. An artist has to find his material ; he does not make it. But he is an artist because of the way he deals with his material : because of the form and meaning he gives to it. The finished work is his. St Ignatius owed something to Ludolph the Carthusian, to Jacques de Voragine, to the Benedictine Cisneros, to A'Kempis ; but the *Spiritual Exercises* is his own work. What he borrowed he made his own and fitted into a new design and unity ; he put his own stamp upon it, fused it into a new organic unity and made it the instrument of a new specific work.

What then are the *Spiritual Exercises*? They are a systematized series of meditations and considerations designed to lead a generous soul by a planned series of stages to a very distinctive kind of sanctity. They are not merely a manual of conversion : they are a method of formation, calculated to give a special formation of soul and a special attitude to God and to Our Lord. There are an indefinite number of ways by which a soul can approach God, as an infinite number of radii can lead to the centre of a circle. For instance, the *terminus ad quem* is not the same in the *Itinerarium* of St Bonaventure, *the Ascent of Mount Carmel* of St John of the Cross, the *Devout Life* of St Francis de Sales. God is the last end and term of every soul, but God is infinite and inexhaustible. And while Christ is the only way to the Father, still the " unsearchable riches " of Christ make Him a model for every variety of spiritual vocation. The great Founders who were before the mind of St Ignatius at the beginning of his spiritual career, " holy Francis and holy Dominic ", had fixed their eyes on different aspects of Christ, and had founded Orders which differed widely in spirit and purpose.

The approach to Christ of the *Spiritual Exercises* is a distinctive one. They start from the *Fundamentum*, a brief clear statement of the place of God in man's life : of the purpose of man's creation, his final end, his relation to " the other things on the face of the earth ". These truths are contained in a direct, closely reasoned statement, which has none of the trappings with which St Ignatius invests his meditations. While the *Fundamentum* sets before a man the highest aim of human life, it remains indefinite as to the means by which that ideal is to be realized. It is a general plan which has to be filled in : it gives an outline, and the work of the succeeding meditations is to fill in this outline. These are hinted at in a cryptic phrase where the exercitant is urged to " desire and choose only those things that most lead to the end for which we were created ". The end of our life, the service of God, union with God is thus seen to be the supreme, the unique consideration in the business of living.

The *Fundamentum* is thus a vision, a plan of human life as God meant it ; but man by his sin and disobedience has woefully changed life, has debased and degraded it. Hence the first movement of the *Spiritual Exercises* is to re-establish strongly the *Fundamentum* as the plan of life, for which it is necessary that the exercitant should return to God from a life of sin or carelessness. This return is brought about by a series of meditations which form "the First Week", and are clearly a record of the conversion of St Ignatius; by them the soul is led upward through shame, confusion, fear, sorrow, to a resolution, strongly shored and buttressed, to give God His full place in life for the future. The " First Week " is a stage of preparation and is well calculated to fix the soul in a resolution to live entirely for God. But what is the next stage? Where is the soul

to get strength to overcome its own weakness—of which it has only too painful experience? Where is it to get light and inspiration to live a new life, a life up to the level of the *Fundamentum*? It may express its distress in the words of St Paul, "unhappy man that I am who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" And the answer will be that of the same Apostle: "the grace of God by Jesus Christ Our Lord". And then dramatically Jesus Christ is introduced into the *Spiritual Exercises*, and from this point on holds the central place.

At the beginning of this stage, the "Second Week", St Ignatius puts the meditation *The Kingdom of Christ*, in which he expresses his interpretation of Christ's words—"I am the way and the truth and the life. No man comes to the Father, but by Me." Hence, in Jesus Christ man will find the unique and the perfect way of fulfilling his purpose in life. Hitherto in the *Spiritual Exercises* and especially in the stage of conversion there is not much that is distinctive, that shows the impress of an original mind. But in the approach to Jesus Christ, which is through this meditation, we come to something that is distinctive, something which shows that we are being introduced to an original system. Christ is, of course, for every spiritual leader, indeed for every individual soul the way, the truth, the life. But as He is a model of infinite richness He can be imitated in many ways.

To understand St Ignatius and his achievement we must understand his view of Christ. For him Christ is first of all the Eternal King Who has come to subdue the whole world and lead men to the glory of the Father. Christ goes about seeking for those who will follow Him and help Him in that expedition. He looks for men who are willing to share with Him the hardships and danger of the campaign and He guarantees that they will share in His glory also. A king who is fighting for a cause which is the eternal interest of every man, and who is calling for volunteers to help him—that is his aspect of Christ. This is the heart of his vision, the central core of the *Spiritual Exercises*, the inspiration and directing force of all his spiritual system. *Ayudar a las ánimas* is now becoming a more definite thing: it is to be with Christ, in the service of the Eternal King and Lord.

But this aspect of Christ is a comprehensive one and it is of the first consequence not to miss any of its chief features. The King, His cause, His appeal for followers, the conditions of service and warfare—each of these aspects has a great part to play and no one can be omitted.

At this point in the *Spiritual Exercises* St Ignatius begins to show his hand and to give some indication of what he is aiming at. According to the response made to this call of Christ, St Ignatius will make a division among the exercitants: for some this meditation will be the end of the retreat; for others—a small band—it will be the beginning of the

distinctive and positive period of the retreat. The majority of Christians will act on reason and good sense, and will agree to follow the King ; they will be loyal subjects rather than zealous fighters. These will represent the general class of men who live according to the Commandments, who pledge themselves to a good Christian life. They will be loyal subjects of Christ but their loyalty to the Leader will not lead to any great sacrifices for His cause.

But St Ignatius is looking for another response. He knew that the work of Redemption, that the cause of Christ, depended in a great measure on the co-operation of men. For His campaign Christ needs active, positive, zealous helpers who will make His cause their own ; who will give more than they are bound to give ; who will not be content with the Commandments but who will aim at a closer and more generous collaboration with Christ. He is looking for those " who wish to show greater affection and to signalize themselves in every kind of service of their Eternal King and universal Lord ". Such a band will always be small, but it is vital for the cause of Christ. The driving force of such men is not judgment and good sense ; it is love for the King ; it is a generosity which will move them to give more than they need. Their love for the King will extend to His cause and to the special conditions of the warfare.

" To show greater love and to distinguish themselves in every kind of service of the Eternal King "—these are the words with which St Ignatius expresses his innermost thought. They are the nucleus of the *Spiritual Exercises* ; they express the best results he wished to communicate to others. He was a mystic of a high order : some pages of an intimate diary, which escaped the flames to which he consigned all the notes which could reveal his own personal interior life, speak of the high contemplative graces with which God favoured him. But these graces served only to accentuate the essential bent of his spirit. He has been called by one who knew him well " a contemplative in action ", because while with most other contemplatives the graces of union and intimacy dispose them to remain with God, to be uniquely contemplatives, to live a life whose activity is chiefly internal, in the case of Ignatius, his mystical graces and experiences served only to increase his zeal for souls. His spirituality has been called a *mystique de service*. This is profoundly true and is the key to the understanding of his spirituality as shown in the *Spiritual Exercises*, in his Constitutions, and in the formation he wished to give to his sons. The words *servire, servitium* are sacred, revealing words which recur in all his writings.

The remaining exercises are meant to test and to develop the desire awakened by the *Kingdom of Christ*. Special emphasis is laid on the conditions of warfare, the poverty and humiliation, which are so

prominent in Our Lord's life and precisely for the reason that He adopted them. Those who follow the King will come to share in his love for these things, because they are His. The final, the permanent effect of the *Spiritual Exercises* is indicated, as we might expect, in the concluding *Contemplation for obtaining Love*: in this the exercitant, placed before God, the Angels and the whole heavenly court, begs for the grace " in all things to love and serve the Divine Majesty ". Love and service here are one thing, not two.

* * *

The *Spiritual Exercises* were the chief weapon that Ignatius had forged for his work for souls, the *Excalibur,* as Francis Thompson calls it, which he was to wield to good service on the new field of battle on which he had entered. He had the highest opinion of the efficacy of the *Exercises,* not because he felt they were his, but because he was convinced that they came from God. In his Autobiography he said that during the course of his conversion God had taken him in hand, and taught him spiritual things as a master teaches a pupil. He was convinced of their universal value and was, as a result, most anxious to secure for them the strongest ecclesiastical approval. In Spain they had been examined several times and pronounced free from error ; but he wanted a stronger, a more positive support for them. He said that he had three wishes which he desired to obtain from God before his death : one of them was the full confirmation of the *Exercises.* That desire was fulfilled through the good offices of Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia, who was soon to join the Society, and who in 1548 obtained a Bull from Paul III, *Pastoralis Officii,* in which the Exercises were declared to be full of piety and sanctity, very useful for the edification and spiritual progress of the faithful, and strongly recommended to be practised by all Catholics. The *Excalibur* which God had put into his hand was now fully tempered and dedicated.

A long series of Papal approvals have followed that of Paul III. In recent years these have grown more numerous and impressive. No Pope has spoken so forcefully as Pius XI who constituted St Ignatius the heavenly patron of all institutions and associations engaged on the work of spiritual exercises. In 1929 he gave what must be called the greatest of all Papal approvals when he issued the Encyclical Letter, *Mens Nostra,* on the occasion of the golden jubilee of his ordination to the priesthood. He refers in moving terms to the benefits he himself received from the *Exercises.* He devotes a large part of the document to their history since the time of St Ignatius, and closely analyses them. He commends them strongly as a potent antidote to the most deeply

seated and most widespread spiritual diseases of our own day—to the disobedience which keeps men estranged from the centre of religious authority, and to the levity and inconsiderateness which the vast majority of men manifest towards the things which matter most in life.

The forceful words in which Pius XI commended the *Spiritual Exercises* to all classes in the Church are sufficient to remove any impression that they are meant primarily for Jesuits or at least for clerics and religious. Their whole history and indeed their very structure show clearly how groundless this view is. Actually the first ministry which the newly converted Ignatius exercised, long before he thought of becoming a priest, was to give them to lay men and women with a view to converting them to a life of fervour. And in the body of practical instructions which he puts at the beginning of the book—known as Additions—he indicates clearly very different classes of exercitants who for one reason or another are unable to make the *Exercises* in their entirety and for whom they are to be graded and made applicable in different measures. In fact those whom Ignatius would admit to the full scheme of the *Exercises* under perfect conditions would always be very few. But those who could make them only in a truncated form would get great benefit from them. The immense growth in the practice of short retreats among lay people, which is one of the striking features of modern Catholicism, is a proof of this.

As has been said, the Pope drew attention to the *Exercises* as an antidote to certain endemic maladies of present-day society. It is true that our age has been marked by a rich growth of devotions and pious practices which are an indication of the vitality of the Catholic Faith. But such devotions while they quicken the spiritual life of the faithful and may be considered as replacing, in a certain measure, the more austere practice of earlier times, do not dispense from the personal collaboration of the individual soul with God's grace, from the self-examination, the effort at self-conquest, the struggle to make the will of God and not our own passions the rule of life—all of which activity it is the function of the *Spiritual Exercises* to excite and direct. And in particular there could never be a danger that they would be in any way opposed to the liturgical movement, which under the warm encouragement of recent Popes is playing a rapidly increasing part in Catholic life. On the contrary the *Exercises*, precisely because they aim at removing disorderly affections, can only help to dispose the individual soul to benefit all the more from corporate prayer and worship of God.

The special value of the *Spiritual Exercises* for the needs of our time was clearly expressed in the *Mens Nostra* Encyclical Letter. The Pope said that at a time when an all-pervading naturalism " tends to weaken the firmness of Faith and quench the flame of Charity, it is of the utmost importance that a man should withdraw himself from the bewitching

of vanity which obscureth good things, so that in that sacred retreat, taught by God, he may come to understand that the true value of human life comes from the service of God ; that he may recoil from sin and conceive holy fear of God and see clearly the vanity of human things, and aroused by the warnings and example of Him Who is the Way, the Truth, the Life, he may put off the old man, deny himself and with humility, obedience and voluntary penance may put on Christ and arrive at the perfect man and that absolute measure of the full age of Christ ". It is evident that a spiritual method which is calculated to produce such a result is not out of date in our time.

The *Spiritual Exercises* had made St Ignatius and by means of them he made his Society. It was only reasonable that he would look to them as the chief instrument for testing and forming the men he had resolved to gather round him to share his visions and aims. After some disappointments he had succeeded in attracting to himself a body of ten companions, remarkable men who justified the choice of St Ignatius and the power of the *Spiritual Exercises*.

In the completed plan of his Order he later assigned a length and fullness of preparation such as no other founder gave ; but to the hand-picked body of men on whom he built his Society a course of the *Spiritual Exercises*, given by himself and in their full rigour and integrity, sufficed to give them a great measure of his own spirit ; and indeed it is a remarkable fact that a single course of these Exercises gave to the Church and to the Society such men as Francis Xavier and Peter Canisius.

Even when the Founder had made the training of a Jesuit a long and elaborate process he saw to it that the single most important element was to be the *Spiritual Exercises* which every Jesuit according to the Constitutions makes twice in their entirety for the space of thirty days : the first time at his entry into the Society—he enters by the gate of the *Spiritual Exercises*—and again at the end of his long period of formation, as a last preparation for the final profession. By this time a " Scholastic " may have been fourteen or fifteen years in the Society ; he has been through a long course of studies ; he may have had a considerable experience of ministries of various kinds ; then he is submitted again to the " experiment " (the word is that of St Ignatius) of the *Spiritual Exercises*, in conditions where he may be expected to appreciate better and respond more fully to their appeal.

The *Spiritual Exercises* have thus from the beginning been the matrix of the Society, which was to produce and continue the type which St Ignatius looked for and by which it was to renew itself, re-adapt itself. Hence the General who governed the Society in its most critical years after its Restoration prepared a new edition of the *Spiritual Exercises* based on the earliest documents and urged with all his authority their frequent and accurate use, in the conviction that there was no more

efficacious way by which the restored Society would bridge the forty years of suppression and establish itself as the continuer of the old, as the true heir to its aim and spirit.

The Exercises have continued to give, in a large measure, a formation which is quite distinctive—a zeal which is enterprising and strong and yet under the complete control of those in authority, which is exercised with prudence and discretion, and is based on a spiritual formation which owes all its strength to love of Christ and a generous devotion to His Kingdom. In the many lines along which the Society has been active—in accordance with its universal programme of work which is as broad as its motto : *Ad majorem Dei gloriam*—the type is constantly found, in missionaries, teachers, preachers, in countries where the Faith is long in honour, in those where it is persecuted, in those in which it is being painfully and perilously introduced. The qualities which the *Spiritual Exercises* produce are useful for all work and all conditions.

Perhaps the most impressive testimony to the power of the *Spiritual Exercises* is found in the Jesuit saints which they have produced—that far-shining company of great men who have responded most generously and fully to the highest potentialities of the appeal which Ignatius was the first to hear. These are men of a great variety of character and talent, of conditions of life and work, of suffering and endurance. They include heroic missionaries like Xavier and de Brébeuf, apostles like Canisius who rallied a whole country to the Church, professors and controversialists like Bellarmine, men like Maunoir and John Francis Regis whose achievements as missionaries in neglected Catholic districts reproduced the graces and labours of the Apostles, young men like Aloysius, Stanislaus, Berchmans who reached heroic sanctity still in their period of formation, a simple Brother like Rodriguez who as doorkeeper and tailor achieved a high state of virtue and contemplation. They are unmistakeably men of one stock ; they have a strong family resemblance ; in the essential features of their spiritual life, in their unquenchable zeal, unflinching endurance, docility, intense interior life—they are recognizably the sons of one father ; they are " men of the *Exercises* ".

The celebration of the fourth centenary of the death of St Ignatius has brought out remarkable tributes to the greatness of the man and of his achievement. Like all religious founders he lives and acts in his sons and so his life is prolonged and his spirit still active. The *Spiritual Exercises* continue to be a potent force in Catholic life, and are now more widely practised than at any time since they were composed. In them he reveals his own soul, describes the stages of his conversion, expresses the spiritual thoughts which made him an intrepid soldier of Christ. By them, no matter who it is that gives them, the author continues to exercise a very personal ministry. In a true sense, then, we can say that his voice is still heard—*defunctus adhuc loquitur.*

A Man Under Authority:
ST IGNATIUS AND OBEDIENCE

by KEVIN SMYTH, S.J.

At the very moment that the Church in Italy was assuming every day a more and more worldly character, and the corrupt elements of the Renaissance were, in the person of the Spaniard Alexander VI, degrading the Holy See, a man was born in Spain who was destined to contribute more powerfully than any other by the force and unequalled range of his activity to purify the Church and to restore by means of new conquests the balance of her recent losses. This was Ignatius of Loyola . . .

The originality of the founder of the Society of Jesus was displayed not merely in his choice of new weapons but in his rejection of old methods of warfare. Nothing was further from his thoughts than a desire to subjugate the world. His only purpose was to supply the Papacy with a band of auxiliary troops always ready to march and easy to handle in the defence and propagation of the Christian faith . . . The secret par excellence of the powerful solidarity of the Jesuit Order lies in the supreme authority of the General.

No founder of an Order, perhaps, bears more clearly than he the imprint of his century, his race, his family ancestry; and yet none ever placed himself so surely on the plane of the universal as well as of the eternal. It is not only the Spain of the Crusades, the Spain of the far-flung missions, the Spain of the mystic ascents that lives again in his work; it is also the Spain of the soldier: so much so that for the first time, thanks to him, a religious order bears in the Church the name of "Company", a term taken from military service . . .

One notes the new characteristics: a highly developed centralization, the power of the supreme authority to act at discretion, rigorous control and inspection of the activities of each member of the Order.

The first group of these quotations is from the monumental *History of the Popes* of von Pastor. The second is from the *History of the Church* produced by Fliche-Martin's team of specialists (the seventeenth volume by L. Cristiani). Both authorities agree on the epoch-making role of Ignatius, as a man whose vision was universal and whose life-work was "an epic of planetary dimensions", to quote the French writer again. And both agree that the originality of Ignatius, the secret of "his unequalled activity", lay in the creation of a "Company" characterized by centralization, solidarity, rigorous and comprehensive control. They see in the obedience which Ignatius conceived and implemented one of the supreme achievements of his genius and a new and effective contribution to Catholic life.

Ignatius was of like mind. " We may well allow ourselves to be outdone by other religious orders in fasts, vigils and other austerities, which they laudably practise according to their constitutions. But in true and perfect obedience, with sincere dedication of the will and renunciation of personal opinions, I desire everyone who serves God in this Society to be conspicuous. This is to be the mark of their true and legitimate kinship, that in their obedience they regard not the man who gives orders, but in him Christ our Lord, for whose sake they obey. " The same characteristic of Ignatius's work was recognized by the present Supreme Pontiff in his address to the Society on the fourth centenary of Ignatius's death : " They will always show to their Superiors and first and foremost to the Supreme Pontiff a most diligent and active obedience. That will be their finest trait ". The Protestant historian Francis Parkman, who did so much to make known the pioneer struggles of the Jesuit missionaries in North America, was struck by the same thing :

> Ignatius did not aim to build up barren communities of secluded monks, aspiring to heaven through prayer, penance and meditation, but to subdue the world to the dogmas which had subdued him ; to organize and discipline a mighty host, controlled by one purpose and one mind, fired by a quenchless zeal or nerved by a fixed resolve, yet impelled and restrained and directed by a single master hand . . . It was an arduous problem which Loyola undertook to solve—to rob a man of volition yet to preserve in him, nay to stimulate, those energies which would make him the most efficient instrument of a great design.

Something too romantic and rhetorical here but, in spite of the quaintness, a good grasp of the matter.

The New Departure : Military Obedience ?

If one recalls the military metaphors of the first quotations, it might seem that Ignatius had done no more than transfer to a religious order the system of training and discipline which worked so famously in the soldiers of the Infanta of Spain who gave their name to the infantry of all armies. This hardly seems a profound or original conception, and would only have the merit of not missing the obvious. If on the other hand one considers that religious obedience under authorized superiors was a recognized way of Catholic life since the days of the Desert Fathers, and that even terms like " blind obedience " were commonplace in the rules of St Basil, St Benedict and St Francis, the question again arises of the novelty of Ignatius's work. Was he merely re-organizing an ancient code and stressing an element that men find desirable in all serious organizations ?

First, the military metaphors, if taken in a certain way, are misleading and anachronistic. Ancient armies were not noted for close

co-operation and rigid discipline. "Go, stranger, tell the Spartans we lie here, obeying their commands." Two lines of Simonides's epitaph commemorate the obedience of the three hundred at Thermopylae. But there is a whole *Iliad* for a captain who sulked in his tent : " Sing goddess the wrath of Achilles that brought woes without number on the Achaeans, from the day that strife first parted the royal son of Atreus and the noble Achilles ". It was not, they say, till Frederick II and Napoleon that the notion of discipline could be evoked by the word army. The wrong stress should therefore not be laid on the military past of the Spanish captain who changed armies after Pamplona. To Ignatius, soldiering suggested rather the spontaneous valour of the Crusaders, for whom the hosting was a matter of chivalric honour and generosity. But one will hardly associate rigid discipline with the Crusades. When he employed military images, it was always to evoke the picture of generous enthusiasm and the courage of dedicated volunteers, as in the meditation on the " Call of the Eternal King " in the *Spiritual Exercises*, where the notion of crusade is transparent. So too he speaks of soldiers, camps, pay, the front line, in his letter on zeal. But in the great letter on obedience he never appeals to military models. For obedience, his examples are " the heavenly bodies, whose movements proceed by descending degrees from one supreme mover to the lowest ", the harmonious hierarchy of the angelic orders, the good organization of well-ruled states, and the authority of Pope and bishops in the Catholic Church.

Secondly, with regard to religious obedience as it already existed, Ignatius made in fact decided innovations. He had the insight that obedience, in his radical conception of it, could be as penitential as the prickliest of the old hair-shirts and that it could provide a bond of union as close as the cloistered stability, the uniform habit or common plain-chant of the older orders. There, obedience had been directed rather towards the personal perfection of the individuals, by the humility it demanded and the curbs it imposed on self-indulgence. St Benedict is characteristic : " As soon as the superior commands, the monks must allow themselves no delay, but execute the order as if it came from God : so that they do not live at their own sweet will, indulging their whims and their pleasures ". For Ignatius, obedience had primarily a social value, which he and his companions adopted, only after much thought, in view of the world-wide apostolic ideal which it alone could realize effectively. The cohesion and continuity which obedience could give to an otherwise sporadic missionary activity was the decisive factor. " Where obedience is maintained, union, which comes above all with obedience, will be maintained. " The social rather than the personal value of obedience came to the fore.

The Implementation of the Idea

When Ignatius then turned to welding together the parts of his new weapon, he brought to bear a genius for organization which was equally new and fruitful. The ancient institutes accorded a large measure of autonomy to their monasteries. Each convent as a rule elected its own superior, and the order as a whole, even the originally centralized Cluniac system, was really a federation of allied states, with no more in common than a particular ideal, mutual sympathies and uniform observances. Where there was a President or Minister-General, his action was intermittent and rarely exercised on an international scale. He wrote letters and sent Visitors on occasion, but rarely sought to take peremptory decisions. By Ignatius's time the day had long passed, of course, when warlike monks turned convents into fortresses and Visitors had to call in the local armies to force an entrance. But even after Ignatius's time a Pope had to take police measures to round up the " wandering monks ", of whom two hundred were captured in Rome alone in one night raid. These extremes are not a reflection on the very gentle and humane systems of the older orders. But they are reminders of how loose and almost arbitrary were the links that bound the monasteries.

The blue-print for effective control which Ignatius drafted in his Constitutions was that of a sort of constitutional monarchy, where the elective principle was reduced to the basic minimum and the administrative authority concentrated in the head. The General alone is elected, by representatives of the whole Society. But his office is for life, the general congregation need never meet again except to elect a new general, he has a council whose advice he is not bound to follow, he appoints directly all the subordinate superiors. His authority is limited by the Constitutions, and can therefore never be autocratic in the totalitarian sense. But since local superiors are not elected by their subjects, since they are bound to report constantly to the General, and since their tenure of office is strictly limited, the General can readily dispose of his men at any moment and in any direction. This did not mean that local superiors were not to receive full delegated power and responsibility, and Ignatius expressly warned them as occasion arose that they were to " cut their suits to fit the cloth " without relying too much on the remote control.

A tight net-work of executives depending on the General could ensure mechanical efficiency. But Ignatius demanded not only prompt external compliance from his men, but what he called " obedience of the will and of the judgment ". Obedience was to be willing and deep : not the grumbling reluctant performance of the conscript who detests or despises his task and the whole system, but the hearty co-operation of the volunteer who dedicates himself to what he believes in. But the ultimate refinement

and the precise quality of Ignatian obedience was an uncompromising insistence on " obedience of the judgment ". " Where the evidence of the known truth does not compel an opposite verdict", the subject was bound to agree innerly with the superior's decision, to refrain even from silent criticism, and to force himself if necessary to see and accept the superior's view. The total dedication of the subject was to embrace even the thinking mind (within the region of the superior's competence, of course), so that no such difference of opinions would remain that could hamper the fullest execution of orders, no inner conflict that would distract or torment the subject.

Blind Obedience

The famous " blind obedience " which St Ignatius inherited from tradition was in fact not to be blind at all. " Theirs not to reason why " was very far from his mind. On the contrary, where the system was not obviously right (as in fact any system, in army or navy, set up by generations of intelligent men will mostly be) Ignatius expected the subject to work out for himself if necessary why the superior is right, and almost to invent good reasons for the plan in hand. As a rule, he can either see sufficient good reasons at once, or he can assume with the help of his good sense that they are present, and proceed accordingly. A raw recruit, to be sure, is not expected to grasp the over-all strategy of his commanders, nor should he waste his immediate energies in trying to fit his wee section into the general plan. He just goes ahead, and it was in this sense that Ignatius urged the hot-headed youths of the Scholasticate in Portugal to throw themselves into their training : " to proceed blindly without enquiry of any kind to execute orders ". But he had another idea for the ordinary working of the Society.

" Blind obedience", he writes, " takes two forms. One is to submit one's judgment and execute orders (where there is no question of sin). The second occurs when the superior has given an order and the subject sees reasons against it or inconveniences. Then the subject, with due propriety, makes representations to the superior, pointing out the disadvantages as they appear to him. But he will not wish to force the superior, since he remains ready to follow out tranquilly the final decision " (*Monumenta* I 228). Obedience was not to induce atrophy of the critical faculties or repress initiative. So far from encouraging servile or indolent compliance to avoid trouble, or countenancing the shrugging off of responsibility, Ignatius obliged subjects to warn superiors if they found their situation too trying or in any way harmful. And the system of constant consultation on every level which he organized was meant not only to keep superiors well informed, but to oblige subjects to an alert attention to the relevance and practicality of a given plan.

He himself saw nothing wrong in disagreeing on a point of policy with the Holy See itself. He moved heaven and earth to prevent the order coming which would have made Le Jay bishop of Trieste, Borgia a cardinal, Canisius bishop of Vienna. His extraordinary efforts on these occasions, even after the Pope had signified his wishes, might almost seem to be an attempt to force his own superior's decision. But what counted with him was the radical readiness to obey when the matter was thoroughly ventilated. Hence he not only accepted the *fait accompli* with which a Manares presented him after feeling himself forced to go contrary to the written instructions of Ignatius. He even added : " In future too it is my wish that you act without misgivings (sine scrupulo) when you judge the circumstances demand it, rules and precepts notwithstanding ".

On the other hand, he could be severe in repressing and even punishing those who insisted too much on their own ideas. He was admittedly a remarkably good judge of men, and could easily distinguish between honest representations and arguments that merely veiled a petulant dissatisfaction. A Fr Viola wrote to him from Paris to ask leave to change professors. To his " good arguments " he added what was in Ignatius's mind a bad comment : " I am truly sorry to have wasted these last eight months under this teacher, but if you still think I ought to waste my time, I will continue under him ". It does not need the insight of an Ignatius to see that Fr Viola had his mind fully made up to disagree violently if the decision ran contrary to his own views.

When Pope Paul IV, after the death of Ignatius, muttered angrily to his successor that Ignatius had ruled like a tyrant, the grand, if crotchety old man may have been thinking of an Ignatius provoked by a Viola, but he was hardly fair to the saint. Ignatius had no doubt to be ruthless at times. The liberty which he allowed his men in stating their views could not be let degenerate into a continual wrangle. And in the initial stages of a Society where obedience of a radical novelty was to be characteristic, he had to enforce the principle with a firmness that would not be necessary when the pattern was once fixed. In fact, he adapted himself with the utmost care to the talents and tastes of his men when allotting posts. All he asked was the fundamental readiness, and then, as he said repeatedly, " I find it very good to follow each one's inclinations ". He used the clichés of the old ascetics about the subject as the staff in an old man's hand or the corpse that offers no resistance. He did not mean that his men were not to try to understand their orders or that his officers were to be inconsiderate. There was as much " humanism " or effort to develop individual qualities in Ignatian obedience as was compatible with the total surrender to a task greater than any man.

The Problem of Obedience

The supreme act of obedience was conformity of the judgment with that of the superior. But Ignatius envisaged the case where the subject could have " the evidence of the known truth " on his side against the superior, with the consequent impossibility of agreement, though not of course of obedience. His own practice in such cases showed that he conceived it to be his duty to do all in his power to prevent the final order being given. The effort was naturally only to be proportionate to the seriousness of the matter involved. Hostile critics have accused him of preaching one thing and practising another. But that was a calculated risk which his very devotion to the Holy See led him to undertake. A similar effort of members of the Society in later years can illustrate the principle of obedience at its most radical. Those who are most loyal are the most interested in the right decision being given, not merely because they at least will obey, but because they have the interest of the superior most at heart.

The affair of the " Chinese Rites " actually brought on the Society of Jesus, which was always notoriously Ultramontane, so to speak, the charge of disobedience. In 1741 the Jesuit General had to write : " The conviction that our Fathers are disobedient, which is firmly fixed in the minds of many here at Rome, can with difficulty and hardly even with difficulty be eradicated ".

When the Jesuit Ricci penetrated in 1601 to the Imperial Palace at Pekin, he found that the rigid traditions of China presented a grave problem to converts. The Chinese rites, which is the time-honoured name for the etiquette in question, included the honours which Chinese of all classes paid to their ancestors, and the special honours which mandarins and graduates had to pay to Confucius. These immemorial rites were part of the national being. To omit them was to disown one's family and, for the upper classes, to bar oneself from all public functions and dignities and literary degrees. Ricci had to decide whether the rites were religious and superstitious or merely civil and political ceremonies. For eighteen years he questioned the learned and observed the procedures, and studied the Chinese classics and their commentaries. He concluded that in neither their origin nor practice did the rites constitute a religious cult. " The Chinese recognize nothing divine in Confucius any more than in their dead ancestors ; they offer no prayers to them ; they ask them for nothing and expect nothing from their intercession." Instructions were then drawn up for converts which eliminated certain Buddhist and Taoist infiltrations but allowed the rites in substance, as marks of filial piety.

The mission prospered, and nearly every province of the vast Empire was penetrated. The Tartar invaders replaced the Ming dynasty, but

the standing of the Jesuit "Astronomers Royal" assured Christianity of protection. But new missionaries arriving from the west took alarm. The rites were denounced to Rome, and described in massive terms which drew down on them the condemnation of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Pleas and counter-pleas followed, and in 1656 a higher tribunal, the Holy Office, declared the rites as described by the Jesuits to be a purely civil and political cult. In 1709 however, Clement IX took a less favourable view and proscribed all rites not of a purely civil character. The application was to be made by the competent local authority, the Papal Legate, Mezzabarba, who was sent to China. Under pressure from the Jesuits, Mezzabarba allowed Christians to lay out food, light candles and burn incense before the tablets of the ancestors and Confucius, and at the graves of the dead. Obeisances were allowed, all on the supposition that they were not superstitious. Dissatisfaction continued. The Jesuits were accused of using Mezzabarba's decisions to nullify the Papal decree, till finally, in 1742, Benedict XIV condemned the rites completely and annulled Mezzabarba's concessions. It was the end of an apostolate which had worked sincerely and unsparingly for a hundred and fifty years to find a fulcrum with which to move the whole vast mass of the Chinese empire.

As late as the Tartar dynasty, most Chinese Christians were of the "ordinary people". But even in Ricci's time, Mandarins had been converted and by 1722 Tartar nobles and members of the Imperial family were being added to the growing number of Mandarin converts. With the condemnation of the rites "the original plan of winning over the upper classes and with them China as a whole had to be abandoned" (von Pastor). Needless to say, the Papal decree was obeyed. Fr Hallerstein, president of the Mathematical Tribunal at Pekin, and keenly concerned with the condemned policy, wrote to his brother at Vienna: "You will want to know the effect of the new instructions. My answer is, what it was bound to be. We have accepted them and sworn to carry them out and we shall do so."

The Reason Why of Obedience

Here is a situation which illustrates better than the abandonment of the Paraguay Reductions the ultimate principles of obedience, and which points to its justification. Ignatius demanded obedience from his men, not because one man is better and wiser than another, or because a well-conceived system with rich material could produce superiors with something of the quality of supermen, but because he saw each cog-wheel in the system as part of the greater machinery of the Church, through which alone divine providence worked for the kingdom of God. "You must see in the superior not a man subject to error and miseries but

rather God whom you obey in man." For Ignatius, as for Paul, all authority was from God, in the family and in the state, in the Church and in the religious orders approved by the Church and absorbed into her life. Obedience was not merely to fortify the Society of Jesus, though Ignatius was fully conscious of the advantages of a " monolithic " organization. His purpose was to place a single well-tempered instrument in the hands of the Pope. " What I have said of obedience is not only to be understood of individuals towards superiors, but of local superiors towards Provincials, of Provincials towards the General and of the General towards him whom God our Lord has given as his superior, Christ's vicar on earth. And by these means divine providence directs everything harmoniously." Because the Society was integrated into the Church, and because the Church was the organ of God's reign, every order given was invested with something of the halo of God's special purpose for the Church.

The place of the Church in God's plan is the key to the riddle and the risk of men's placing themselves under other men's authority. Obedience, whether religious obedience in the strict sense or the general Christian obedience, is not always an obviously prudent investment, as if the " voice of God in the superior " was an impeccable and infallible oracle providing a constant series of minor revelations. It demands rather a daring *engagement* which partakes of the obscurity as well as of the certainty of faith. It is a self-commitment such as the existentialists demand for " authentic " existence. But the existentialists' self-commitment, with its endless possibilities of re-consideration, is a fluid and protean shadow compared with the baptismal vows of the Catholic and the vows of marriage and religion. In Christian obedience, one really cuts the painter and launches out into an ocean with no earthly shore. For, as Ignatius expressly recognized, " superiors may be lacking in prudence, probity and other qualities ". They are none the less the expression of God's way here and now. Personal hardships, even the bitterest, such as frustration and apparent waste, are bound to ensue at times. The Christian dispensation is essentially angled towards " eternal life ", and this side of the grave there is no patent comfort all the time. The religious life produces on the whole sufficiently desirable results to confirm and sustain the faith, but the final and comprehensive justification is only in the Kingdom of God. That is to say that the most intimate motive of obedience, being supernatural, makes its complete justification part of the mystery of faith.

The motive is that authority is from God and that God works through human authority : not necessarily through human wisdom. It must have been hard, if not impossible, for the Chinese missionaries to *see* the wisdom and necessity of giving up their policy. But it was not necessary for them to see every repercussion of the new order. They only had to

have the assurance that God was working that way, and that is the assurance that accompanies large-scale sacrifices, or the day-to-day grind, in the life of a religious order as in that of every Catholic. The belief that God was working through the Church and its discipline was at the heart of Ignatius's principle of obedience. He re-asserted, at the time of the innovators' revolt, the Catholic principle of authority. " No one can fail to see", he wrote, " the enormous ills that beset many men and nations through disregard of this principle." He did not claim that its application would bring at once and everywhere smooth and palpable success. But he asked for an unwavering faith in it : " You know you took upon yourselves the yoke of obedience for the love of God, to follow more surely the divine will by following the superior's. Never doubt that the most faithful charity of God will continue to direct you on the right way by the ministry of those whom He has set over you." Ignatian obedience was only one other way of being a Catholic.

A Founder of Schools

by SEÁN Ó CATHÁIN, S.J.

IN the year 1549 the Duke of Bavaria asked the Jesuits to lecture in philosophy and theology in the University of Ingolstadt. After about six months Peter Canisius, one of the three who were sent, wrote to the secretary of the Society to say that he wished there were even three or four among his small audience who could profit from his lectures. If, he said, Ignatius had charge of them, the greater number would be sent back to learn the rudiments of Latin grammar. A contemporary letter from the Papal Nuncio in Bavaria tells us that Canisius had fourteen students in his class of theology, of whom ten were illiterate.

Instances of immorality and ignorance among the clergy were a regular but lamentable part of the information which reached Ignatius during the first ten years of his new Society from those members who were already working in Germany, Austria and the Netherlands. The arrival of each new batch of letters was making it ever clearer that the new religion was winning, not because of any inherent merits in its doctrines or outstanding sanctity of life in its leaders, but simply because of ignorance among Catholics. Nowadays we take it for granted that a priest has a good general and professional education ; it is difficult therefore for us to realize the degree of ignorance which was the normal condition of the lower clergy in Reformation times. And as both the religious and secular education of the laity in those times was almost exclusively in the hands of the Church we may easily infer (even if contemporary documents were wanting) how low was the level of education of the ordinary people.

Apart from the evidence reaching him in letters there were two further factors in Ignatius's own environment which influenced him in the decision he was to make. With the admission into his Order of candidates for the priesthood, he had, during those first ten years, personal experience of the difficulty of providing for their education in philosophy and theology. At first he sent them to some of the Italian universities. But when he learnt of the low level of teaching in these institutions and especially when he learnt how little was demanded of the students in serious work, he decided to send them to his own university of Paris in which, during the thirties of the sixteenth century, a sound method of teaching both the classics and the higher studies had been revived.

The second factor was that he was living in a country where the renaissance of the classical languages had taken a peculiarly narrow and unchristian form. In their enthusiasm for the new learning the

Italian scholars had accepted as their own the values and ideals of what was fundamentally a pagan civilization ; despising as they did the " barbarity " of medieval Latin, they regarded christian literature as unworthy of their attention. To a fellow Cardinal who told him that he was reading the epistles of St Paul, the scholarly Cardinal Bembo (secretary to Pope Leo X) replied : *omitte has nugas.* In the event the standards of morality of many of them fell far short of their standards of scholarship, so much so that both their personal behaviour and a good deal of their writings were a public scandal.

Furthermore, these men kept the fruits of their scholarship very much to themselves. They recognized in the nobility a peculiar aptitude for appreciating classical studies (a recognition possibly not unconnected with the solid results of patronage) and were willing to spend part of their time in the lucrative position of court teachers. But that these classical studies should be made available to the type of student who went to the grammar schools was entirely repugnant to them. As for the idea that they themselves should go down and teach in such schools, *absit ut id faciam,* as one of them protests.

We may sum up by saying that during the decade 1540–1550 it was becoming more and more clear to St Ignatius that the key to a true reform of the Church was to be found in education. But a religious and moral education would not be enough, for the needs of the times demanded men who could judge and reason aright ; nor would an intellectual education alone suffice, for he saw round about him the results of divorcing learning from piety. It must be an education which would be at the same time and indissolubly moral and intellectual, in which religion and piety would govern man's acts, and learning and science would be a protection, a bulwark to religion.

* * *

We may, at this point, interrupt the order of events in order to show that this idea of the relation between learning and virtue was explicit in the minds of early Jesuit educators, that it is not simply an interpretation of their actions in the light, for instance, of what Pius XI has said on the same point in his encyclical on christian education. In the year 1555 the University of Coimbra in Portugal was given into the care of the Jesuits. It had already become the custom by this time that the opening of a new school or university should be marked by an inaugural speech setting out the aims of Jesuit education. Peter Perpinian, an outstanding classical scholar, and professor of Latin in the University, was chosen to speak. The following is a translation of part of his address:

> We may distinguish two classes of men among those who have striven to excel in literary studies. The first were so captivated by the beauty and apparent excellence of learning that they placed their whole endeavour in the effort to outdo all their fellows in subtlety of argument, in brilliance and power of speech, and in a command of knowledge that remained hidden from others. But their minds were so blinded by all this that they neglected christian virtue, and saw as the end of their labours only the gaining of vain honours or of a baneful influence over others.
>
> The aim of the second class was to promote the common good. The beauty of virtue was for them the highest ideal, those virtues in particular which of their nature contributed to the increase and the safeguard of the common good. So their highest purpose was a double one : to arm, as it were, virtue with a knowledge of the noblest branches of learning and to ennoble learning with all the adornments of virtue. These then held a balance in a field where delicacy of balance is most difficult of achievement, for they neither gave themselves entirely to a learning which when it is divorced from virtue does not even merit the name of learning, nor did they regard as sufficient a virtue which when deprived of the armour of learning they saw to be exposed defenceless to the attack of its opponents.

He ends by saying that the aim of Jesuit education will be to unite virtue and learning, " so that the same process which makes the orator, the poet, the philosopher, the scientist or the mathematician will also make men of disciplined and upright life ".

To return to St Ignatius. At the end of the year 1547 the town council of Messina wrote asking him to open and staff a school in their town which would begin with literary studies and go on to the higher courses of mathematics, science, philosophy and theology. They would provide both for the building and its upkeep and also for the support of the teaching staff and of a number of Jesuit students who would complete their higher studies there. After a good deal of deliberation he agreed and early in 1548 sent five of his best teachers and five students to begin the work. But he was not content to send them off and leave them to their own devices. He took the keenest personal interest in the smallest details of their plans and actions. He demanded full and frequent reports and in turn sent as full answers to their questions.

We might have expected from a man who at this time was being snowed under with demands for preachers, missioners, theologians and confessors, who was engaged in all the difficulties inherent in the early years of a new Order that he would content himself with general directives and hope, so to speak, for the best. We might also have expected a certain hesitancy, a tentativeness in dealing with the details of study plans in a man whose own education had been begun when he was over thirty years of age, and who even then had spent many years of laborious and misdirected study until he found in the University of Paris a method of study that was both orderly and rational. In fact, his correspondence

with the College in Messina shows us a man who was quite clear as to what he wanted done, who insisted on detail and who was quick to reprimand any substantial deviation from his instructions, and all this in dealing with men who far excelled him in scholarship and who (some of them at least) seem to have had greater purely intellectual abilities than he had.

But the sequel proved him triumphantly right. We may with justice say that his letters and instructions to the teachers in Messina contain in kernel all that later writers such as Ledesma, Nadal and Jouvancy have to say on the subject ; and when the definitive edition of the *Ratio Studiorum* appeared in 1599, the experience of fifty years found nothing to erase or even to modify in those early decisions.

* * *

It is sometimes said that, up to 1547, Ignatius had no idea of founding schools, that it was the " accident " of the invitation from Messina which led him to experiment with one more form of apostolic work. Now it may readily be granted that when he opened his first school he may not have had a clear idea of the growth of that movement. In eight years between Messina and his death in 1556 upwards of 40 schools and universities had been opened or taken over, and by 1749 (the last date before the Suppression for which full figures are available) the number both in Europe and in the foreign missions had grown to 669, besides 176 ecclesiastical colleges either for Jesuits or for the parish clergy. By that time well over half the total number of Jesuits were engaged, either directly or indirectly, in the education of Catholic lay pupils, and it has been estimated that by the year 1750 the yearly number of pupils in the schools was in the region of 200,000.

Ignatius must indeed have been a prophet if he could have foreseen that great growth, but that is not to say that he did not know even before Messina that the outstanding work of his new Order would be in the schoolroom. I have already indicated some of the factors that would lead him to that belief ; I have shown how the idea of the fundamental importance of the bond between piety and learning was clear to his own contemporaries in the Order. But there are many other facts that go to strengthen such a belief. The clear and detailed instructions sent to Messina were no improvisations to meet an unexpected emergency; they were the results of mature and definite deliberation. There is the enthusiasm with which he agreed, in spite of chronic shortage of men; to the numerous requests that kept coming in to open schools ; there is the intense personal interest that he continued to show in the schools.

But, above all, there is the fact that when he opened the Roman College (later to become the Gregorian University) three years after

Messina, it was his explicit intention that it should be a training college for the teachers of the future. In addition to the lay students who formed the large majority, there were to be a number of Jesuit students who, while following their courses of study, would be trained in the methods to be perfected in that College, trained implicitly by the teaching methods followed by the professors and trained explicitly by having the methods explained to them. As schools were opened in different countries Ignatius would ask for particulars of the more promising among the young students of the Society. When the (at first) unsuspecting superiors had indicated the names of their young hopes Ignatius had them transferred to the Roman College for this centralized training. We have still some letters of the disappointed superiors lamenting their loss and plaintively asking how they could be expected to do well when they were so treated. Ignatius freely admits his " robbery " (*spoliari* he calls it), but points out the ultimate advantage to their native countries when these young men return as teachers well grounded in the *methodus docendi Collegii Romani*. This, so far as I know, is the first instance in history of a training school for teachers.

The position given by Ignatius to the Roman College brings us to one characteristic of his work for education which we have already seen foreshadowed in his dealings with the college in Messina. The Constitutions of the Society drawn up by Ignatius, while leaving a good deal to the discretion of the local superiors, insisted on very close union between them and the central authority. This union was effected primarily of course by the vow of obedience and by the fact that local superiors were appointed by the General. In practice it was carried out by the obligation of sending to Rome regular and very detailed accounts of the various works undertaken by the Order. In addition, especially in the earlier years, delegates of the General would be sent to visit the different sections or provinces to report on the local situation and to promulgate and have carried into effect new ordinances. With such a closely knit and centralized organization it is easy to see that the evolution of a uniform programme of studies and method of teaching could take place. The insistence by Ignatius on continual reference to Rome, the stress he placed on the need for developing a clear-cut and uniform system was carried on by his successors and culminated in the committee work which lasted from 1586 to 1599 and produced from the study plans, the experiments and the experience of fifty years' teaching in almost every country in Europe the final schools' programme of the Jesuit schools, *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu,* The Method and Organization of Studies in Jesuit Schools.

It is a document remarkable alike in breadth and comprehension and in minuteness of detail. It covers the whole range of studies from elementary grammar through the natural sciences and philosophy to

theology ; it sets out the material to be covered in each year's work, the class exercises to be performed and the method of teaching to be followed. In what are called the lower studies, which cover approximately the period now spent in secondary school, the rules governing method and organization are given in very great detail so that, in fact, very little is left to the private judgment or to the whim of the individual teacher. It is precisely in respect of this uniformity of method and organization, extending to the schools of the Society in every country where it worked and continuing with no essential change for more than two hundred years, that the critics of the Society have found one of their most frequently voiced objections. They speak of a rigid, cast-iron system which took no account of national differences, which became a fossil in a rapidly changing world and which, worst of all, was calculated with extreme cleverness to turn out a mass-produced type of depersonalized automaton whose outstanding quality was a complete subservience of will to the demands of the Church.

This is not the place to answer once again this criticism. Two points may however be made. The first is that the stricture is based on sheer ignorance of the facts. Facts, of course, are inclined to interfere with the wide sweep of the critic's judgment; they are awkward things, but the most awkward aspect of them is that they still remain true. Now it can be stated definitely that the majority of those who compose histories of education, with some honourable exceptions, when they come to treat of Jesuit education, have never taken the trouble to consult the sources. Generation after generation of them has repeated, all too frequently in identical terms, a false judgment that had its origin in early criticism of Jesuit work. They remind us of Sydney Smith's remark : " I never read a book before reviewing it; it prejudices one so". In this matter of rigidity, etc. it may serve as an illustration of their ignorance to mention one fact. The uniformity of the *Ratio* was one of essentials (and I shall come back to that in the next point) ; in the details of method and planning a good deal was left to the discretion of the local superior. One of the rules for the Provincial states : " Since, because of the differences in locality, seasons and individuals, it may be necessary to change the order and time devoted to studies, repetitions or disputations, if the Provincial considers that such a change will promote greater progress in learning he should refer the matter to the General who will have the necessary changes made, yet in such a manner that the essentials of our system of study remain unaltered ". In the event such local changes continued to be made during the two hundred years that the *Ratio* lasted. That is a fact, not a fancy-free party judgment, and is, I repeat, easily available to any one who wants facts.

The second point to be made about this criticism is of greater weight and brings us to the distinctive contribution which St Ignatius made to

education. In so far as the criticism may be said to have a basis that is even apparently rational it seems to be founded on the belief that what remains unaltered has ceased to have any validity ; only what changes, as they say, " with the times " is valid. It is, of course, the doctrine of pragmatism, and students of contemporary educational theory and practice will not need to be reminded of the lamentable results that have followed from the doctrine, especially in America the home of its prophet, John Dewey.

However, apart from these extremists, the common sense of mankind has always realized that there are certain things that do not change no matter how the " times " may change. Now one of these things is the way in which a man's mind works when he is learning. You do not, for example, introduce the theories of Einstein to a kindergarten class. The natural process of learning is an orderly one, certain things must come first, second and third. Speech comes before reading, and reading before writing. Such an order is a natural one, a rational one, that is, it is based on man's nature, not on some contemporary whim nor on any change in the times. And it seems singularly stupid to rail against such an order because it is cast-iron etc. Yet when we examine the organization of studies and the methods of teaching introduced by Ignatius into his first schools and perfected later in the *Ratio*, we find that all he did was to restore to teaching and to learning an intelligent, sensible order.

There were two reasons that led him to this step : the first was to be found in the circumstances of his time ; the second in his own character. We have already seen an example of the first in the students of Ingolstadt University who were attending lectures on Theology in Latin but were ignorant of the elements of that language. We hear of boys in Italy going to pretentious public lectures on Virgil or Cicero who were in the same state of ignorance. Many of the grammar schools of the period shared in the general low level of learning and made little if any claim to systematic teaching. Ignatius himself in his search for schooling was a victim of this disorderly teaching and it was not, as we have seen, until he came to the College of Sainte Barbe in the University of Paris that he saw what rational teaching was. It made a very deep impression on him so that we find him setting up the *modus parisiensis* as the head-line of orderly method for his first schools.

But it made an impression on him because it answered an urgent demand of his own nature. He had a passion for the right way of doing things, for orderliness ; we might say that he had an intense hatred of disorder, of slovenliness. Those who are familiar with his *Spiritual Exercises* will not need to have this point elaborated. The title of the book gives us the keynote : " Spiritual Exercises to conquer oneself and order one's life, and to avoid coming to a decision through any inordinate liking " ;

but the theme occurs again and again whether he is speaking of sin as " the disorder in my life" or, in the final meditation of the book, where he puts God's love before us as shown in the gifts that descend from Him in an ordered hierarchy of excellence. It is not difficult then to understand how revolted he must have been by the lack of gradation in studies and by the higgledy-piggledy teaching in the schools of his time, and how insistent that his teachers should follow the method of Paris.

* * *

Let us see briefly what this method was. We may say that it was based on two main principles. The first was that before going on to higher studies the student must have followed a thorough course of classical studies. We shall return to this point later. The second was that the classical course must be taught in an orderly, rational manner. To attain this end three principles of method were set down : (1) the student must be well grounded in grammar before taking up the reading of the authors ; (2) he might not move on to a higher branch before mastering the lower ; (3) there was to be a good deal of repetition work and of class exercises. (To these three Ignatius added two more : (4) students were to be arranged in classes according to their ability, and progress from one class to the next was to be tested by examination ; (5) there was to be regular attendance at school. But the first is merely an expansion of the second point, and the third was presumably insisted on in Sainte Barbe.)

Now it is obvious that there was nothing new in all this and modern readers may be inclined to remember a saying about a mountain and a mouse. What we must bear in mind is that it was new in its time, in the sense at least that it was a re-stating of principles of good teaching that had been long forgotten. How new it was may be judged, for example, by the many complaints of parents (in Italy particularly) with regard to the rules about regular attendance and compulsory examinations. Awkward situations arose from time to time when the parents in question were benefactors of the Society or people of high rank whose influence might count for much in the future of a college. But in the letters that have come down to us dealing with these questions the answer given by the Roman authorities is that the rule must be followed. The superior was usually advised to treat such parents with particular delicacy and consideration, but as he had to insist on the rule we may doubt whether such advice was any great consolation to him.

These five rules are the basis for all the rules in the *Ratio,* those especially which deal with the lower (classical) studies. The rule for instance about repetition and class exercises explains the great stress laid by the later document on these two points and is the foundation

for the great variety of methods thought out to put them into practice. Here again the fine points of detail are not the important thing but the principle behind them : that there is no mastering an art without a great deal of personal effort and personal practice of it on the part of the learner.

When, then, the critics of the *Ratio* object to the uniformity of the system, to the lack of initiative, of opportunity for experimenting left to the individual teacher, let them first point out a better, more intelligent, more psychological method of teaching and then it will be time to listen to them. The practical experience of almost four hundred years has but more deeply convinced the thoughtful Jesuit teacher that the system introduced by St Ignatius is a good one, and he will not abandon it at the word of critics, some of whom have little experience as teachers, and others of whom have concocted ingenious schemes of education only to see them fail miserably in the schoolroom.

The fact that the curriculum in the Jesuit secondary school laid an almost exclusive stress—for the first one hundred and fifty years at any rate—on the study of the classical languages gives further opportunity for attack. The critics fasten on the fact that the aim of the schools was supposed to be " consummate eloquence ", and, without examining what was meant by the term, proceed to give their own interpretation of it. It is then a simple matter to charge the system with an empty formalism that stressed glibness and elegance of speech rather than knowledge, that valued success in debate above the truth, that produced a race of pupils who had an altogether unwarranted opinion of their own powers.

The much more unexciting truth is that when St Ignatius, under the influence of Paris and under the influence, too, of the re-discovery of the classical literatures in the Renaissance, chose a study of these languages for his schools he was but reverting to a tradition of liberal education that is as old as the history of education in Europe. It is true that the aim of the teaching was " eloquence ", but when, instead of assigning some private interpretation of our own to the word, we examine what went on in the classes of these schools, we find that it means being clear about what we have to say, and then saying it grammatically, gracefully and convincingly. It is, in fact, a mental discipline of a very high order which, a little reflection will convince us, is our essential pre-requisite for intelligent study of any subject.[1]

That this was the explicit aim of the teaching and not just an attempt in our time to justify the system may, I think, be best shown from a

[1] For a more complete discussion of this point, I refer the reader to my article " Secondary Education in Ireland ", *Studies*, Winter 1955.

first-hand contemporary source. Jean François Marmontel was a writer of the eighteenth century, a member of the French Academy, who had received his secondary education at one of the smaller Jesuit schools. Towards the end of his life he wrote his autobiography and in it he gives a very full account of the six years he spent in the college of Mauriac. Speaking of the reading of Latin texts he says :

> Translating from one language to another, I began to be interested in the choice and use of words, and even (at this elementary stage) in a certain degree of style in constructing phrases ; and I noticed that this study, requiring as it did an analysis of the thought, seemed to improve my memory. I realized that I remembered a word when its meaning was clear to me, and thinking over this I began to see that the study of language was also the study of the art of arriving at the precise meaning of an idea, of analysing it, seeing its structure, and grasping exactly both its proper meaning and its implications. I saw that it was by learning and understanding new words that young people acquired and developed new ideas, and that in this way even the lower grammar classes were a training in the elements of philosophy. And when people complain that we learn nothing at school but Latin they ignore this rich and wide and in the truest sense useful training.

The last sentence may be a direct reference to his friend and patron Voltaire who had said that the Jesuits taught him nothing but " Latin and nonsense ".

Finally it must be borne in mind that this training was not carried on *in vacuo,* so to speak. It was the result of a course of reading, in which understanding of the thought and appreciation of the style grew with the years, in what were then at any rate regarded as the two great literatures of Europe. The rules and precepts were of importance only as means to reading and writing. To read some criticisms you would imagine that the unfortunate students spent the whole six years learning the rules of grammar and the precepts of speech-writing, and composing verses of which the chief merit would be that they scanned. In this instance at least the critics may not be too much to blame ; they are probably transferring to the Jesuit pupils their own unfortunate experiences.

* * *

Surely it is not too much to see once again, in the choice he made of a curriculum, the value Ignatius placed on right order. If a man was to study mathematics or the sciences or law or go on to the higher studies for the priesthood the first essential was that he be trained to use his mind aright in studying those subjects; otherwise he would be wasting

a great deal of his time. And the second essential was that he be trained to express his thoughts properly both in speaking and in writing, otherwise all the knowledge he might have would remain within himself, would be of no help to the common good.

And here we come back again to Ignatius's primary reason for founding schools. Scholarship and learning were not, for him, ends in themselves. It may be, as has already been suggested, that what he knew of Renaissance scholars and their manner of life influenced him in that belief. At any rate, in that part of the *Constitutions* which deals with the founding of colleges and universities he remarks that " there are comparatively few people who are good and at the same time learned". His sole aim, then, was to form people in whom piety and learning would combine to produce an élite in the Church. That was his sole aim : he would, I think, have regarded it as a perversion of right order to reckon the success of such work purely by the scholastic success of his pupils.

And it is striking to note that for him the inculcation of piety was not primarily to be a matter of set classes for that purpose. It will probably surprise us to learn that from the setting up of the first schools no more than one hour a week was assigned to direct religious instruction. It would appear that, while he recognized the need of teaching positive matter, he placed far more stress on regular religious practices and, above all, on the use of the matter read in the textbooks as providing occasion for putting ideals of conduct before his pupils. The very first rule of the *Ratio* makes that clear : ". . . one of the principal functions of our Society is to transmit to those about us all the schooling consistent with our Institute in such a way that they may be brought to a knowledge and love of our Creator and Redeemer ". This " incidental " method where religion is made a natural part of a pupil's daily round avoids at least one of the dangers inherent in a more formal teaching, namely, that it does not tend to make religious instruction just one more school subject, with the consequent danger of inducing in after life a separation between a man's religion and his " ordinary " life.

Instead of appealing, as we might well do, to contemporary Catholic evidence as to what the pupils of these schools were like in their manhood, we may quote a modern American historian of education. The Jesuits " did not aim to develop in their students free minds, critical of authority. It was rather their aim to make them intellectual adherents and defenders of official Catholic orthodoxy, and harmlessly virtuous . . . the Jesuit schools were the bulwark of humanism and orthodoxy in Catholic countries ".[1] The comment is not meant to be a complimentary one,

[1] *A History of Education.* James Mulhern. New York, 1946, pp. 251, 287.

but I think that St Ignatius, though he might have been surprised at some of its implications and would surely have been amused at the " harmlessly ", would have been satisfied to have his pupils judged by their " orthodoxy ". He had said in his *Spiritual Exercises* that love ought to be found in deeds rather than in words. That " love of our Creator and Redeemer ", which he saw as one aim of his schools, would be best tested by the degree of loyalty and devotion shown to the Pope, the representative for us of that Creator and Redeemer.

Jesuit Men of Science

by DANIEL O'CONNELL, S.J.

Director of the Vatican Observatory

IN the educational work of the Society, both in the training of its own recruits and in its colleges for the laity, science played an important part from the beginning, more particularly the exact sciences, mathematics, physics, astronomy. Quite apart from their teaching, many individual Jesuits, by their researches and discoveries, contributed materially to the development of these sciences. A scientific training soon proved an invaluable aid in establishing and carrying on missions in every quarter of the globe. Jesuit missionaries provided the first exact information about the geography, the inhabitants, the flora and fauna of many parts of the world.

Their bitterest enemies cannot deny that the Jesuits have accomplished a vast amount of scientific work, but attempts are sometimes made to minimize its value. Some there are who assert that strong religious convictions inhibit free inquiry, that only those who start from an atheistic or materialistic basis are truly free from bias and that they alone can hope to attain the truth. This claim is easy to refute. The Jesuits share their prejudices in favour of a belief in God and in the supernatural with Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Newton, Ampère, Pasteur, Mendel. It would be hard indeed to prove that the achievements of these great pioneers of science are inferior to those of non-believers.

Another adverse opinion of the value of the Jesuit contribution to science can be summed up in a phrase from the article on the Jesuits in the older editions of the Encyclopedia Brittanica : " respectable mediocrity is the brand on the long list of Jesuit names in the catalogues of Alegambe and De Backer ".[1] In other words, while it cannot be denied that the Jesuits accomplished a great deal of scientific work, the Society suffered, as the same article states, from " a lack of really great intellects ".[2]

The real value of the scientific work of the Jesuits in any particular field can be assessed only by specialists in that field. So far as I am

[1] *Encyclopedia Brittanica*, 11th edition, 1911. The article on the Jesuits was rewritten for later editions, *e.g.*, that of 1954, and it no longer contains these derogatory passages.

[2] This view is not shared by the well-known non-Catholic writer R. Fülöp-Miller, who writes : " We must share the admiration of this author (Chateaubriand) for the many outstanding achievements of the Jesuits in astronomy, physics, geography, ethnology and other sciences. We must also recognize that the Order has counted in its ranks a large number of unusually gifted original thinkers ". *Macht und Geheimnis der Jesuiten*, p. 556, 1929.

aware, there has been as yet no thorough investigation of the work of Jesuits in any of the branches of science in which they have been active.[1] Such a study would be a major undertaking. In a short article I can do no more than give a brief account of some of the more prominent Jesuit scientists, mathematicians, physicists, astronomers, geophysicists, with a few naturalists. If I deal mainly with the exact sciences, it is partly because that is the field with which I am familiar and also partly owing to the fact that the Jesuits have been more active in these sciences than in others.

* * *

The first prominent Jesuit mathematician was Christopher Clavius (1538–1612), best remembered nowadays for his part in the Gregorian reform of the calendar. He was professor of mathematics at the Roman College for twenty years and trained many young Jesuits who later attained eminence as scientists: Christopher Grienberger (Clavius's successor in the chair of mathematics), Gregory de St Vincent, Matteo Ricci. He was highly esteemed by the leading scientists of the day, including Tycho Brahe, Kepler and Galileo, who was his close friend until death separated them. He exerted a wide influence through his books, several of which went through many editions. One of the chief modern authorities on the history of mathematics writes :

> The large number of editions which were needed to satisfy the demand for his *Euclid* shows the high reputation which this work achieved. Seldom has so high a reputation been so thoroughly well earned . . . Clavius shows an acute critical faculty. He detected and exposed old errors. There is no difficulty that he attempted to evade . . . This work of Clavius is indispensable even to-day for historical researches.[2]

Cantor also quotes, with full approval, the opinion of another historian of mathematics, Kästner, on Clavius's *Geometria Practica* (1604) : " a model text-book of practical geometry, perfect for its time ". In this

[1] The following articles, though they do not profess to be exhaustive studies, contain much interesting information : Bernhard Duhr, S.J., *Jesuiten-Fabeln,* 4e Auflage, Freiburg i. Br. 1904. pp. 245–324. Johann Schreiber, S.J., *Die Jesuiten des 17 und 18 Jahrhunderts und ihr Verhältnis zur Astronomie,* Natur und Offenbarung, vol. 49, 1903. William F. Rigge, S.J., *Jesuit Astronomy* (English translation of preceding), Popular Astronomy, vol. 12, pp. 9, 94, 303, 375, 1904. P. de Vrégille, S.J., *Les Observatoires de la Compagnie de Jésus au début du XXe siècle,* Revue des Questions Scientifiques, Louvain, 1906. J. Stein, S.J., *La Compagnia de Gesù e le scienze fisiche e matematiche,* Il quarto centenario della Compagnia di Gesù, Conferenze commemorative tenute all'Università del S. Cuore, Milan 1941, pp. 1–23 (=Rendiconti del Seminario Matematico e Fisico de Milano, vol. XV, 1941). The Jesuit histories of Astrain, Duhr, Tacchi-Venturi, etc., contain much relevant material. Countless original sources, both printed and MS, remain to be studied. We hope to have before very long a general treatment of this subject by Père Edouard Lamalle, S.J. (of the Institutum Historicum S.J., Rome), whose unrivalled knowledge of Jesuit scientific history has been put unreservedly at my disposal. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude for his generous help and valuable advice.

[2] Cantor, M., *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik,* Bd. 2, 512, Leipzig 1892.

book Clavius describes the extremely useful device now known as the 'Vernier scale'. It was first invented by the Portuguese Nunes (Nonius) and is sometimes called after him, but it was greatly improved by Clavius. Vernier's work appeared in 1631.[1]

Gregory de St Vincent (1584–1667), a native of Bruges, studied under Clavius and was later professor of mathematics in Antwerp and Louvain (1616–1625), then at Prague until 1631, when his work there was interrupted by war. When he escaped from Prague he lost all his manuscripts. Three large volumes on statics and geometry, ready for the press, were burnt; other papers were saved, but wandered around Europe for ten years before they finally caught up with him in Ghent. He founded a famous school of mathematics in Antwerp. His original work, particularly on conic sections, was so important that Leibnitz ranked him with Fermat and Descartes. He is looked on as one of the founders of analytical geometry. Another prominent mathematician of the Antwerp school was P. Andrew Tacquet, who had Ferdinand Verbiest as a pupil.

The French Jesuits developed an important mathematical school which flourished for generations. Colbert entrusted to Jesuit professors the teaching of hydrography in the navy, at Toulon, Marseilles, Brest, etc. They produced many practical treatises, from the *Hydrographie* of P. Georges Fournier (Paris 1667) to the *Astronomie des marins* of P. Esprit Pézenas (Avignon 1761).

A very able Italian mathematician was Girolamo Saccheri (1667–1733). He taught in the Brera College, Milan, and in Turin and Pavia. His chief work, *Euclides ab omni naevo vindicatus,* was an investigation of the foundations of geometry. It was printed during his last long illness, and it is doubtful if he ever saw a printed copy. Long forgotten, this work was rediscovered towards the end of the last century by Beltrami, who showed that Saccheri was the precursor of Legendre and Lobatschewsky. The distinguished mathematician, Professor Segre, writes: "All now recognize that with this work non-Euclidean geometry begins". Vincenzo Riccati (1707–1775), professor at Bologna, was the inventor of hyperbolic functions and author of many important mathematical works. Paul Guldin (1577–1643) was born at St Gallen and started as apprentice to a goldsmith. He became a Catholic and entered the Society in 1597 (changing his name from Habakuk to Paul). He was professor of mathematics at Vienna. His chief work is *Centrobaryca* (Vienna 1635) and he is best remembered as the author of 'Guldin's Rule' for determining the volume of a solid of revolution.

These are only a few of many able Jesuit mathematicians. I must

[1] cf. Breusing, *Nonius oder Vernier ?,* Astronomische Nachrichten, Bd. 96, 132, 1879, where full credit is given to Clavius's achievement. A similar device for angular measures is to be found in Clavius's *Astrolabium.*

pass on to other branches of science. One of the most famous of the early Jesuit scientists was Athanasius Kircher. It is enough to recall his name and to refer the reader to the very interesting and informative account of this learned man in a recent number of *Studies*.[1] He was active in many sciences, but he would doubtless be classed primarily as a physicist and chemist. His pupil, Kaspar Schott (1608–1666), was also well known for his work in experimental physics. He was a friend of Otto Guericke and the description of the latter's famous Magdeburg Hemispheres is to be found in Schott's *Mechanica hydraulico-pneumatica* (Würzburg 1657).

The *Philosophia Magnetica* (Cologne 1692) of Nicolas Cabeo (1586–1650) contains the most complete discussion of magnetic and electric phenomena known up to that time and is the most important work in the development of the subject after that of William Gilbert. To P. Cabeo we owe the first notion of magnetic permeability and of a solenoid and the term ' lines of force '. He was the first to suggest a finite velocity of propagation of electric and magnetic energy and was in various ways a precursor of Clark Maxwell and of modern electromagnetic theories. F. Strada (1576–1649) was the first to suggest an electromagnetic telegraph. Cabeo even conceived the idea of wireless telegraphy, but thought that it could not be realized in practice.[2]

Important work in optics was done by several Jesuits.[3] The most original of them was the Italian F. M. Grimaldi (1613–1663), a pioneer in optical research and a highly skilful experimentalist. His principal achievement was the discovery of the phenomenon of diffraction. The volume in which this was announced, *Physico-Mathesis de lumine, coloribus et iride aliisque annexis* (Bologna 1665), was published after Grimaldi's death by his friend Riccioli. He seems to have made this discovery several years previously (about 1654), but he was too modest to publish his researches, though they were unsurpassed for a long time to come. Grimaldi's work on diffraction was forgotten, or not understood—to the great loss of science, which took nearly two centuries to catch up.[4]

Another original thinker was Francesco Lana-Terzi (1631–1687), professor at Brescia, who was one of the first to study the scientific

[1] Conor Reilly, S.J., *Father Athanasius Kircher, S.J., Master of an Hundred Arts*, Studies, vol. 44, 457, 1955.

[2] cf. Daujat, Jean, *Origines et formation de la théorie des phénomènes électriques et magnétiques*, Paris, 1945 ; P. de Vrégille, S.J., *Les Jésuites et l'étude du magnétisme terrestre*, Études, t. 104, 1905, pp. 492–511. Daujat devotes a whole chapter (Book IV, Chap. 3) to P. Cabeo and his school. Many other Jesuit scientists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries find honourable mention in Daujat's book.

[3] *e.g.*, Scheiner, Chris., *Oculus, hoc est fundamentum opticum*, Innsbruck 1619 ; Aguilon, Francois, *Opticorum libri sex*, Antwerp, 1613, a book valued not only for the beautiful illustrations by Rubens, but also for its high scientific quality.

[4] For a recent evaluation of Grimaldi's work in optics and of his many experiments, cf, Vasco Ronchi, *L'Ottica di P. Grimaldi*, Atti della Fondazione G. Ronchi, vol. IX, 349–361, 1954 (= Pubbl. dell'Instituto Nazionale di Ottica, Arcetri, Ser. II, no. 649).

principles involved in the problem of flight (in his *Prodromo ovvero saggio di alcune invenzioni nuove,* Brescia 1670). His sketch of a flying ship is well known.

Physicists of distinction of the restored Society are Karl Braun (1831–1907), known for his determination of the constant of gravitation, and Theodor Wulf (1868–1946), inventor of the Wulf Electrometer and a pioneer observer of cosmic rays.

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If we are to judge by the number of men engaged and the amount of work produced, I think that we must count astronomy as the science to which the Jesuits have been particularly devoted, at least in earlier centuries. Apart from the fascination which the oldest of the sciences has for an enquiring mind, astronomy had another particular attraction for the young Jesuits of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was his knowledge of mathematics and astronomy that enabled Matteo Ricci to obtain a foothold in Pekin and to lay the foundations of the very flourishing Chinese mission. Many young Jesuits who hoped to work on the foreign missions were stirred by Ricci's example to make a thorough grounding in mathematics and astronomy a part of their training.[1] Before long these men were scattered in many unknown, or little known, parts of the globe, making latitude and longitude determinations and mapping whole territories, in addition to their missionary work.

At the same time astronomical observatories were being founded at many Jesuit colleges in Europe and even in the New World. At the time of the Suppression there were more than 30 Jesuit observatories, out of a world total of about 130, *i.e.,* about one quarter of the total number.[2] These observatories differed in size and in the importance of the work done and many of them disappeared at the Suppression. Many, however, were taken over by the State and still survive, such as the observatories of Vienna, Mannheim (now at Heidelberg), Prague, Vilna, Milan, Rome, all of which are now Government observatories.

The observatory attached to the Roman College was the most important of the Jesuit observatories, both for the work done and for the number of distinguished scientists that were trained there. Fr Christopher Scheiner (1575–1650), who had previously been professor of mathematics and astronomy at Ingolstadt and Vienna, came to Rome in 1624. He was a diligent and skilful observer and a close friend of Kepler's. He

[1] In the years 1615–1617 alone many of the leading Jesuit mathematicians and astronomers, such as Scheiner, St Vincent, Cysat, volunteered for the Chinese mission. Their letters are still extant (cf. E. Lamalle, S.J., *Archivum Historicum,* Rome, t. 9, 1940, pp. 82–83).

[2] cf. Lalande, *Astronomie,* t. 1, 3rd edn., Paris, 1792.

made several telescopes. In some of them at least, following a suggestion of Kepler's, he used two convex lenses (he was the first to do so) instead of a convex and concave lens as used by Galileo. He gave a telescope to the Archduke of Tyrol who, apparently interested less in the stars than in the view from the windows of his Innsbruck castle, complained that things were upside down. Scheiner inserted another lens to invert the image, thus making the first terrestrial telescope (as distinct from the Galilean type).

Scheiner discovered sunspots in March 1611 and published an account a year later. There was a dispute as to whether he or Galileo discovered them first. As a matter of fact, Scheiner never claimed priority, and it is likely that Galileo did see them first, though Scheiner's discovery was quite independent. In any case Fabricius saw them earlier still. If they only knew, they were all rather late in the field, for it seems that the Chinese, without the aid of a telescope, saw sunspots in A.D. 301. Scheiner observed sunspots for the rest of his long life. Indeed he was the most diligent and successful of the early observers of the sun. He trained many astronomers and got them to collaborate with him in solar observations in various parts of the world. A collection of his early sunspot drawings is in the University of Munich. In 1626–30 he produced a huge tome on the sun, *Rosa Ursina sive Sol.* In it he gave his long series of observations on the sun and many of his sunspot drawings, as well as descriptions and explanations of many solar phenomena. He described the granulation and the faculae (we owe the term to him), proved the inclination of the sun's axis to the ecliptic and showed that the period of rotation of sunspots varied with their distance from the solar equator. He was a skilled and painstaking observer and insisted particularly on the need of accurate data as a basis of subsequent theory. Some of his discoveries were forgotten and had to be made anew in modern times. He produced many other works of astronomical interest, on the planets, optics, the anatomy of the eye, atmospheric refraction, etc.

Scheiner's colleague at the Roman College, Christopher Grienberger, invented the equatorial mounting for a telescope. Scheiner was using such a mounting as early as 1620.[1] He was assisted in his early astronomical work by his pupil, the Swiss J. B. Cysatus, who succeeded his master as professor at Ingolstadt. Cysatus was the first to make a telescopic study of a comet (1618) and gave the first description of the nucleus and coma of a comet. N. Zucchi (1586–1670), Rector of the Roman College, invented the reflecting telescope. J. B. Riccioli (1598–1671), professor of astronomy at Bologna, is best known for his learned work *Almagestum Novum* (1651), an encyclopedia of astronomical

[1] This very important aid to astronomical observing was first introduced into general use by the Danish astronomer Ole Romer, c. 1690.

knowledge. In the first volume of this work appears the map of the moon prepared by his colleague, F. M. Grimaldi.

Christian Mayer (1719–1783) was the first to publish measures of double stars. The observatory at Mannheim which he founded became one of the leading observatories of Europe.[1] The observatory was later transferred to Heidelberg. During a recent visit there I was shown Fr Mayer's observing books and his interesting visitor's book, with signatures of many of the chief personages of the day, scientists and others. Maximilian Hell (1720–1792), founder and director (1745–1792) of the Vienna Observatory, was a very active and able astronomer. Roger Boscovich (1711–1787) was one of the best-known of the eighteenth century Jesuit scientists. He was director of the observatory of the Roman College and was employed by Pope Benedict XIV in many scientific tasks. He designed and constructed the observatory of the Brera College, Milan, which is still one of the chief observatories of Italy. His pioneering researches into the structure of matter have been well described by the late Fr H. V. Gill, S.J.[2]

It would take many volumes to describe adequately the scientific work carried out in the various mission fields. The astronomical work started by Matteo Ricci in Pekin was carried on successfully until the Suppression. Adam Schall von Bell (1591–1666) and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688) are among the best-known of Ricci's successors. Verbiest erected an observatory in Pekin[3] in 1668, when there were as yet very few observatories in Europe. " A great many good observations were made there ", writes Lalande.

If they had not received such a sound training in astronomy the many Jesuit explorers and travellers could not have accomplished what they did. The Spaniard, Peter Paez (1564–1662), discovered the sources of the Nile in 1615, nearly two centuries before they were seen by their reputed discoverer, James Bruce, in 1790. In the seventeenth century Jesuit missionaries made many excellent determinations of latitude and longitude in China, Siam, Cape of Good Hope, America. They measured arcs of the meridian : Liesganig in Austria ; Chr. Mayer in Germany ; Riccioli, Grimaldi, Boscovich and Maire in Italy (later repeated by

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[1] " Il n'y a pas dans l'Europe d'observatoire plus utile à l'astronmie que celui-là " (Lalande : *Astronomie*, t. 3, 3rd edn. p. 730, 1792).

[2] H. V. Gill, S.J. : *Roger Boscovich, S.J., Forerunner of Modern Physical Theories*, Dublin, 1941.

[3] Verbiests's astronomical instruments remained in Pekin until Kaiser Wilhelm II brought them to Germany after the Boxer Rebellion (1900) and set them up in the grounds of his palace at Potsdam. After the first World War they were returned to China. After the Suppression of the Society the Chinese Emperor gave the valuable library of the observatory to the Russian Ambassador to China, who sent the books to the Czar. Nicholas I gave them to the great observatory that he founded at Pulkova in 1839. During the fighting around Leningrad in the recent world war the Pulkova Observatory was destroyed. Part at least of the equipment and library had been removed to a safe place, but I have not yet succeeded in learning whether the books of the Pekin Observatory were saved.

Secchi) ; Thoma in China, etc. They surveyed the whole of the Chinese Empire. Their great map of China was superior to any contemporary map of any country of Europe.[1]

After the Restoration of the Society, astronomical work was resumed bit by bit and new observatories were founded. The observatory of the Roman College was given back to the Society in 1824 and soon became one of the leading observatories in Europe under the direction of Francesco de Vico (1805–1848) and his successor Angelo Secchi (1818–1878). The former had already much valuable work to his credit when his promising career was cut short by his death in London after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Rome. Fr Secchi was one of the foremost astronomers of the last century. He was an authority on the sun and did important work in other branches of astronomy. He was one of the founders of astrophysics and was the first to devise a scheme of classification of stellar spectra. In 1870 the Roman College and the observatory, with all its instruments, precious library and archives, were seized by the Italian Government. So great was Secchi's reputation that the Government did not expel him with the rest of his brethren and he continued to work in the observatory until his death a few years later.

Stonyhurst Observatory was founded in 1838. Under Stephen Perry, F.R.S. (1833–1889), it became famous for its solar researches. His successor, Walter Sidgreaves (1837–1919), was well known for his work in stellar spectroscopy. Georgetown Observatory, founded in 1842, forged ahead when J. G. Hagen (1847–1930), one of the founders of variable star astronomy, became director in 1888. The present Director, Fr Francis Heyden, in collaboration with the U.S. Air Force, is co-ordinating the observations of many solar eclipse expeditions in order to obtain more accurate geodetic positions.

In 1906, Fr Hagen was summoned to Rome by Pope Pius X as director of the Vatican Observatory, where he carried out much important work. His successor, J. Stein (1871–1951), designed the finely equipped new Vatican Observatory at Castel Gandolfo. For this work he called to his aid Alois Gatterer (1886–1953), who organized the astrophysical laboratory attached to the observatory. Fr Gatterer was an experimentalist of the first rank. The atlases of the spectra of the elements, issued by the laboratory in several stately volumes, have attained a world-wide reputation.

At the French Jesuit observatory at Zo-Sé, China, fine work on the

[1] Jesuit professors of mathematics and astronomy, such as Kircher and Riccioli, called on their former pupils, scattered as missionaries the world over, for observations of lunar and solar eclipses, eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, transits of Venus, with the object of obtaining improved longitude determinations, a problem of great theoretical and practical importance. Riccioli gives a table of 2,700 geographical positions which are incomparably more accurate than any previously known (*Geographiae et Hydrographiae reformatae . . . libri duodecim*, Venice 1672, pp. 388–409). Many of these results were due to the astronomical observations made by Jesuit missionaries.

sun and in stellar astronomy was done by PP. Chevalier, de la Villemarqué and others. The observatory was seized by the Communists not long ago. The same fate has befallen the Kalocsa Observatory, Hungary, where solar observations had been carried on by the above mentioned K. Braun, inventor of a spectroheliograph and of an impersonal micrometer. The Observatorio del Ebro, Tortosa, founded in 1904, happily survived the Spanish civil war and is continuing its valuable researches on the sun and in geophysics.

The erecting and equipping of an astronomical observatory is far more costly to-day than it was in the eighteenth century. It is thus not surprising that Jesuit observatories form a much smaller proportion of the whole than they did before the Suppression. In compensation Jesuits have played a very large part in the development of the new science of seismology. The stations of the Jesuit Seismological Association contribute a considerable proportion of all seismological observations. The idea originated with Frederick Odenbach (1857–1933), a pioneer of seismology, who built his first seismograph in 1900 (at Cleveland) and organized in 1909 the Jesuit Seismological Service, a group of stations out of which grew the J.S.A. (1925).[1] The development of the J.S.A. is chiefly due to J. B. Macelwane (1883–1956), one of the leading geophysicists of our time. He was President of the American Geophysical Union when he died in February 1956 in the midst of his activities. In the Geophysical Department of St Louis University he and Fr J. Ramirez (now director of the Observatorio de los Andes, Bogotà) originated and developed the microseismic method of locating and tracking hurricanes, a very fruitful application of seismology to meteorology, which is now extensively used and has saved many lives. Fr D. Linehan (Weston College, Mass.) is an expert in seismic exploration, which he has carried out even in such inaccessible places as Greenland and the Antarctic Continent. There is no room even to list the numerous Jesuit seismological stations scattered over the globe. It is fitting, however, that I should mention here two Irish pioneers of this science, Fr E. F. Pigot (1858–1929), founder of Riverview College Observatory,[2] and Fr William O'Leary (1869–1939), who succeeded Fr Pigot as Director of Riverview and had previously founded seismological stations at Mungret and at Rathfarnham. He invented not only seismographs, but also meteorological and other scientific instruments.

In the China Sea, and the Far East generally, the observatories of Manila and Zi-ka-Wei have for many years earned the blessings of seafarers for the very fine system of typhoon warnings which have saved many ships and innumerable lives. The methods used were developed

[1] cf. J. B. Macelwane, S.J., *Jesuit Seismological Association 1925–1950*, St Louis, 1950.
[2] D. J. K. O'Connell, S.J.: *Father Edward Francis Pigot, S.J.*, Studies, vol. 41, 189, 323, 1952.

by Frs Faura, Algué and other Jesuit scientists. Manila Observatory was completely destroyed by the Japanese just before the recapture of Manila ; Zi-ka-Wei was seized by the Communists and is no longer functioning. It is good to know that part at least of the work of the Manila Observatory is now being carried on at Baguio, some distance from the city.

Work in geomagnetism and in other branches of geophysics has long been carried on in many Jesuit observatories. P. Lejay, former Director of Zi-ka-Wei, has carried out gravity surveys in China and elsewhere. He is now President of URSI (International Union of Scientific Radio), the first priest to be president of an international scientific union.[1]

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In this brief article I have not attempted to give even an adequate summary of Jesuit scientists and their achievements. I have tried rather to convey some idea of the quantity and the quality of their work. No unprejudiced observer will deny that the Society has produced many scientists of the first rank, whose work has been of fundamental importance in the development of many branches of science. Even if there were no great names among them, the very volume of the work done, if honest work, must have contributed much to the progress of science. That Jesuit scientists have in the past four centuries accumulated a vast quantity of observations—astronomical, geographical, meteorological, seismological, etc. is a fact well known to experts in these various sciences. Volumes, printed or MS, of such observations abound in libraries and archives the world over.

That this work was honest, again no expert and unbiassed witness will contest. The only case known to me where a charge of dishonest

[1] To illustrate the varied fields in which Jesuits worked I shall mention a few who have been prominent in other sciences : G. J. Camell (1661-1706), who started as a laybrother and later became a priest, was apothecary and infirmarian in the Jesuit College in Manila. He was a great collector of flora and fauna and corresponded with the leading scientists of Europe. Papers by him were published in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society and his herbarium is still preserved in British Museum. The Camellia, which he sent to Europe, was named after him by Linnaeus. Filippo Arena (1708–1789) produced many works, the most original of which is *La natura e la coltura dei fiori fisicamente esposte* (2 vol. Palermo 1767–68), in which he describes his observations and experiments on the fertilization of flowers and of pollination by means of insects (26 years before Sprengel, to whom this discovery is attributed). Other researches deal with hybridism and cross-fertilization. He was a precursor of modern genetics, though his work seems to have been forgotten (E. Lamalle, Enciclopedia Cattolica, vol. 1, Città del Vaticano, 1949). Erich Wasmann (1859–1921) is known particularly for his researches on ants and their parasites. E. Blatter (1877–1934) and his successor as Rector of St Francis Xavier's College, Bombay, H. Santapau, have carried out valuable surveys of the flora of India and other Eastern countries. F. X. Kugler (1862–1925) was a leading assyriologist and the foremost authority on Babylonian astronomy.

work was brought against a Jesuit is that of Fr Maximilian Hell, Director of Vienna Observatory. The story is very well told by Simon Newcomb,[1] Superintendent of the U.S. Naval Observatory and one of the ablest astronomers of the nineteenth century. The King of Denmark invited Fr Hell to observe the transit of Venus in 1769 from somewhere in his dominions. Fr Hell chose a site at Wardhus in the far North of Norway, where the sun did not set at the season of the transit. The transit was observed in other countries also, but Fr Hell's site was the most favourable of all. The day of the transit was cloudless and the observations were made successfully. Fr Hell spent several months in Copenhagen preparing his report for publication by the Danish Academy of Sciences. His results were awaited impatiently by other astronomers. Some complained of the delay and even hinted that Fr Hell was waiting to learn the results obtained elsewhere so that he might manipulate his own results, if necessary, to accord with the rest. There were even whispers that he had not observed the transit at all. Fr Hell, however, insisted that he was bound not to make his results known before their official publication by the Academy. The book was published in due course.

Years later a successor of Hell as Director of Vienna Observatory, Karl Littrow, examined the original observing journal of Hell's expedition (still at Vienna Observatory with the rest of Hell's papers) and asserted that he found in the MS proof that Hell had altered some of his figures. Littrow's book containing this accusation appeared in 1833 and excited much attention. For many years Fr Hell's memory remained under a cloud.

In 1883 Newcomb visited Vienna in order to examine the great telescope which Grubb (then of Dublin) had just erected in the observatory. The weather was bad and, partly to fill in the time, Newcomb got hold of Hell's journal of the Wardhus expedition. Now the main purpose of observing the transit of Venus was to obtain a more accurate measure of the sun's distance from the earth and of the scale of the solar system. In this field Newcomb was the foremost authority and he was planning to rediscuss all the observations of this transit of Venus. He realized that Hell's observations were among the most important of all, if only they were genuine, and he thought it worth while to re-examine the matter. The upshot was that Newcomb proved conclusively that Littrow's charge against Hell was completely baseless. It was, however, made in good faith and Newcomb showed that Littrow's error was due to his being colour blind. Newcomb's account of this very neat piece of scientific detection is well worth reading. It remained

[1] Newcomb, Simon: *The Reminiscences of an Astronomer*, Boston and N. York 1903, pp. 154–160.

a life-long source of satisfaction to him that he had thus vindicated the honour of a very fine scientist.

It would be strange indeed if the work of a Jesuit scientist was less than honest. Any attempt at faking would be so totally opposed to the whole training of a Jesuit, and to the ideals of the Society, that anyone guilty of it would be unlikely to remain long a member of the Order. One may assert with truth that the vast amount of Jesuit scientific work was accomplished by men dedicated to an ideal—the pursuit of truth, which must ever be the aim of the genuine scientist. They pursued this aim with constant and devoted labour, often at the cost of great sacrifices. No doubt one could find dilettantes among the Jesuits, as elsewhere, but the average Jesuit is at least a hard and conscientious worker.

To Pagan Lands

by DESMOND REID, S.J.

THE first Jesuit foreign missionary set a high standard. He lived for only ten years after reaching India; but in those years he travelled south to the angled tip of India, east to the Moluccas and other islands, further east to Japan and finally to the coast of China where he died. In between he had returned six times to his base at Goa in India. But missionary achievement is not measured merely by the number of miles travelled. This man worked himself to death preaching and teaching, learning (or trying to learn) new languages, organizing the infant Jesuit mission and failing to reform the Portuguese trader-adventurers who swindled and generally treated like animals, with disastrous reflections on the Christian way of life, the pagans he had come to save. His name, of course, was Francis Xavier.

Some would say that Francis sailed east almost by chance. St Ignatius had assigned Nicholas Bobadilla to the job. Bobadilla fell ill. There was little choice about finding a substitute : Francis was about the only man available ; so Francis was sent to India. He accepted his commission without hesitation or demur, even with enthusiasm. And two days afterwards he left Rome for Lisbon and embarkation.

He would never return. To reach India might take a year ; the journey in a clumsy caravel would be one of torment in cramped and filthy quarters, with bad food and bad water—bad in the sense of rotten, rotting or impure—a journey of nightmare storms that might sink the vessel, as hundreds before had been sunk, a journey of maddening calms under a sun that burned and made a furnace of the hapless little hulk. Once a year only did the fleet sail for India ; even half-a-century later, despite constructional improvements, one-fifth of the ships that sailed would vanish beneath the waves. That was the journey that faced Francis Xavier as it would face, and kill, dozens of Jesuits who followed him east. Yet he instantly accepted the job.

I think it important to dwell a little on this point : it is one that time and again is met with in the career of Jesuits going north or south or west or east. Men were needed now here, now there, thousands of miles away for hard and dangerous work. Each time there was a rush of volunteers. Men died or were murdered on the missions ; ten were ready to take the place of each one. A Jesuit might be settled in Europe as preacher or teacher or theologian ; he might be lifted from the little world of his work and sent across the seas to some primitive corner of

the greater world. And he would go gladly. It is enlightening to reflect on the spirit that called forth such unequivocal readiness to serve God in those distant and perilous places.

That spirit was fostered in a two-fold way : by the Jesuit vow of obedience and, in particular, the special vow of obedience to the Holy See ; and by St Ignatius's Meditation on the Kingdom of Christ in the *Spiritual Exercises.* The intention of the special vow was to place the Jesuits unreservedly at the beck and call of the Popes : " whether they send us to the Turks, or to any other infidels, even to those places which are called the Indies ". Wherever the Holy Father wished to send them there they would go. This was an integral part of the Jesuit vocation ; and it was enshrined in a solemn promise made to God.

The great " Kingdom " meditation is made by every Jesuit during his Long Retreat on entering the Society. It has been discussed elsewhere in this issue. Here we may note just this : the meditation issues a challenge to generous souls. Christ is depicted as saying : " My will is to conquer the whole world and all men in it " ; He asks for help in this enterprise ; He promises that those who answer his invitation will work *with Him* and that *with Him* they will conquer : *mecum in laboribus, mecum in gloria*— with Me in suffering, with Me in glory. It is difficult to convey in words the magic of the meditation ; it must be " made " in its proper setting in the *Spiritual Exercises.* The breath-taking project it unfolds and the attractive personality of Christ have a well-nigh bewitching effect that can sweep a man off his feet. He is ready to aim himself at high holiness and to do all that in him lies to further or extend the Kingdom of Christ in the souls of others.

His work may be at home, safe, ordinary if you like, but useful for God ; throughout, the memory of the " Kingdom " remains with him like the throbbing of a distant drum. Then may come an opportunity to leave all and go abroad into danger, towards untold sufferings and privation, to bring the Kingdom of Christ to those who have never known Him. At that the beat of the drum rises to a crescendo, and the recollection of the words *with Me* lifts the Jesuit into the ranks of volunteers or sends him off across the seas with a glad heart in obedience to the order of his Superiors. So it was with Francis Xavier, and with those who followed him, and with those who slaved and died on a hundred Jesuit missions. And so it has ever been.

* * *

In this article we are not concerned with presenting a complete picture of Jesuit missionary work throughout the past four centuries— that would be an impossible undertaking. Neither are we expected to deal chronologically with the more picturesque of these missions. But,

ranging at will up and down through the years, we select for attention a variety of episodes, of failures as well as successes, in an endeavour to assess the achievement of the centuries gone by.

Between 1642 and 1649 eight French Jesuits were martyred in North America—three in what is now New York, the remainder in Canada. The death of some was preceded by torture that can only be described as atrocious. These men were members of a small group evangelizing the Huron Indians; but there were many difficulties, some of them possibly insuperable.

The Huron territory about a thousand miles inland from the French port of Quebec was reached by canoe along the St Lawrence river and the Great Lakes. It bounded the land of the Iroquois, sworn enemies of the Hurons. The first great barrier to conversion was the constant savage warfare between the tribes: only in time of peace could the gospel seed take root and grow strong. In between battles the Huron warriors hunted for their food, so that anything like a prolonged course of instruction was out of the question. It seemed too that the Indians' traditional promiscuity, their almost innate habit of thievery, their cruelty—they butchered prisoners of war in indescribable fashion—could be tempered only by generations of missionary endeavour.

It was in these circumstances that the handful of French Jesuits lived and laboured. Scattered in ones or twos or threes, they were hopelessly distant from Quebec and always in danger of death. Painfully they learned the language ; with infinite patience they tried to understand the character and temperament of the savages, seeking always a way to their hearts. St Jean de Brébeuf set down a list of instructions for the missionaries who would follow him from France. Here are a few extracts :

> You must have sincere affection for the savages—looking upon them as ransomed by the blood of the son of God, and as our brethren with whom we are to pass the rest of our lives.
>
> It is well at first to take everything they offer, although you may not be able to eat it all ; for when one becomes somewhat accustomed to it, there is not too much.
>
> You must so conduct yourself so as not to be at all troublesome to even one of these Barbarians.
>
> . . . you must try to be, and to appear, always cheerful.
>
> It is almost incredible how they observe and remember even the slightest fault.
>
> Jesus Christ is our true greatness ; it is He alone and His cross that should be sought in running after these people, for if you strive for anything

else you will find naught but bodily and spiritual affliction. But having found Jesus Christ in His cross, you have found the roses in the thorns, sweetness in bitterness, all in nothing.*

It was a hard programme to follow : to love the savages, always to be cheerful, never the slighest fault. It was hardest at night when a missionary huddled shoulder to shoulder with these men in a hut, in a hut banked about by snow and warmed by a fire in the centre :

> As to the smoke I confess to you that it is martyrdom. It almost killed me and made me weep continually . . . I sometimes thought I was going blind ; my eyes burnt like fire . . . I repeated the Psalms of my Breviary as best I could, and waited until the pain might relax a little to recite the lessons.
>
> Someone will tell me that I ought to have gone out from this smoky hole to get some fresh air ; and I answer him that the air was usually so cold at those times that the trees, which have a harder skin than man, and a more solid body, could not stand it, splitting even to the core.
>
> (St Jean de Brébeuf)

Of the eight men who in the end were martyred one, the youngest priest, was Noël Chabanel. He made no progress with the language, though he did not shirk the labour involved ; he could not grow to like the savages ; he was naturally a timorous man ; he never became accustomed to the food of the country ; after five years everything still filled him with disgust and repugnance. Noël Chabanel might with reason have been excused had he returned to France. He did not go back ; instead he bound himself by a special vow never to leave the Huron mission.

He was travelling one day with a small group of Christian Hurons when they heard ahead of them the shrieks of an Iroquois war-party. They scattered to the forest. Chabanel was left behind. Throughout the night he hid ; at dawn he reached the bank of a river which crossed his path—a Huron passing in his canoe reported this. Noël Chabanel was never seen again : it is uncertain whether the Iroquois overtook and killed him—they left thirty people dead on the same road that day—or whether the observant Huron beached his canoe and murdered the exhausted priest for the clothes he wore and the few possessions he carried.

It is sobering to reflect that during this time, when the Iroquois were engaged in a frenzied orgy of killing, the Superior of the mission could

* It is interesting to compare this with a similar instruction of St Francis Xavier : "If the people love you and are friendly with you, you will do great work for God. Learn to forgive their weaknesses with much patience and remember that, though they may not be good at the moment, they will be some day . . . . Treat these people very lovingly always and do all you can to make them love you."

write to France that in the past year over 1,700 souls had been baptized. The work was bearing fruit. A school for Indian children had been opened at Quebec ; the first nuns had arrived there, Ursulines from Tours ; a Christian settlement was established for Indians a short distance from the town. It is equally sobering to reflect that the Huron nation had been well-nigh wiped out by 1649, the year of Chabanel's death. The Iroquois overwhelmed them ; famine and cold carried off the wandering survivors. And the Jesuit mission, with eight martyrs to its name, built up in pain and suffering had to be temporarily abandoned. The next venture of the Jesuits in those regions was a mission to the Iroquois !

In Asia the trail blazed by St Francis Xavier was followed by Jesuits throughout the century after his death. That trail branched and forked in a dozen directions, bringing the missionaries to a wide variety of fields of labour and affording them unending opportunity for enterprise and ingenuity.

Father Barzaeus, for example, met with remarkable success in Ormuz on the Indo-Persian border. Like many another Jesuit (and Francis Xavier before him) he summoned an audience by rambling through the streets ringing a bell. Ormuz, a rich trading centre, was a town of motley population. There you would find Persians, Jews, Brahmins, Turks, Arabs, Greeks, Italians, Portuguese. Fr Barzaeus was interested in all of them ; and he let them see his interest. They came to trust him : merchants asked for advice ; he so impressed the rabbis by his knowledge of the Talmud that they invited him to expound the Holy Scriptures in their synagogues ; the Mohammedans hailed him as something of a new prophet ; even the Brahmins, so distant and aloof, debated with him in respectful fashion. So great were the demands for his services that he was compelled, we are told, to devise a strict weekly schedule : one day for the Jews, one for the Mohammedans, one for the Brahmins, and the remainder for the Christians.

However, the man who tackled with real success the Brahmin difficulty was Robert de Nobili, who sailed for India in 1604. De Nobili made a painstaking study of the caste problem : the Brahmins despised all outcasts or pariahs, all those, in other words, who were without caste. This contempt was bestowed equally on those who treated with outcasts—and therefore on the Catholic missionaries. As things stood, then, no Jesuit could hope to receive a hearing from the Brahmins ; and further, the Hindus would accept no teaching from any but a true Brahmin, for the Hindus had an enormous respect for the learning and austerity of life of these holy *sanyussi*.

So much for the problem. What was the solution ? Robert de Nobili saw it. He was a courageous man, but even a man of courage would

have quailed before the way out of the impasse. The solution was to become a Brahmin, in the sense of taking on all the external trappings of a *sanyussi,* studying the holy books as they did, living austerely as they did, praying for hours as they did—and speaking to none but Brahmins as they did.

Even today when air travel has brought all corners of the world so much nearer home, few missionaries do not feel a human pang at leaving homeland and friends. In the days of which we speak, for the most part the foreign missionary left Europe never to return ; once a year he would receive letters from home.* But at least he had the companionship of his fellow-missionaries. And that counted for a great deal. Robert de Nobili's solution of the Brahmin problem would require the severance of that last consoling link. He made the sacrifice.

After bitter lonely years he won the confidence of the *sanyussi ;* he was accepted as one of themselves ; he was as familiar as they with their holy books ; and he led them with infinite gentleness through hours and days and months of discussion to a knowledge and acceptance of the truths of Christianity. Many drew back when the time came to make the break, but a slow trickle of conversion began and de Nobili could thank God that his sacrifice had not been in vain.

Time and again during the years of his solitude he had been denounced to Rome as one who had abandoned his Faith, as one who had " gone native ". About his name there arose storms of discussion and controversy. In 1623 Pope Gregory XV declared provisionally in favour of his work, expressing at the same time the wish that all efforts should be made to break down the caste barrier which set man above man and regarded the pariahs as " untouchables ". De Nobili himself saw the need for this. The system was utterly at variance with christian practice and christian charity ; but it could only be done away with in the far distant future when Brahmins with a thoroughly christian core would abandon what they had always regarded as an essential custom.

Robert de Nobili's example inspired other Jesuits to walk alone in the same fashion. One of these " Brahmin-Jesuits " is now a canonized saint—St John de Britto, martyred in 1693.

Madura where de Nobili worked was in southern India. Away, high and remote, in the north was the Court of the Grand Mogul, Akbar. This Emperor, brought up in the creed of Islam, was unsatisfied with the religion of his fathers. He hungered for the truth ; and he sought

* These letters from home were greatly prized. Fr Paul Le Jeune wrote to his Provincial from Quebec in 1634 : " The tears which fell from my eyes at the sight of the letters from Your Reverence stop my pen ; I am as hard as bronze, and yet your love has so greatly softened me, that joy makes me weep ".

St Francis Xavier, too, wept on receipt of a letter from Rome which ended " Entirely yours without being ever able to forget you, Ignatius ". And in a letter to St Ignatius he himself wrote : " When you write to us in the Indies, write of each and all by name, as it will be only once a year ".

it as best he could, summoning learned scholars—Brahmins, Parsees, Mohammedans—to his court, and there listening to their words of wisdom. None convinced Akbar. He heard in time of the " new faith " being preached far to the south in Goa, and sent an invitation to the foreign teachers. Would they come to take part in the religious debates ?

It was a tremendous opportunity : the conversion of the Emperor might swing the whole of his realm to the side of Christianity. The Jesuit contingent, four men strong, was led by Fr Rudolph Acquaviva. The priests' clarity in debate impressed Akbar. It was obvious to him that their religion was superior to that of their adversaries. But was it the true religion ? He still was not sure. He halted, too, at the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Trinity. He gave the Jesuits permission to open a church and a college at Agra ; but his doubts remained.

The Jesuits spared themselves nothing in their efforts to win this mighty man to the side of Christ. When Akbar went to war, they went with him. His thirst for truth never left him : at night by the camp-fire, by day as they rode he questioned, pondered their replies, argued and questioned again. But it was not to be. Akbar died still undecided.

* * *

Matteo Ricci was another missionary to enter the courts of the eastern great. His methods form a striking example of the Ignatian "use of creatures ". This teaching of the *Spiritual Exercises* is simple to expound : in his service of God a man will use whatever helps, reject whatever hinders. But in his decision to use or reject a man must judge objectively, with cool-headed detachment. He must not be swayed by his own likes or dislikes. In part, too, this is merely a right use of God-given talent—of one's own character and temperament, of ability, of one's common sense.

Ricci's early years in China were hard and but frugally fruitful. He lived humbly and poorly as befitted a poor and humble priest. He was an astronomer of outstanding quality. One day in chance conversation with a mandarin he impressed his hearer by his vast knowledge of the subject. This man told Ricci in effect that as long as he dressed and lived as he did he could never hope to reach distinguished audiences. His astronomical knowledge would everywhere win him a respectful hearing—but not in those clothes ! So Matteo Ricci arrayed himself in silk ; and in his room at Canton he set up an impressive exhibition of scientific instruments, of books, pictures and maps.

He attracted attention all right, but he had to proceed with infinite caution. His own advanced knowledge must not too markedly underline Chinese ignorance. He must extend without belittling their own scientific learning . . . he caused a sensation when he informed them

(after some time) and demonstrated from his maps that China was quite a small place in comparison with the rest of the world. The mandarin had been right : Ricci did impress the Chinese scholars. More than that, he became famous. His maps were copied by the Governor of Canton and sent to his friends. The scholars in time wanted to know more about his part of the world. What were the people of Europe like ? How did they live ? What customs had they ? and so on. Ricci could slide quite easily now into references to religious practices and belief.

He worked with the Chinese scientists, teaching and correcting them. He gained access to the Emperor's court at Peking where he became Court Astronomer ; he was commissioned to instruct the Emperor's son in mathematical sciences and in ethics ; he converted and baptized many of the court officials ; other Jesuits supported his enterprise ; and when he died, over three hundred Christian bells were to be heard in the Chinese Empire.

When St Francis Xavier left Japan in 1551, two Jesuits remained to carry on his work. Three others arrived in the following year and were welcomed by 3,000 Christians. The numbers of missionaries and converts swelled steadily with the passage of years ; but the mission really got under way with the coming of Fr Alexander Valignani, perhaps the greatest Jesuit missionary in the East after St Francis.

The work of conversion was at all times precarious : the bonzes were bitterly hostile ; the various local rulers had to be constantly placated and won over by friendly advances. Valignani excelled at this ambassadorial work. For thirty-two years he guided the fortunes of the mission, beloved of the Christians and respected by the mighty. Under his direction the number of Jesuits in Japan rose from twenty to 150 with, in spite of recurrent persecution, 300 churches and 31 houses.

It is said that had Valignani lived longer the Church in Japan would not have been blotted out ; and that may well be so. He wielded extraordinary influence at the courts of the successive Emperors, first rulers over the whole country—Nobunaga, Taicosama and Daifusama. But even Valignani could not always avoid the shedding of Christian blood. The first Jesuits to suffer, three Japanese, were martyred in 1597. Nine years later Valignani died, and soon afterwards the Church in Japan was bathed in blood.

The Jesuits were banished ; churches were destroyed. Thirty three of the missionaries managed to return in disguise, and for a time were able to minister to the stricken Christians. Yet stricken is hardly the right word, for the Japanese converts astonished even their fathers in God by their eagerness to die for the Faith. Thousands of them handed in their names as being Christians ; how many actually died it is difficult to estimate. 200,000 is not an exaggerated figure. With them—men, women and children—died 28 Japanese Jesuits and 52 who had come

from beyond the seas. They were tortured, burned alive, hung upside down over sulphur pits, exposed in icy lakes.

One Jesuit apostatized—Fr Ferara, a former Provincial. When this news reached the outside world, Fr Marcellus Mastrilli, a Neapolitan, came to Nagasaki, quite openly, to die in Ferara's place. That was in 1637. Three years later four more Jesuits made a similar sacrifice. Three more years went by, and a further five Jesuits landed ; and they too died. Ferara met all these men—he was actually judge of the tribunal that condemned the last group. But the reckless generosity of his brethren overcame him. Nine years afterwards, an old man of 80, he stood once more in the court, a prisoner firm now in his resolve to die. He was suspended head downwards over the pit ; for sixty hours he hung there ; and in dying he made amends for that one blot on the missionary record in Japan.

There were few parts of the wide world that did not know Jesuit missionaries. In recalling their activities we do not forget the members of other religious orders who laboured with them and shared their sorrows. Nor in treating of the enterprise of a comparative few Jesuits do we forget their many brethren of the missions. There were the thirteen who, in 1558, set out for Abyssinia with hope in their hearts. Only disappointment and imprisonment or a hunted, fugitive life awaited them. There was Blessed Ignatius Azevedo who with thirty nine companions, some still in their teens, was martyred on the high seas en route for Brazil by Huguenot pirates. Each was pierced through the stomach and thrown overboard. There was Fr Anchieta, a little hunchback who for forty four years worked among the Brazilian Indians ; and Fr Marquette who discovered and explored the Mississippi ; and St Peter Claver, slave of the black slaves of Carthagena ; and Brother Bento de Goes who died, a poisoned skeleton, in Suchow far from his fellow-missionaries in Agra and Peking. These and a thousand others we do not forget.

The suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773 brought to a halt all work on Jesuit missions. When full restoration came in 1814, the first years of the new era were necessarily devoted to reconstruction and reorganization at home. But under Father General John Roothaan the journeys eastward and westward recommenced. In 1833 Fr Roothaan called for volunteers. As in days of old, the response was immediate and overwhelming : within four years missions had been opened in Bengal and Madura, in Argentina and Paraguay. In 1840 Jesuits were on their way to the Rocky mountains and to China. The list grew longer as decade followed decade ; members of the order set out for the colds of Alaska, for Congo and the Equator, for Australia and Japan.

And these " new " men, with their 6,000 successors on Jesuit mission-fields today, have not been unworthy of the pioneers who showed the way.

Experiment in Paraguay

by PAUL ANDREWS, S.J.

CHESTERTON said in defence of Christianity that it had not failed because it had never been tried. Our comrades behind the Iron Curtain deny as vehemently that Communism has ever been tried : owing to technical hitches their experiment has been halted at the dictatorship of the proletariat, that inevitable half-way house on the road to the communist Utopia. Rare are the organizations that admit to having had a fair trial ; but among them is a creation of St Ignatius. For one hundred and fifty years the Society of Jesus enjoyed the freedom of an unspoilt people in a virgin land. It was a test of the Society, of the good or harm it could do for God and for men's souls, under conditions as fair as could ever be expected by those who work for God. And though God alone can judge of the real success of that effort, the story of the Reductions of Paraguay is one that Jesuits do not blush to tell.

* * *

The plan of the Reductions was not born on paper. Like the *Ratio Studiorum* it was compounded of precedent and practice ; it was the Society's answer to problems which had crystallized through twenty years of more or less unsuccessful missionary experiment.

In 1585 the Jesuits were invited into Paraguay with a double commission : to serve the religious needs of the Spaniards by staffing colleges, churches, seminaries and retreat-houses in the towns of the province ; and to evangelize the wild Indians, scattered through the woods and plains from La Plata to the present Bolivia, and from the Andes to the Atlantic coast. The area formed a vast, unmapped circle, with the city of Asuncion, on the Paraguay River, almost at its centre. In their work for the Spaniards the Jesuits could follow a pattern well-tried in Europe. For a century and a half they ministered and preached to the colonists, and educated their children. Their lives differed from those of their brethren in Spain or Italy only in being more tempestuous. Earthquake and flood struck them more often than in Europe, and the whims of governors and of bishops were more to be feared. The Pope and the King of Spain were too far away to deter a local ruler from acting on his personal dislikes, and in a century and a half the Jesuits were expelled from Asuncion four times. But only on the last of these occasions did the expulsion affect the Jesuits working for the Indians.

These men had no text-books or traditions to guide their missionary campaign. There was one distinguished predecessor, a Franciscan, St Francis Solano, who had travelled vast distances in the forests, preaching the Gospel to one Indian tribe after another. For twenty years the Jesuits used the same technique. But it was sowing on rocky ground, and little lasting good came of a deal of toil and suffering.

The great Limerick man, Fr Thomas Filde, was one of these pioneers. He had tramped the mountains and forests of Brazil for ten years in the company of the Venerable Joseph Anchieta, and on his transfer to the Paraguay mission had travelled the last stretch of the sea-voyage in an open boat, having been unshipped and left to the graces of winds and tides by an English buccaneer. He survived to work for forty years in Paraguay, twenty of them opening up trails and discovering unchristened tribes in the east and north-east of the vast province, and the last twenty in passing on to the next generation of Jesuits his experience of missionary methods and his knowledge of the sneezing, stuttering and coughing sounds that passed with the Indians for a language. One of the great achievements of that first generation of Jesuits was to reduce the Guaraní language to writing, and to publish a grammar of it.

In 1604 the Jesuits of Paraguay acquired the status of an independent province, and assembled under their first provincial to garner the lessons of their twenty years of successes and mistakes. It was clear to everyone that the Indians, lecherous and drunken though they often were, formed a milder obstacle to the spread of Christianity than the Spanish colonist. From the beginning the Spaniards had made and enforced their claim to the services of all Indians they conquered, counting that a fair price for the blessing of Christianity and of contact with Spanish culture. That service, though severely defined by humane royal laws, varied in practice between serfdom and slavery.

It was no way to spread the Gospel. The Indians cherished no love for the religion of their conquerors ; even had they been impartial, they would have learnt little about the practice of Christianity from the conduct of the colonists. As the Spanish settlements, and with them the demand for Indian servants, grew, the range of man-hunters gradually extended over all the territory evangelized. Guayra, that north-eastern corner of Paraguay where Fr Filde had worked for ten years, was threatened from another direction. The Mamelucos, half-breed offspring of the Portuguese of Sao Paolo, had raised slave-hunting to the level of a national profession. With the sympathy of their governors and the backing of a strong army, they enslaved over 100,000 Indians between 1600 and 1630. The Jesuits eventually saved the remnants of their missions by a migration on a heroic scale. They led 12,000 Indians, with all their movable goods, five hundred miles up country, and found land

for them far from their enemies in what was to become known as the country of the missions.

By the time of that mighty anabasis, inspired and directed by a forgotten genius called Fr Ruiz de Montoya, the Society had found the solution to its missionary problems in the system of Reductions (*reduccion* being the Spanish for a missionary establishment). With the blessing of the highest powers of Church and state, the Jesuits built towns exclusively for the Indians in a stretch of open, fertile country between the rivers Parana and Uruguay. Here at last, far from all Spanish and Portuguese centres, they were able to build up Christian communities.

* * *

In 1640 the Jesuits found themselves rulers of a rapidly growing Christian state of some 30,000 Indians, owing allegiance and taxes to the Spanish crown, but untroubled by any Spaniard in the internal government of the Reductions. The philosophers were kings at last, and kings with a single aim : that in all their dominions men should live in such a way as to glorify their Creator and save their souls. It lay with the Jesuits to create a way of life, for the Indians had brought from the woods nothing but themselves, olive-skinned, naked, improvident, with no science or culture of their own, and an extreme disinclination to work.

The Jesuits did not long uphold this unyoked idleness. They selected the sites for their reductions on high, healthy, open ground, where there was wood for burning and building, water to drink and soil suitable for crops. With wood, adobe or cut stone they constructed their towns on the plan of a Spanish *pueblo,* round a large *plaza.* This was bordered on three sides by the houses of the Indians, on the fourth by the communal buildings, the church, presbytery, cemetery, work-shops, hospital and store-houses. Round the whole reduction ran a strong palisade, designed not to keep the Indians in (two unarmed white men, Jesuits though they were, would hardly have been effective warders for four thousand untamed Indians had the latter not wanted to stay) but to keep intruders out.

But palisades were not enough. In that remoteness the protection of the Crown of Spain was of small avail against roving Mamelucos or hordes of still unchristened savages. In 1640 Fr Ruiz de Montoya obtained royal leave for the Indians to arm and defend themselves. The king sent guns, the reductions learnt to make their own gunpowder, and the Jesuits scoured their own ranks for army veterans who would train the raw troops to some notion of tactics. But it was professional Spanish soldiers, never Jesuits, who led them into battle ; the Fathers accompanied their Indian troops only as chaplains and interpreters ; the spurred and scabbarded Jesuit captain of *The Strong are Lonely* is, with the whole plot of that admirable melodrama, pure fiction.

For one hundred and fifty years the Reductions prospered as a compact, well-organized state, with thirty towns and up to 140,000 inhabitants. Politicians might marvel at it as a benevolent despotism which never had a death penalty yet was innocent through its whole history of any breath of rebellion or civil war. Economists might admire the elaborate system by which the Reductions supported themselves and produced enough besides to pay the King's taxes and gradually raise their own standard of living. Since the Indians were duped by the Spanish wholesalers whenever they tried to trade for themselves, all buying and selling for the Reductions was eventually done in bulk by the Jesuit procurator in Buenos Aires—an unwelcome obligation for the Jesuits, who found themselves slandered as uncanonical *negotiatores*.

They were accused too of imposing a communist regime on the towns, because some of the land was set aside to be worked in common for the support of widows, orphans, the poor and the sick. In fact their weariest efforts were spent in educating the thriftless Indians to a sense of personal property. One of the Jesuits wrote of them :

> The Indians do not keep as their private property cattle, horses, sheep or mules or anything more important than poultry, because they are incapable of doing so. If an Indian has a horse, he soon has it covered with sores and galls, he gives it nothing to eat, and forgets to let it out to pasture. An ass has a better chance with him, but it too dies when he leaves it tied up for three or four days to a post near his door and forgets to feed it. We give a man a couple of milch-cows with their calves and he will not take the trouble to look after them ; he lets them roam in any direction, he loses them, or else he just kills the calves and eats them. (His voracity is extraordinary.) Consequently every kind of live stock is held in common and fed on common pasture.

With such a proletariat, a *laissez-faire* economy would have been extremely popular and quite suicidal.

In fact there was a joint in the Indians' armour of indolence, and it was their love of music. Music called them to Mass every morning, and a band led them singing into the fields for their day's work. They sang while they worked, were escorted home by a band and celebrated their festivals with choral and orchestral concerts of the best European composers. Visiting bishops were entertained to displays of native dances alternating with orchestral pieces by Weber and Rossini. The music was most useful as an innocent incentive to work, an overture which made of their daily toil something noble and ceremonious. But it was also a significant feature of the humanism of the Jesuit effort.

The humanism of the Society is founded in the ' Principle and Foundation ' of the *Spiritual Exercises* of St Ignatius :

> All other things on the face of the earth are there for man, to help him to reach the end for which he was created. From which it follows, that man has to use them insofar as they help him towards his end, and rid himself of them insofar as they hinder him.

In Paraguay the words ' use of creatures ' won a new meaning. In their forests the Indians had neither known God, nor understood how to use the rich country around them, nor their own talents, their ear for music, their remarkable capacity for imitating manual techniques. Now, through the use of these creatures, they grew to a knowledge of God. They sang their Catechism, danced and mimed scenes from the Bible, fashioned (after Baroque models) fine statues and ornaments for their magnificent churches.

Even outside the church life took on a new fullness. The Indians retained their old chieftains but added to them the full municipal hierarchy, from Alferez Real to the lowest sacristan, of a Spanish town. In the eighteenth century, especially under the instruction of Flemish and German Jesuits, they became good smiths, carpenters, builders, weavers, painters and sculptors, organ-builders, bell-founders and jewellers. They grew the best *yerba maté* in Paraguay, produced books in Guaraní from their own printing-presses, and every Reduction had its own school and hospital. They were taught to understand and accept and use their world, and love it, not for its own sake, but as a gift and reflection of and a way to God Who is greater than any of His creatures, greater than any way to Him.

* * *

One of the secrets of the success of the Reductions was that the Jesuits believed in a system. After some decades of experiment, they integrated into a definite plan what seemed to them the best way of founding and directing a Reduction ; and that plan they taught to their successors. St Ignatius had been of the same mind when he laid down detailed external rules of modesty. So was Fr Aquaviva when he sent all Jesuit colleges the *Ratio Studiorum,* a detailed teaching method which enabled even average schoolmasters to give a first-class education. The Society parted company conspicuously with the humanism of the Renaissance in that she never encouraged a cult of genius. The six generations of Jesuits who administered the Paraguayan Arcadia left no names for the history-books (except perhaps Fr Ruiz de Montoya), no heroes, no inscriptions or monuments or attitudinizing statues. The great work was done by men of average talents, who were completely devoted to the cause of Christ and humble enough to learn and apply a well-tested system.

When Dr Johnson was offered a badly-needed pair of boots by a benefactor, he threw them indignantly out of the window, ' Because, Sir, a man should always stand in his own boots '. It was one of the most delicate points of the Jesuit position in Paraguay that they did not stand in their own boots. The clothes they wore, the blankets they slept in, the equipment for their altars, the ship that transported them from Europe, were all supplied by the generous *Patronato* of the Imperial Spanish Government. The Crown of Spain made real sacrifices to help the spread of the faith in South America. Without that help the Society could hardly have established the Reductions. But like many missionaries before and since, like many missionaries today, they were often to be embarrassed by the bear's hug of imperial patronage. The danger was that not only their accoutrements but even their superiors would be Government Issue, appointments of the governor of Paraguay. Rather than allow that, the Society offered on several occasions to give up the Reductions. Eventually in 1654 they compromised : for each new appointment the Provincial nominated three candidates, from which the Governor chose one.

Within the Reductions themselves, they were refreshingly free from all traces of colonialism. They maintained to the end their rule that no Spaniard should enter the Reductions without permission. The language of the Indians, of the Jesuits, and of the books that they printed was the native language, Guaraní. Only in music and architecture did they impose the European culture, and that because the Indians, apart from some dances, which they preserved under the Jesuits, had in these matters no tradition of their own. The Jesuits found in Paraguay no such architectural memories as in Peru, where the marriage of the Inca and Baroque styles produced some remarkable Jesuit churches.

It was due to this racial primitiveness too that in one hundred and fifty years the Reductions produced not a single Indian priest. They were innocent indeed. A bishop once declared that years passed without a mortal sin being committed there. But it was the innocence of irresponsible children ; and from that state the Jesuits never managed to wean them.

* * *

St Ignatius once prayed that his Society should never be free from persecutions, and no prayer of his was more abundantly answered. The Reductions of Paraguay were a favourite cock-shy from the beginning. The charges pressed against them were as diverse as human nature, but the anti-Jesuitism was all based on the single vice of cupidity. The country of the missions was rumoured to hold hidden gold-mines ; it certainly boasted sumptuous churches. A goose that laid such golden eggs could hardly expect immortality.

In April 1767 Charles III, inspired by his masonic ministers, ordered the expulsion of all Jesuits from the Spanish possessions in America. When the order reached Buenos Aires in July, the Jesuits had already been instructed to obey without resistance. By using all their influence and persuasiveness the pastors restrained the Indians from raising war against the King's representatives. Autumn of that year saw the Jesuits on the high seas, while the troops of Spain pilfered plate from the Reduction churches and sifted heaps of *yerba maté* for the treasures that had never existed. The goose was gone, and none of those whom Spain set to administer the Reductions, even when they used the Jesuit recipe, could ever produce the golden eggs. The Indians gradually melted back into the forest, and the forest claimed the Reductions too for its own ; the churches and hospitals and streets and baths disappeared under a green shroud, and today only ruins remain.

As for the Jesuits, they were well used to expulsions and confiscations, had long learnt to sit lightly to creatures. This was just one last lesson, and the hardest of all : that this fabric which they had painfully constructed and maintained through the decades, this system in which hundreds of thousands of Indians had been enabled to live in happiness and innocence, that this too was a creature, a way to God. And God is greater than any creature, greater than any way to Him. *Deus Semper Maior.*

A "Jesuit Style" in Art?

by D. C. BARRETT, S.J.

WHAT the Jesuits have contributed by their own hands to the visual arts is quickly told. A priest, Fr Castiglione, and a brother, Fra Pozzo, hold an indisputable place in the history of art. Fr Castiglione is the only European to be accepted by the Chinese as a distinguished painter in the Chinese manner. Fra Pozzo had an important influence on Northern Italian and rococo church decoration. The names of a large number of competent but not very gifted Jesuit architects and painters may find their way into footnotes in art histories. Beyond that: nothing.

But in the matter of indirect contribution by patronage and inspiration the Jesuits have been accorded a flatteringly important influence in the development of European art. They are credited with inspiring and fostering the taste of the Counter Reformation. What more natural—certain art historians have reasoned—than that the Jesuits who had saved the Church from the Reformation should form the taste of the Church they had saved? Since they had a theology, a spirituality, a system of education, why not a style of their own?

This style, in the judgment of those who father it on the Jesuits, is not a matter for congratulation. It is a debased art form which an earlier age had christened baroque or grotesque (the term 'Jesuit Style' was found for it by the German Hand-Lexicon des Allgemeinen Wissen, 1878). It is characterized by a 'futile indulgence of the flesh',[1] 'agressively answering the ascetic remonstrance of the Reformation by a still further concession to the mundane senses'.[2] One author who marvelled that the Jesuits adopted this style ('there is nothing Jesuitical about it') adds that 'as the Jesuits embodied resistance to austerity in religion, so the Baroque style was a revolt against the same qualities in later pedantic Renaissance art'.[3]

These authors like to compare this 'Jesuit style' unfavourably with the Catholic art of the Middle Ages. 'We are agreeing with that great Catholic, St Bernard', writes Herbert Read, 'St Bernard reacted against similar tendencies in the art of the twelfth century.' And the French critic, Taine—who seems to have been the first to draw attention to Jesuit taste—having praised Gothic art with its 'musings, splendid and

[1] Herbert Read in *The Listener*, 24 November 1955.
[2] Geoffrey Scott: *The Architecture of Humanism*, p. 24 sq.
[3] Bannister Fletcher: *A History of Architecture*, 1954, p. 600.

sad', proceeds, 'from the beginning of that epoch [the Counter Reformation] religious experience changed, the Jesuits were in the ascendant . . . Religion became mundane, she wished to please, she arranged her churches like drawing rooms.'[1]

Why, it may be asked, did the Jesuits make such extravagant appeals to the senses? To win cheap popularity for the Counter Reformation, some would say; according to others, to produce that ecstacy of the senses, which they believe to be the object of the *Spiritual Exercises*. The purpose of the *Spiritual Exercises*, says Professor Wittkower, is to produce 'a vivid apprehension of any given subject for meditation by an extremely vivid appeal to the senses . . . It is through emotional identification with the mood symbolized in a figure that the faithful are led to submit to the ethos of the triumphant Counter Reformation'.[2]

To anyone familiar with the *Spiritual Exercises* or with the history and spirit of the Jesuits and their contribution to the Counter Reformation this is all so much confusion and prejudice. Indeed, were these ideas not so widespread, did they not contain a certain element of truth which gives them plausibility, they might well be passed over in silence. But unfortunately they are commonplaces among non-Catholic and even Catholic authors. For this reason it might be worth while to consider the Jesuit attitude to art in the early years of the Society and its influence, if any, on the art of the Counter Reformation.

* * *

First, the official attitude. Richardson and Corfiato in their work on architecture make this remarkable statement: 'from the fact that the Catholic German States nearest to Italy were the first to encourage this new form of plastic design [baroque] can be inferred the adoption of this style by the Jesuits as an official expression for their building'.[3] Whatever may be made of the logic of this statement, it certainly contradicts the documentary evidence. For example in *De Ratione Aedificiorum* (decree 113) we read: 'Concerning churches, however, nothing was said. This seemed rather a matter for further consideration'. A reply to the Provincial Congregations of France when they petitioned a uniform building plan for the Society is more explicit: 'This postulate has often been addressed to Rome and a means of answering it has been sought, but the matter presented serious difficulties because of the extreme diversity of places. The *ratio domiciliorum* cannot offer a single plan, each house must find the plan best suited to it'.

Plans of all projected buildings had to be submitted to Rome. The comments of the Roman authorities are concerned with practical not

[1] *Voyage en Italie*, 1896, p. 279.
[2] Introduction to Phaidon *Bernini*, 1955.
[3] *The Art of Architecture*, p. 112.

with aesthetic aspects of the plan. The criterion was : are the buildings suitable for the ministry of the Society? and are they economical? Provided that a church could hold a large congregation and that the congregation could see the altar and hear the preacher, provided also that there were sufficient side-chapels and confessionals, and that it could be built at proportionately small expense, the authorities were satisfied. When a church was being planned for Paris, the General suggested that it should be like the Gesù. In style? No—in size, because it would have to cope with the large congregations of a capital.

Decoration was to be cut to a minimum to save expense, unless there were rich benefactors to pay for it. Even then anything that savoured of luxury was to be avoided. St Francis Borgia was particularly insistent on this point and had the original design for the façade of the Gesù discarded in favour of a plainer and cheaper one.

Sufficient has been said to show that the Roman authorities had no official aesthetic interest in architecture. Nor had the local superiors who chose the architects. A study of Jesuit architecture in any country of Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will show this. (Studies of the churches in Spain, Germany and the Netherlands were made by Fr J. Braun, and a recent Sorbonne thesis by P. Moisy—quoted in an article in *Études,* December 1955, to which the present writer is indebted—covers France.)[1] In these countries the dominant Jesuit church architecture until 1620 was, strange to say, gothic. From 1620 churches in the Renaissance or Italian style were introduced. Towards the end of the century these were decorated in the baroque style and a few, surprisingly few, original baroque churches built. And as these churches followed the style of the time, so they followed the modifications of style proper to each country and were quite unlike Jesuit churches in other countries. Even within one country we do not find uniformity. In France for example, about 1620, Jesuit churches were built according to three distinct plans : the central (oval or greek cross), 'single nave' and a combination of these two (a shallow latin cross).

This absence of preference for a distinctive and uniform style, the desire to conform to the usages of time and country—as befitted religious whose dress and manner of life was to resemble that of the local clergy—is manifest in their use of the gothic. In France and in the Low Countries the Jesuits were regarded as the last and staunchest supporters of gothic. Eight French Jesuit churches were either pure gothic or gothic with discreet classical motifs. The chapel of Valenciennes, now regarded as an extreme example of 'Jesuit style', was originally gothic and was not decorated in 'Jesuit style' until 1775—two years after the suppression of the Society. The work of restoring the Cathedral of Orleans was en-

[1] Fr Braun's works, published by Herder, 1907–13, have not been superseded.

trusted to the Jesuit architect, Fr Martellange, on account of his great understanding of gothic.

So much for the notion that the Jesuits seized on a style and made it their own as an official art form. If, therefore, we find that one plan was more often employed in Jesuit churches than any other, this does not argue an aesthetic preference or desire for distinction or uniformity. The reason is entirely practical as will appear from a study of the Gesù, the most important example, though not the prototype of this form of church architecture. The Gesù as designed by Vignola had a wide nave with side-chapels but no aisles, shallow transepts and apse, a ceiling of barrel-vaulting and a dome at the intersection of nave and transepts. This type of building had a long history. As early as the thirteenth century in Northern Italy and a little later in Southern France, Spain and Germany, the Franciscans and Dominicans substituted the long narrow gothic nave and aisles for a short, broad aisleless nave with side-chapels between the buttresses. The most spectacular achievement in this type of architecture is to be found in Spain in Catalonia, where the Cathedral of Gerona is spanned by a gothic arch 73 feet in width.

The purpose of these churches was to enable a large congregation to hear the preacher and attend Mass without having their view obstructed by pillars. This was precisely what the Jesuits asked of their church. It is significant that St Francis Borgia, the General under whom the Gesù was built, had been Governor of Catalonia for seven years and that from his entrance into the Society he had been anxious to see a large Jesuit church in Rome. The suitability of the Catalan type of church to the needs of the Society could hardly have escaped him. Even in Rome there was an example of this type of architecture in the church of S. Maria di Monserrato. We know that he took a keen interest in the Gesù, an interest that was entirely practical, which led to differences with his patron, Cardinal Farnese. On the question of the barrel-vaulted ceiling he had to yield to the Cardinal—St Francis wanted a flat wooden ceiling to act as a sounding board for the preacher's voice.

With such practical advantages to recommend it, we need not be surprised to find the Gesù or ' single nave ' plan most commonly in use among the Jesuits. The presence in Rome between 1558–75 of Br Giovanni Tristano may also help to explain the popularity of this type of building. Br Tristano came from an architectural family in Ferrara. He had already practised as an architect for some time before entering the Society. In his churches he favoured a plan similar to that of the Gesù : a ' single nave ', triumphal arch at the intersection of the choir and transept, and a simple façade in two orders with volutes. As he was consultor to the General on architectural matters, all plans had to pass through his hands. Though he could not impose his ideas on local superiors and architects, his suggestions would have been welcomed for

their obvious practical value. It is interesting to note, however, that the 'single nave' plan which he favoured, though suitable to the needs of the Society, was not always considered the best. The General, Fr Vitelleschi, writing in 1627 of the 'central' plan, with the usual preoccupation of superiors in the practical aspects of architecture, says: 'This plan is well thought out, well proportioned, and well adapted to the ministry of the Society. Besides being spacious for celebrating Mass, open and in full view, an oval interior is best for preaching . . . It avoids the inconvenience of many of the French churches where the voice of the preacher is swallowed up by a multitude of chapels, galleries, etc., so that it cannot be heard, according to the common complaint, beyond the second chapel and the triumphal arch'.

The 'single nave' plan, which hardly amounts to a distinct style, though neither originated nor monopolized by the Jesuits has the best claim of any to be called the 'Jesuit style'. It is not, however, baroque, unless that term is extended to include every form of architecture from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The Gesù and other buildings of its type belong to a period which, until recently, has not received sufficient attention from art historians, chiefly because of absence of great names and the poor quality of the work produced during it. The period covers almost a century, from the pontificate of Paul III, 1534, to the appearance of Bernini in 1620. Though Michelangelo was still alive when it began, the Renaissance had exhausted itself and, as so often happens, given place to academic and eclectic imitations of earlier achievements. Its art is cold, sad, conventional and monotonous. The period corresponds to the early years of the Counter Reformation, when, contrary to popular notions, the Church reacted against the extravagances of the previous age and brought back ecclesiastical art to its proper function of instructing, elevating and providing a setting for worship. Churches were 'severe and majestic', decorated in sombre marbles, with pictures more edifying than accomplished—it is surprising how many Jesuit churches of this type are described as 'sombre', 'austere', 'sober', 'elegant' and 'regular'.

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It was in reaction to this pedantic and arid art that the baroque came into being. The baroque style does not appear as a fully coherent art form until the time of Bernini, 1620, and the germs of it (if we except an anticipation by Michelangelo) cannot be traced back further than about 1590. But by 1584 the Gesù was already completed—not the Gesù we have today. Here we are at the root of much confused thinking about Jesuit style.

The decoration of the Gesù as it is today is certainly baroque, but the Gesù of 1584 was a far more austere building. It did not receive its baroque decoration until nearly a century after it had been built. Bernini was already dead when the ' Triumph of the Name of Jesus ' was painted on the ceiling of the nave, and Pozzo's ' St Ignatius entering heavenly glory ' was not begun until 1696, when the centre of baroque art had shifted from Rome to Paris.

To speak of the Jesuits seizing on the baroque and harnessing it vaingloriously to the triumphal car of their Church, is not quite accurate. They employed it, as every other Order that was building at the time employed it, for the glorification of their saints. But in that they were not leading but following. It was the Papacy which first seized on this style and employed Bernini and later Borromini to glorify St Peter's and the Roman churches and palaces. Except for a bust of St Robert Bellarmine and a chapel dedicated to St Andrew, Bernini, good friend of the Jesuits though he was, was not called on to work for them. Since decoration was not commissioned by the Society—at least at first—but donated by benefactors, the Jesuits could exercise less discretion in its choice. When they did use it, they were often trying to hide the cheap materials of their buildings.

Since the triumph of the Counter Reformation was not the personal triumph of the Jesuits but of the whole Church, baroque art, which reflected the triumph, was used by all sections of the Church to celebrate their part in it ; not, therefore, by the Jesuits alone nor even primarily by the Jesuits. To speak as Professor Blunt speaks of one of Philippe de Champaigne's pictures as being 'in its restraint and simplicity . . . as typical of the Jansenist approach to a miracle as Bernini's " St Theresa" is of the Jesuit '[1] is nothing short of paradoxical. No less paradoxical is the notion that baroque art is aimed at an ecstacy of the senses and that in this it was inspired by the *Spiritual Exercises*. In the first place, the baroque, like the gothic, strove to elevate the mind to the infinite, the supramundane, but, whereas gothic art used the pure architectural lines of a building, baroque included gesture and the imagery of clouds, rays, etc., a combination of architecture, sculpture and painting. In this way it was hoped that the sensuous elements in pagan Renaissance art might be made to serve a loftier purpose. The use of the senses in the *Spiritual Exercises* is quite different. To avoid the deceptive vagueness of false mysticism when contemplating the Mysteries of the life of Christ, St Ignatius wished the exercitant to bring home to himself the stark reality of the scene and thus give edge and precision to his reasoning about it, and apply its lessons with greater profit to his own life. There is a prosaic, practical realism about St Ignatius's use of the senses which has little in common with baroque flamboyance and rhetoric. In its homeliness

[1] *The Art and Architecture of France*, 1500–1700.

it breathes the spirit of Giotto, de la Tour, Millet and Rouault ; in its severe practicality it is close to the art of the early Counter Reformation.

How then did 'Jesuit style' come to be a synonym for baroque? Primarily, one would say, through confusing baroque architecture and decoration with the art which preceded it. Partly, too, because the age of baroque corresponded with the expansion of the Society, so that in some countries the number of Jesuit baroque churches is large. It is possible, however, that, at least in Protestant countries, baroque art is disliked because of its associations with the Counter Reformation, and since in the popular Protestant imagination the Jesuits were the evil geniuses of that movement, the term 'Jesuit style' carried the appropriate nuance. Herbert Read denies this: the Protestant dislike for baroque art, he says, is not moral but aesthetic. On the other hand, Protestants who favour baroque art have to plead with their readers not to be deterred by the associations this art may have : 'The artistic significance of the style which the Jesuits employed, remains something wholly independent of the uses to which they put it'.[1]

In conclusion it may be said that the term 'Jesuit style' may have a meaning in countries where the use of the 'single nave' plan with renaissance, baroque or rococo decoration clearly distinguishes Jesuit churches from those of other Orders, as in Austria and Southern Germany; but to identify it with baroque seems purely arbitrary and in any event must be confined to surface decoration. If one looks for an original Jesuit contribution to art, it will be found where it is found in Jesuit spirituality and education : in the persistent subordination of art to the needs of the ministry, or, to use a modern word, in its functionalism.

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[1] Geoffrey Scott : *op. cit.*

We hope to publish in a subsequent issue an essay on

The Jesuits in Ireland.

Reviews

BIOGRAPHY

ST IGNATIUS LOYOLA. By James Brodrick, S.J. London : Burns and Oates. 1956. Pp. 357. 30s.

THE FIRST JESUIT. By Mary Purcell. Dublin : M. H. Gill and Son. 1956. Pp. 387. 21s.

JESUITS. Edited by Robert Nash, S.J. Dublin : M. H. Gill and Son. 1956. Pp. 230. 12s. 6d.

ST IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA. By Leonard Von Matt and H. Rahner, S.J. London : Longmans Green and Co. 1956. Pp. 104. 30s.

IGNATIUS of Loyola died on 31 July 1556, just four hundred years ago, and the books listed are some of the anniversary tributes to his memory. In this becoming work of *pietas* it is a pleasure to see Ireland so worthily represented. The saint, as is well known, was personally interested in our island. Did he not send two of his Fathers here on a visit in 1541, when his companions were as yet the merest handful and the Society still in swaddling clothes? We need not contend that Ignatius, for all his perspicacity, foresaw the service which a Catholic Ireland would one day render to the whole Catholic Church, but we cannot overlook the fact that in his eyes the preservation of the Faith in Ireland was a matter of the highest importance. Nor did his sons, in the harder days that were to follow the schism of Henry VIII, ever lose that object to view. There is thus a golden thread leading from the Ireland of today back to the great Founder.

Fr Brodrick's volume deals solely with " the pilgrim years ", that section of the life of the saint from his birth in 1491 to the eve of the launching on the world of the " Little Company " in 1540. They are years which give full scope to the author's rich gifts of description and psychological penetration. Ferdinand and Isabella, Christopher Columbus, the learned and doughty old friar and Cardinal, Ximenes de Cisneros, Francis I of France and the Emperor Charles V ; the Infanta Doña Catalina, better known as that tragic figure of English history, Katherine of Aragon ; the Basque nation, self-centred and self-sufficient as befitted the oldest people in the European Continent ; the Navarrese, led by the giddy house of d'Albret ; the Moors, making their last desperate stand at Granada ; nuncios, archbishops, saints, inquisitors, dukes, generals, admirals, adventurers, eloquent and scheming politicians ; the universities of Salamanca, Alcalà and Paris ; Pope Alexander VI and the Medici Popes, Leo X and Clement VII ; the Holy Land, Venice, Rome—what a background for a story ! One shudders to think of what it would become in the hands of the Hollywood producers. But Fr Brodrick tells it without the slightest departure from his own exacting standards. There is feeling for the beauty of nature, for the weakness of human nature, for high resolve, for achievement ; but though every page is a joy to read no scene is overdone. There are splashes of vivid colour in this book, but they are only where such splashes ought properly to be, in Fr Gillick's exquisite coloured photographs.

If Miss Purcell's volume covers much of the same ground, it differs in being a full-dress biography of the saint. For every statement made the

source is quoted. Irish readers will be glad to have—in an appendix—a translation of the report of the two envoys of 1541, though the terms be in large degree so very unflattering to our *amour propre*. One wonders what the thoughts of St Ignatius were when he had finished reading it : a measure of pessimism would certainly be justified ! Yet the situation was better than it appeared to be, and by 1556, when the saint lay on his death bed, the crisis was over and the Faith in Ireland saved, though two centuries of fierce persecution lay ahead.

In her use of every grain of information Miss Purcell is very thorough. An example worth quoting is the diary of Philip Hagen of Strassburg, a pious and thrifty German, who was on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem with the recently converted Ignatius in 1523. This diary was published but once, eighty years ago. To have discovered the rare volume in which it is contained and to have had a microfilm copy made of it and thereby to have produced a most complete and fascinating account of the journey does Miss Purcell much credit.

Otherwise, too, this biography is as remarkable for its sound learning as for its wealth of detail. Miss Purcell pays some attention to those who have busied themselves with " the obverse side of the Ignatian medallion", those who ignore or deny the supernatural and therefore give of Ignatius a likeness " ranging from misrepresentation to gross caricature". They deserve condemnation ; but perhaps the most remarkable point about such biographies is the growing lack of respect in which they are held. In non-Catholic circles the growling and grubby polemic against St Ignatius and his Order is today outmoded. There may yet be no love for one or the other, but there is a half-understanding and a tolerance of both in the twentieth century that would cause the stalwarts of the Reformation to turn in their graves. Whether St Ignatius himself would be wholly pleased by this atmospheric change is frankly an intriguing question.

The small volume edited by Fr Nash and introduced by Fr Donal O Sullivan tells something of the story of nineteen Jesuits. The first of these in date, after Ignatius himself, is St Aloysius Gonzaga and the last is Fr Daniel Lord who died in 1955. Two of the nineteen are Irish, Fr Peter Kenney and Fr Daniel Finn. The list could be extended indefinitely. It may be stated with confidence that anyone who takes up this book will find it hard to leave it down. And it will serve as well as larger works to provide a solution to the problem : why is every Jesuit so distinct a personality and yet why are all Jesuits so very much alike ?

There remains to be recommended Herr Von Matt's collection of 226 photographs of places, houses, churches, writings connected with the life of the saint. The principle which governs choice of subject is the *Itinerarium* ; wherever Ignatius went from the cradle to the grave the camera followed in his wake. It is an understatement to say that nothing like this has ever before been attempted ; here is a pictorial biography so exciting that it is absorbed enthusiastically by the eye. That nothing may be wanting, the pictures are accompanied by a brief commentary (translated from the German by Fr John Murray) from the pen of Fr Hugo Rahner. Happy the saint thus blessed in his biographers and his photographers !

JOHN RYAN

YOUNG SAMUEL JOHNSON. By James L. Clifford. London : William Heineman. 30s. net.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SAMUEL JOHNSON. By Walter Jackson Bates. New York : Oxford University Press. 27s. 6d. net.

THE Johnson saga has three main themes—the Johnson of Boswell, the pre-Boswell or Ur Johnson, and finally the writings, that is to say, the portrait, the man, and the author. Boswell's portrait is no doubt the main theme, but it has not absorbed or eclipsed the other two. It is not at all true to say that because of it the works still live ; some of Johnson's writings would be a part of the treasury of English literature even if the fateful meeting in Tom Davey's back-parlour had never taken place. And far from superseding the man, the portrait has actually directed more attention to him. The two books reviewed here are proof of the vitality of the two lesser, but essential, constituents of the whole subject.

Mr Clifford has given us a biography of Johnson from his birth to his fortieth year, when the publication of *The Vanity of Human Wishes* made him famous. The general reader, who knows him only through Boswell, recalling the sketchiness of the early chapters, will be surprised at this detailed, authentic, biography of over three hundred pages containing a wealth of matter which escaped the sagacious nose of Boswell ; it will seem as if an Ur Johnson has suddenly been unearthed. But Johnson is the best-worked claim—in the mining sense—in English literature, and has been made the object of an intense and continuous scrutiny, much of the results of which are contained in notes and indexes. From this abundant material Mr Clifford has written a competent life, quite free from the tiresome faults so common in many biographies : he does not debunk, he is not facetious or patronizing ; he does not pretend to know the unrecorded thoughts or feelings of his subject ; he has written a plain objective life which will be sure of a warm welcome from all admirers of Johnson.

Every period of Johnson's early life comes into new light—most of all, the years at Lichfield. We are given a touching picture which explains many things in the later Johnson : a picture, first, of a boy ugly, unwieldy beyond his years, marked by the smallpox, nearly blind, and then, of a youth endowed with prodigious powers of mind and equal strength of body, already a prey to melancholy and queer convulsive movements. His education is told in great detail ; honourable mention is made of all his teachers, a matter which would have afforded much satisfaction to the Doctor himself. Mr Clifford shows that his father Michael was a man highly respected in Lichfield who was appointed a magistrate, but who was not very successful at selling books. This fact helps to explain how Johnson got to know some of the local gentry who were socially above him.

The early years in London are fully chronicled. Despite the indolence against which he had to struggle all his life, Johnson turned out an enormous amount of hack work, a vast deal of which is still undiscovered. But he was steadily making a name and his first poem, *London*, an imitation of Juvenal, was generously praised by Pope, at that time the accepted head of English letters. There was a place, if not a need, for such a book as Mr Clifford has written ; it should have a creditable position in the vast Johnsonian library.

The Achievement of Samuel Johnson is on entirely different lines : it is in no way biographical save for an introductory chapter where in a quick sketch of Johnson's life the author poses or focuses his subject from his own point of view. It must be said that the book does not make easy reading, partly because the author does not state his thesis sufficiently distinctively ; as a result he introduces ideas which are only vaguely akin to the main subject, and tend to confuse it.

Foreigners very often fail lamentably to see the greatness of Johnson and cannot understand the cult given to him in English letters. Taine, for example, saw in him only a moralist, whose pronouncements were only verbose platitudes. Mr Bates's aim, as far as I can grasp it, is to show that Johnson in all he wrote, whatever his subject or medium, whether poetry or essays or biography or general hack work, was always in touch with his own experience ; that life, as he had lived and seen it, was not merely the inspiration but also the criterion and the corrective of all he wrote ; that it was " wrung from his own wide-ranging experience".

This view is not quite original, but it corrects a widely-held view—that Johnson wrote at a double remove from life, that he saw the world only through books and that his verbose and involved style effectively prevented him from saying anything personal. Mr Bates contends that Johnson is above all a moralist ; that his moral opinions were learned in the school of life ; that his judgments are not platitudes but that they are as massive in content as in expression. In all his writings he is drawing from the living but bitter well of his own experience. He is always on solid earth ; he is always kicking that stone by which he refuted Berkeley.

This view should prove particularly enlightening when brought to bear on Johnson's criticism ; and in the light of it, his criticism of Shakespeare may come to be much more highly valued. Mr Bates may be said to open up a new seam for Johnsonian scholars to exploit with abundant results.

H. Kelly

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE. By J. H. Plumb. London : Cresset Press. 1955. Pp. 407. 30s.

English historians of the eighteenth century still rely upon the seven volumes of William Hartpole Lecky. For the earlier decades of the period, however, which Lecky skimps, the work of William Coxe (1747-1828) is of considerable value. In particular his life of Robert Walpole is a book which puts to shame the amateurish writing of modern historians such as Stirling Taylor and F. S. Oliver. Nevertheless the time comes when the patient mining of up-to-date monographs brings down even so solid an erection as Coxe's *Walpole.* In 1907 appeared Brisco, *The economic policy of Robert Walpole,* in 1924 Vaucher, *La crise du ministère Walpole en 1733-1734,* and in 1931 Realey, *The early opposition to Sir Robert Walpole 1720-27.* This kind of book is of cumulative value, which in the end makes necessary a reconstruction of the picture, a task which Dr J. H. Plumb of Christ's College, Cambridge has undertaken. By a coincidence, the first volume of his new life of Walpole appears almost at the same time as Walcott, *English Politics in the early Eighteenth Century.* These books taken together are essential reading for anyone interested in the period,

or in subsidiary problems, such as, for example, the political background to the writings of Jonathan Swift.

The political world in which Walpole found himself was dominated by Whig and Tory factions. Each faction, however, was split into various groups which, as Mr Walcott has shown in detail, were capable of making alliances with what was theoretically the opposite side. Whigs and Tories alike were drawn from the class of great landlords many of whom, like the Dukes of Bedford, Chandos and Devonshire, were as prominent in commerce as in agriculture. It was natural therefore in 1701 that Robert Walpole, the young member of parliament for Castle Rising in Norfolk, should attach himself to one of these men, the earl of Orford, one of the Russell family. Orford was a member of the so-called Whig Junto, and this connection stood Walpole in good stead when in 1708 the Marlborough-Godolphin ministry entered into a closer political alliance with it. In 1708 Walpole was appointed Secretary-of-War, a post which he held until the dismissal of the ministry in 1710. At this date the political future looked bleak : for four years Walpole was in opposition, and spent part of the time in the Tower of London. Even the return to power of the Whigs in 1714 did not bring the political reward which he felt was his due. Instead, within a few years, Walpole and his brother-in-law Townshend found themselves back in opposition against their fellow Whigs Stanhope and Sunderland, both of whom enjoyed the confidence of George I. Eventually, however, in 1720, Walpole found himself back in power as Paymaster-General. It was a fortunate moment for him, when the ill-wind of the South Sea Bubble provided him with a great political opportunity. He alone of all the members of the government benefitted from it, and his position was unchallenged in 1722 when his last rival Sunderland died suddenly of pleurisy.

A good deal of this is no doubt familiar stuff, but Dr Plumb changes the emphasis at certain points of Walpole's career. Particularly important is his analysis of Walpole's final arrival in power. He stresses the importance of Walpole's friendship with Princess Caroline, a relationship which was to persist after George II's accession until Caroline's death. On the other hand, he brings out the importance of George I's attitude. So long as Sunderland kept the confidence of the king, Walpole did not enjoy full power. Even though by 1722 Walpole had been appointed first lord of the treasury, effective power still lay with the king's confidant, and it was only Sunderland's death which made Walpole in fact, as well as in name, the chief minister of George II.

The book is full of interesting detail not the least of which is that Walpole numbered among his ancestors the Jesuit martyr, Henry Walpole, executed at York in 1596, and two Jesuit apologists, Richard and Michael Walpole.

H. F. KEARNEY

CLASSICAL STUDIES

OVID RECALLED. By L. P. Wilkinson. Cambridge. 1955. 37s. 6d.

THIS book, the best and most comprehensive study of Ovid yet published in English, is written in the hope of encouraging a reassessment of the poet's stature. Certainly the times are propitious for the dispelling of long-gathered

clouds. The Romantic critics, with their insistence that true poetry comes from the heart, are now in less favour ; a place is once again accorded to what Paul Valéry called *le vers calculé,* and writers such as Pope and Dryden, so often derided by the Victorians as mere versifiers because their art springs rather from the wit, now come into their own. Inevitably, then, the virtues of their Roman models demand fresh analysis, especially those of Ovid whose influence on English letters from Chaucer to the Augustan age is uniquely profound.

Modern literary critics are almost unanimous in the view that preoccupation with moral issues must not be allowed to influence our aesthetic judgment. This too is Ovid's gain. Wilkinson's approach in fact seems hardly to acknowledge that this is any longer a problem worth discussion. The *Ars Amatoria* is " the reaction of a witty and high-spirited member of a sophisticated circle to a puritanical and sometimes hypocritical orthodoxy backed by power ". Of the general theme of the *Amores,* that free love is preferable to conjugal bliss, Wilkinson ecstatically comments : " How shameless ! But what fun ! " But the question which should impose itself most acutely here is this : does Ovid's predilection for such themes ever result in a fatal loss of ' sincerity ' or ' integrity ' ? Or, if we shy violently away from such keywords, do we not find a manifest triviality in such themes as this, the unabashed love of Phædra for her step-son Hippolytus :

> *viderit amplexos aliquis, laudabimur ambo :*
> *dicar privigno fida noverca meo.*

The truth is that Ovid's passion for what is novel and ' shameless ' makes Longinus's comment about Timaeus completely apposite here : " Through a passion for novel notions, he ends by being completely childish ". One thinks of his depiction of Pasiphaë, in her love for the bull, wishing she had horns and being jealous of the cows ; or the comment attributed to Ariadne, that Theseus's heart was so hard that it wasn't surprising that the minotaur's horns could not pierce it ; and in general the choice of any bizarre love-theme which he could root up. And once he has found an especially satisfying story, too often he flogs it to death. His treatment of the Dido episode in the *Heroides,* when compared with Vergil's consummate verbal economy, is a Niagara of unstomachable verbosity : he makes Hercules in his death-agony recall in detail each of his twelve interminable labours ; and in the famous " Arms of Achilles " episode, when Ajax and Odysseus compete in debate for the honoured arms, poor Ajax is given as his culminating argument that his shield is pierced by a thousand blows—*novus est successor habendus.* Inevitably, too, we find in Ovid that repetition of commonplace themes—the Golden Age, the dangers of the sea, and the rest—which is one facet of the profound unoriginality of the Roman mind. How right Quintilian was to regret that Ovid did not choose " to discipline rather than to indulge his genius " !

For these faults cannot detract from the obvious fact that Ovid had abundant talent both in his epic treatment of myth in the *Metamorphoses,* and in his development of the love-elegy as in the *Amores*—the two works which Wilkinson and most others regard as his best. There is a first-class chapter in this book on the Elegiac Couplet, illustrating the consummate

skill of word-order, the rhythmical effect attained, and especially the delicate relationship between hexameter and pentameter achieved by Ovid. I have always believed that the rigid conventions of the Ovidian pentameter (" You can go to Hell take Ethel with you as well ") soon induce in the reader a soporific inattention. Wilkinson admits the danger of monotony, but convincingly illustrates how deftly Ovid meets the challenge of this constricting medium.

Perhaps the poet's outstanding virtuosity is his psychological insight—a not uncommon feature of the literature of the Augustan period—and especially as applied to women. Wilkinson goes so far as to agree with Dryden that Ovid's portraits of Myrrha, Biblis and Althaea are superior to Vergil's Dido—a claim which ill appreciates Vergil's artistic restraint in this episode, and its relationship to the architecture of the whole poem. In respect of this psychological treatment it is well to remember also how derivative Ovid's treatment is. For example the account of Polyxena at Troy in *Metamorphoses XIII* closely follows the description of Euripides's *Hecuba,* where the emphasis is likewise on the psychological. In this sense Wilkinson's plea that " most of Ovid's poems can and should be read simply for themselves, regardless of their debt to tradition " might perhaps lead us on the one hand to overestimate Ovid's originality, and on the other to disregard the intellectual subtlety of a particular atmosphere evoked, the changes made to disclose a new facet on a well-worn story, and other effects achieved by the Roman convention of artistic imitation.

In a typically modest introduction Wilkinson claims that this book is not a work of original scholarship. In fact, no short review can do justice to its broad learning, its incisive judgment, and its clear and attractive exposition. Classical scholars are often accused of a lack of sensitivity towards literature. They are said to be unable to inculcate powers of æsthetic judgment, to concentrate overmuch on problems of text and language. The criticism has obviously some justification. One of our most widely-used text-books, Page's edition of the Aeneid, can perpetrate on these lines of Vergil

> *tum caput ipsi aufert domino truncumque reliquit*
> *sanguine singultantem* (IX 332f.)

this comment : " Left the trunk ' spouting blood in jerks '—an atrocious phrase. Homer's descriptions of the details of slaughter are unpleasant but business-like ; Vergil endeavours to make his artistic and renders them unbearable ". Whether the judgment is faulty (as I think) is immaterial in comparison with the lack of precision of the terms used and the criteria of judgment. But it is worth pointing out that sound æsthetic criticism of any poem must presuppose a thorough knowledge of grammar, syntax and the basic techniques of any language ; and it is hard to account for the maddeningly patronizing tone of many modern critics when discussing their ancient counterparts, such as the accomplished Longinus, on these fundamental questions.

It is good to read a critique by an author so well-equipped as this. Perhaps he may later consider a more specialized work which can dispense wth the

biographical detail and other hackneyed information, and assess Ovid's poetic stature by closer analysis and more extended comparison with such poets as Tibullus and Vergil.

P. G. Walsh

ART OF THE ETRUSCANS. 126 photographs by Walter Dräyer and Martin Hurlimann. Text by Massimo Pallottino. Thames and Hudson. 1955. Pp. 154. 50s.

When 'Greece enslaved made slave her rough conqueror' she did many services to Rome and, unwittingly, one great disservice: she so absorbed in her enchanting self the attention of Romans interested in religion and philosophy, literature and art, that Rome forgot until it was too late a former dominant cultural influence—the neighbouring Etruscan. Thus it came about that Livy could write what he supposed would cause surprise to his contemporaries: "I have it from authoritative sources that at that time young Romans became as erudite in Etruscan literature as they now do in Greek". Before Athens there was Caere; but in the time of Maecenas, that foppish but wise descendant of Etruscan kings, Caere, Volaterrae, Arretium, Clusium, Tarquinia, Vulci and other ancient settlements to the north of Rome were known mostly as repositories of a decaying magic and superstition. Rome, in a sense, had betrayed a large part of her origins.

Augustus, Virgil and Propertius were well aware of this betrayal and sought in their several ways to make amends. In their labours to revive Italy they stressed what had been the vivifying role of strong Etruria: "Alas, Veii", wrote Propertius, "once you were a kingdom and a golden throne stood in your forum. Now the indolent shepherd blows his horn within your walls and above your sepulchres they reap the harvest of the fields." Not only, however, was the golden age of Etruria never revived, but even the true story of the beginning and progress of Etruscan power was never recovered.

"What was already the substance of legend in the time of Augustus", writes Massimo Pallottino in the text of the book under review, "has become a proverbial 'mystery' for people of to-day. Now it is one of the great enigmas of history. For a few scholars and many ignorant people it has an almost morbid fascination. The literary world claims the Etruscans as its own; they are the theme for poetical flights of fancy; writers vacillate without restraint between fact and fiction, between reconstruction of the past and 'impressions' of their travels. These romantic custodians of the 'mystery' look with hostility and contempt upon the patient work of careful scholars, who try to throw light on Etruscan obscurity. They regard them as poachers on other people's ground. In his book, *Etruscan Places*, D. H. Lawrence wrote: 'The garden of the Florence museum is vastly instructive, if you want object-lessons about the Etruscans. But who wants object-lessons about vanished races? What one wants is a contact. The Etruscans are not a theory or a thesis. If they are anything, they are an *experience*'." Pallottino might have added to his pained defence of meticulous scholarship that it would appear to be enough if the experience was imaginary: so thrives the sensibility which will not be informed.

Pallottino, whose extensive and masterly treatment of the whole Etruscan problem, *The Etruscans,* has been made available to English readers in the Pelican series (1955), gives in the present volume a short summary of the questions involved, and also his own opinions, in order to put in a proper setting the splendid photographs of Walter Dräyer and Martin Hurlimann. Briefly he insists that the ethnic and historical origins of the Etruscans present no more puzzling problem than those of the Greeks and Romans themselves. He sides neither with Herodotus, who proclaimed that they came from the East and whose opinion generally prevailed, nor with Dionysius of Halicarnassus who believed that they were autochthonous. Using the resources of a critical historical method, comparative philology and the findings of archæology he concludes that : " the Etruscans as an historical entity, with their own language, spiritual affinities with the East and a civilization that is known to have existed in the ninth century B.C., must have been the result of a long and complicated formative process. Elements of different origins, both indigenous and foreign, have probably all played their part. It would be wrong, however, to identify the ethnic characteristics of the Etruscans with the ancient elements which went towards their composition ; just as it would be wrong and ridiculous to call the Ligurians, the Celts, the Romans, the Franks and the Burgundians, who have combined to form the French race, by the name of ' French '."

At any rate there appeared in the ninth century in the centre of the Italian peninsula along its western coast and in the lower plain of the Po a group of thriving and cultured cities, the admiration of their prehistoric neighbours all around. After mining and trade came in due course great buildings, works of art both native and foreign, writing and more sophisticated ways of living. By the seventh and sixth centuries, Livy tells us, " the power of Etruria was so great that the glory of its name filled not only the earth but the sea, throughout the length of Italy from the Alps to the Straits of Messina ". It was only the inexorable expansion of Greek and Carthaginian power in the Mediterranean that brought about in the fifth century a gradual and majestic decline, which left Etruria in the end a prey to rising Rome.

Etruscum est, non legitur was a saying popular a few centuries ago with scholars mystified by various inscriptions. So ingrained became the notion that Etruscan was unintelligible that even now people commonly think that this is so. But Pallottino assures us : " Etruscan texts can be understood by intelligent people to-day ". Difficulty does arise, however, partly from the lack of sufficient material and partly from the lack of variety in the topics dealt with in the inscriptions that we do possess, for they are mostly funeral epitaphs and votive dedications in which unhelpful proper names predominate. These inscriptions are written in a clearly legible alphabet of Greek origin, although the structure of the language is definitely not truly Indo-European. The phonetics of the language are now known almost perfectly, our knowledge of the grammar is quite advanced and we know the meanings of a hundred basic words—apart from their derivatives, proper names, pronouns, adverbs and conjunctions. All we need now is a bilingual inscription of some length which some Ventris will translate and so tear from the face of Etruria the last shred of her veil of mystery. Pallottino, who cannot be accused of pessimism, concludes : " This is my hope and my prophecy for the future ".

The photographs (with the invaluable notes of H. and I. Jucker) reproduced in this volume are of objects which come mainly from Etruscan cemeteries. The individual tombs in the necropolis of Caere, for example, were intended to reproduce for the dead person the circumstances of his life here and, to a lesser extent, hereafter. Hence he is represented, clothed and jewelled, with weapons, tools and food within his reach. Often the scene is one of feasting which held for the Etruscans the overtones of life eternal. But games, dancing, war and many other activities are also represented on the walls of the tomb ; and sometimes Vanth, the Spirit of death, is placed side by side with the deceased. We can, therefore, ' see ' the Etruscans in their daily lives and in their expectation of life after death, even when we cannot fully read their words.

If we are disabused of the notion that everything Etruscan is mysterious, we should also remind ourselves that the archæological and artistic (as opposed to the epigraphical) remains are far from being scanty. A glance at this handsome volume or a morning's visit to the Etruscan museum at Florence will dispel any such notion. Indeed as one travels through the pleasant countryside of Tuscany, encountering the thousand vestiges of a civilization which was once so rich and powerful, one wonders what myopia has been responsible for the riddle of the Etruscans.

Many readers of this book will be not merely interested in the photographs as illustrating a civilization : they will need some help in noting influences, especially Greek, and in general artistic interpretation. Here Pallottino and the compilers of the notes give much information and not a little stimulation. One expects that there should be something mysterious about Etruscan art too, and Pallottino, who is fond of a mystery to be exploded, does not fail us once again. It is true that for some time past there have been discovered in Etruscan art certain qualities unknown in its contemporaries and which seemed so ' modern ' to some critics that Etruscan forms became an inspiration for future work. Pallottino just manages to control his enthusiasm enough to write : " Beneath the spell of Etruscan art we are *tempted* to make the most enthusiastic valuations, to ignore chronological considerations and judge in terms of modern criticism, using the criterion of modern taste. But *it is not even clear* whether such comparisons are *merely ingenious paradoxes* or valid critical judgments ". Indeed it is not ; some people deny the very existence of a specific Etruscan art and see in it only a provincial and barbaric appendage to the Greek tradition. This, however, is to go too far in the other direction. Anyone who has seen the recent Etruscan exhibition in Paris or who examines the present volume carefully will find it difficult to resist the conclusion that, extravagances in enthusiasm apart, the case made here is generally sound.

In the three superb colour plates and the one hundred and twenty-three gravures here presented is to be found much delight for the reader. There is a riot of imaginative conception (especially in the treatment of composite beasts), a *horror vacui* which endears itself to us for the finely wrought detail that ensues, and a rare vigour, humour and delicacy. This is a book of quite unusual interest, executed with fine taste and splendid craftsmanship.

John J. O'Meara

COMMUNISM, SOCIALISM AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

THE APPEALS OF COMMUNISM. By Gabriel A. Almond. Princeton University Press (London : Geoffrey Cumberlege). 1955. Pp. xix + 415. 48s.

To QUOTE the preface to this interesting book, " this is a study of why people join the Communist movement and why they leave it".

The first part deals with the picture of the ideal Communist, with full quotations from Communist (and especially classical Communist) sources. The conclusion come to is that the strict militant Communist is interested only in power. The various types of Communist literature are analysed from this point of view, and it is shown that there is an esoteric literature for the " hard core " of the party and an exoteric literature for those who work on the fringe, i.e. lower-echelon party members and members of " front organizations " (our " fellow-travellers "). The rest of the book is a detailed study of what happens to a Communist when he moves up the ladder and has to shed the naive enthusiasms of popular Communist literature for the inner party objective, which is the complete seizure of political and economic power by any means and the establishment of the party's dictatorship.

The method employed is a statistical one. Working as a team the author and his collaborators approached some two hundred and twenty-one ex-Communists (referred to as " respondents "), and submitted a questionnaire which is reproduced as an appendix at the back of the book.

Of these, 64 were American, 50 were British, 56 were French and 51 Italian. One hundred and fifteen had joined the party before 1935, and 106 in later years; 111 were working-class and 110 were middle-class (primarily intellectuals) in occupational background ; 51 had held top party posts, 73 middle and low positions, and 97 were rank and filers. The great majority were persons who left in the 1940's and later.

An analysis of this testimony is given in 94 tables which form the basis of the major portion of the book. Here is a sample of one of these tables :

TABLE 11. (p. 149)

Proportion of time devoted to party by period of joining (in per cent)

	Early recruits	Late recruits	All respondents
Functionary	61	36	49
All spare time	16	16	16
Most spare time	13	19	16
Some spare time	4	17	10
Very little spare time	2	9	5
Unknown	4	3	4
Total	100	100	100

The first two chapters fulfil the useful function of reminding us by direct quotation from the Communist classics of what the thing we are up against

really is, namely an amalgam of theory and practice where the theory never changes, no matter how flexible the practice. How relevant, for instance, to the present situation is this quotation from Stalin :

> Tactics change according to flow and ebb. While the strategic plan remained unchanged during the first stage of the revolution, tactics changed several times during that period. The same must be said of the second and third stages of the revolution, during which tactics changed dozens of times, whereas the strategical plans remained unchanged.

Of interest to those who think that Senator McCarthy, for all his crudities, had hold of the right end of the stick is Table 14 (p. 157), where it is shown that 57% of ex-Communists from the United States stated that the Communist Party in America put the party first before the family, as compared with only 26% from England and 38% from France. It is amazing that the American author makes no comment on these figures, and yet one of the most interesting portions of the book is the amount of material he and his team can extract from data much less obvious than this.

Another criticism that might be made is that although it is shown that 74% of the American respondents admit to foreign parentage, and great play is made with this as a possible explanation for the appeal of Communism, it is not shown why so few Americans as a whole have joined the Communist Party (a peak number of 100,000 is given on page 204). In other words, why did so many of those with foreign parentage *not* join the party ?

A very good point is made about the party trials and expulsions which may help us to understand the political trials with their incredible "confessions" in countries of the Iron Curtain :

> In this kind of atmosphere, the trials and expulsions of " party traitors " take on the proportions of an ever-repeated morality play, with different characters, but with the same themes of full and integral treason, espionage, sabotage, identification as agents of foreign capital. Thus the loyal party leadership and membership is told again and again, in the simplest and most compelling way, that there is no middle ground between integral loyalty and integral disloyalty, that the disloyal impulses within themselves can have only one *dénouement*, the fullest complicity in the gravest crimes and most mortal of sins. The trials, vilifications, and punishments make it easier for the loyal to keep their negative impulses in suppression by dramatizing the consequences of failure to do so. These ceremonies may be interpreted in part as ritual sacrifices that protect the solidarity and cohesion of a movement which might otherwise explode from inner hostile tension.

For many, defection from Communism leaves a gap which nothing else can fill. Not only does religion fail to attract them (although the majority of the respondents professed some form of religion before joining the party), not even political activity holds any savour for many of those who have heard the song of the Sirens and can hear it no more. Like heroin addicts who have taken the " cure", they are bereft of ordinary human responses and seem fated to go through the rest of their lives in an apathy unbroken by any ray

of hope. No stronger indictment of Communism could be made than this. It is surely obvious that it is this pernicious and all-devouring drug, and not religion, which is the real opium of the people.

Apart from one or two minor misprints in the Tables, this book is notably free from errors. Its scholarly method of approach seems to mark it out as a book for the student. But for the dead hand of the modern American critical jargon in which so much of it is written, the book would be fascinating reading for anyone. Such phrases as " the relative frequency of explicit goal qualities versus tactical qualities " only serve to impair the interest which the high standard of research embodied in this book cannot fail to arouse.

ALEXANDER BOYLE

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL. (*A History of Socialist Thought :* Volume III, Parts I, II) By G. D. H. Cole. London : Macmillan. 1956. Pt. I, pp. xvii 518 ; pt. II, pp. viii 525 (1043). 70s. (2 vols.)

THE two previous volumes of this formidable undertaking were entitled *The Forerunners* (*1789-1850*) and *Marxism and Anarchism* (*1850-1890*). The present volume brings us up to, and sometimes beyond, the First World War. The first two chapters of Part One deal with the Second International (1889-1914) in general, especially with the various congresses at which, during this period, individual countries and sections of the Socialist movement aired their ideas and grievances and endeavoured to seek a formula acceptable to all. In the remaining chapters of Part One, and all but the last of Part Two, Socialist thought and practice in all the leading countries of the world are described.

It will be seen from this brief description that the range of these volumes is enormous, the names of persons alone, mentioned either in full or in passing, being close on five hundred. The smooth handling of this enormous mass of material through the medium of a clear and concise prose style makes the volumes a real *tour de force* in the art of popular exposition. It should, of course, be realized that this is no handbook for the scholar. The picture is a true work of art, where what would appear to be intractable masses of material are skilfully handled and subdued to the requirements of a definite point of view. The canvas, however, is too large and the paint applied with too broad and sweeping a brush to allow of those infrequent pauses to unravel a knotty point of interpretation which are the guarantee to the discriminating that refractory details are not being ignored in order to impose unity on the whole.

The references in the Bibliography are mostly to books, written no doubt largely from the point of view of their authors, a point of view often given in précis by Professor Cole, but just as often incorporated anonymously in his account of some particular country. It is thus that one feels a certain lack of discrimination in these volumes, where the existence of more than one point of view is sometimes not considered. On the whole, the existence of oppression in the economic and political spheres is tacitly admitted by the author as characteristic of the nineteenth century—it is, indeed, the great accusation of the Socialists whom he so brilliantly portrays. Yet nothing is so striking as the freedom from death or serious injury of some of the leading figures of the movement. The freedom from surveillance in, and comparative ease of

escape from, Siberia during Czarism is a matter of record in the case of Lenin and Stalin. The older leaders of the movement, born between 1820 and 1850, seem to have attained almost patriarchal years. Of those born towards the end of the century surprisingly few reach the biblical span, and many die from violence. The tolerance of the governments of the nineteenth century towards newspapers, parties and individual members of the Socialist movement is as much to be noted as the admitted abuses of their regimes. One feels that this was realized by that powerful section of the Socialist movement which wished to work for Socialism by gradual and not revolutionary means. Yet no explicit mention of this is made by the author in the final chapter " Reform and Revolution ". One would not expect the point to be made by the Socialists. It might have been made by Professor Cole.

In fact, the bland assumption of the author that the aims of Socialism are good and that one may quarrel only over its methods is a trifle irritating. He gives short shrift to other points of view and the references to the Catholic Church in particular are not only often hostile ; they are inadequate to an alarming degree. We read that Connolly ' kept throughout his membership of the Catholic Church ', and, on the same page, that ' he was, indeed, more anti-Protestant than positively Catholic in any theological sense '. It is surely not enough to call the Belgian Catholic party towards the end of the nineteenth century ' reactionary in economic policy ' without discussing the evidence on which this judgment is based. The grounds for the Papal opposition to Murri's policy in Italy in the early years of the twentieth century are not given. Presumably Professor Cole has gone into them and disapproves of them, as he states that from ' 1905 to 1914 the Papacy had become the ally of the reactionary parties against Socialism in all its forms ', and that ' the Papacy . . . did its best to suppress the Catholic Left, which gave its support to the peasants in their struggles against social oppression '. It is a pity he has not seen fit to elaborate in detail on this apparent *volte-face* on the part of the institution which gave the world *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*.

It is the same when Professor Cole deals with South America. It is to be hoped that when his readers learn from him that ' it [the Mexican Church] was hated with a deep hatred by the peasants ' they will turn to the back of the book and peruse, perhaps with a kind of dazed incredulity, the following words : ' Much the best source is Victor Alba, *Le mouvement ouvrier en Amérique latine* (*1953*). Naturally, most of the books are in Spanish, of which I know very little. I have " used " rather than read them through '.

It is passages such as these that leave a deep distrust in one's mind of what Professor Cole has to tell us. We put these volumes down with mixed feelings. The sheer virtuosity displayed in handling masses of material, the clarity of the exposition amaze us, the effortless style beguiles us into reading and finishing what would be, in the hands of a lesser man, as unreadable as a Blue Book. There is no doubt he has produced, like Gibbon, a work of art. As a conspectus for the average educated man of perhaps the most important movement in the modern world, it will take a high place among the Surveys and Guides which help to do his thinking for him. But at least one reader is in doubt as to where and how far it represents the facts.

ALEXANDER BOYLE

SOCIAL JUSTICE. By William F. Drummond, S.J. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company. 1955. Pp. vii and 132. Two dollars.

Books and articles on the meaning of Social Justice have multiplied since Pope Pius XI made the term his own. As a result, it becomes progressively more difficult to say anything new or add anything of value to the discussion. Fr Drummond's book sucessfully overcomes this handicap, though it disclaims any intention of putting an end to a controversy which the author believes is usefully illuminating the whole question of Justice. His own strictly limited purpose is, from an attentive study of *Quadragesimo Anno*, to formulate a definition of Social Justice as Pius XI appears to understand the virtue in that encyclical, and then to show the utility of the concept thus defined in clarifying certain ethical problems of modern economic life.

Fr Drummond agrees with the general Catholic opinion that the aim of the virtue of Social Justice is the common good. But, in his view, the common good envisaged in *Quadragesimo Anno*'s conception is specifically economic, not the full range of the civil common good. There is therefore a difference between Social Justice and Legal Justice. The former is exclusively concerned with wealth or economic goods, and its purpose is to secure such use of wealth that material goods truly subserve their primary destination, the satisfaction of the needs of all mankind. Since material goods are meant for the most part to be privately owned, Social Justice has an intimate connection with the right of ownership. Another way of expressing the aim of the virtue is to say that it seeks the fulfilment of the social function of private ownership. Though the name of the virtue is new, the obligation which it imposes has traditionally been recognized by Christian morality; it is the duty of "stewardship of wealth". St Thomas is quoted, *Secunda Secundae*, q. 66, a. 2...

Fr Drummond's analysis of *Quadragesimo Anno* issues in the following definition of Social Justice: "a special species of justice, distinct from commutative, legal and distributive, which requires that material goods, even privately owned, shall serve the common use of all men". The justification of this definition, as expressing the view of Pius XI, is urged with force and clarity. One incidental benefit of studying the author's pages is the help they give towards a fuller understanding of a rather difficult encyclical. Some of the arguments for a difference between Social and Legal Justice have been anticipated and answered, for instance, in J. Newman's *Foundations of Justice*. But this does not impair the main argument.

It is generally admitted by Catholic moralists that much work needs to be done in modernizing the treatise *De Justitia et Jure*, in order to adapt traditional principles to changed and vastly-complicated social and economic situations. This little book is a valuable step in that direction. Thus, in Chapter Five, the author uses his conclusions regarding the scope of Social Justice to suggest the ethical approach to such modern problems as just scales of wages, the obligation of owners of industrial enterprises in the matter of laying-off staff, re-location of industry, the right to work, conservation of soil and other natural resources, speculation on the stock exchange.

It is a pity that Fr Drummond's book is not available in cheaper format. It costs two dollars which amount to fourteen shillings over here. Yet the author's text scarcely runs to more than a hundred pages. It is, however, a

well-edited book, with useful bibliographies and index ; its style is crisp and sinewy and its argument stimulating. I would counsel students of ethics not to be deterred from reading it by the already abundant, indeed over-abundant, literature on the nature of Social Justice. In brief compass it makes a truly valuable contribution.

MICHAEL CONNOLLY

HISTORY

THE GREAT EXPERIMENT. An introduction to the history of the American people. By Frank Thistlethwaite. Cambridge, at the University Press. 1955. 15s.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES (to 1941). By D. C. Somervell. London : Heinemann. Second Edition, Reset. 1955. 15s.

ONE of the most valuable minor blessings of our times is the great number of thoroughly readable books of history being published by professional historians. This is especially important in the field of American history, where the ignorance of the general reader on this side of the Atlantic has usually been very great. The first need in this case is for books that will give the essential facts of American history accurately, and it is well known that such " factual " history has most often been the pitfall of the professional historian. Both these books serve this purpose admirably. The literary style is attractive but sober, the material is well digested and is not presented in overwhelming detail, no personal or partisan interpretation is forced upon the reader. Both books are a pleasure to read.

Mr Somervell wrote his book in 1941 and his narrative carries us as far as America's entry into the war. The present edition is revised and illustrated with photographs. There is a useful appendix of American historical documents. Mr Thistlethwaite has written his work expressly for the English undergraduate. He finishes his formal narrative of political development with the end of the first World War, though a valuable chapter on " Democracy in America " in the style of social history brings the story up to date. The titles of the two books are, indeed, indicative of their somewhat different approach. Mr Somervell has written a " History of the United States " that deals mainly with the facts of political and constitutional development (while not neglecting the economic and cultural aspects). Mr Thistlethwaite's descriptive sub-title reveals his preoccupation with social history. His style often has the broad sweep that the writing of social history requires. His narrative is illuminated by descriptive details of architecture, landscape and manners that show wide personal acquaintance with America. He conveys the variety and texture of American life and something of the " spell " of America.

In his preface Mr Thistlethwaite objects to the habit that educated and well-meaning English people have of understanding American history exclusively in terms of constitutional history or of interpreting it according to concepts arising from the European state system. He seems intent on presenting American history as the ferment and evolution of a body of ideas amid various dynamic social forces and in a given geographical situation. The principal

force at work during the greater period of American history was " migration ", both in its aspect of immigration from the European continent and in its American aspect of movement towards the expanding " frontier ". Principal among this body of ideas or embracing all of them is " democracy ". In several chapters Mr Thistlethwaite's main concern is to show the British reader how the American political philosophy was essentially different from the English political tradition. At the same time he shows how, in contact with the social forces it met, it suffered change and found new ways of working out the logical consequences inherent in the original political faith of the Founding Fathers.

Mr Somervell is also aware that one of the main sources of interest in America of the average European reader to-day is curiosity about " how America did it ", how it has been possible to preserve such a large measure of freedom and achieve a self-regulating, self-renewing dynamism in a society grown so large and so powerful. Mr Somervell is particularly careful to point out that all has not been roses along the path of American democracy. For a just appreciation of America, it is good to bear in mind—and it is a sobering antidote to many rather mythical American versions of their own history—such episodes as the Conscription Law of 1863 and the ensuing riots, or the early history of labour organization. And some of the deeper significance of the American experiment, its manifold might-have-beens, are lighted by a quotation such as that which Mr Thistlethwaite gives us from a letter of George Bancroft, written during the full tide of Jacksonian democracy in 1836 : " It is now for the yeomanry and the mechanics to march at the head of civilization. The merchants and the lawyers, that is, the moneyed interest, broke up feudalism. The day for the multitude has now dawned ". That was twelve years before Karl Marx published the Communist Manifesto and eighty-one years before Lenin carried out his Workers' and Peasants' Revolution !

These books are expressly written for the English reader and it is only natural that they make assumptions based on an acquaintance with English institutions and the English way of life. It is not surprising either that those aspects of American history which for various reasons interest Englishmen, and the particular English role in the development of the U.S. receive special notice and attention. This, however, makes the need for an " Irish " interpretation of American history all the more obvious. In so far as these books make assumptions based on acquaintance with English life and traditions, the Irish reader can, of course, generally make the necessary adjustments of perspective. But where such excellent works as these really cannot satisfy the Irish reader is in the relating of American history to the special fields of Irish interest, of Irish historical and contemporary values, and in the assessment of the role played by Irishmen and the " Irish way " in the development of modern America. Mr Somervell especially, even allowing for his professed preoccupation with the English reader, cannot be said to do justice to the Irish element even from the standpoint of objective history. The last mention of Irish activity in America to be found in his narrative is in connection with the work of Irish navvies on the building of railroads in 1869. Mr Thistlethwaite, as one might expect from his interest in social history, makes more mention

of the Irish element. This is generally in relation to their availability as cheap labour in the first decades of immigration, though he does advert in passing to the connection of the Irish-Americans with the Irish Nationalist movement at home during the period of the first World War. However, in neither book is there any evaluation of the special contributions of the Irish to the American political machinery and labour movements, of their role in determining the forms and organization and tone acquired by the evolving Catholic Church—after Puritanism, the most important religious movement in American history.

One could only expect such factors to be adequately dealt with by an Irish historian writing for Irish people. He would find much else too that is relatively unexplored and rich in content, such as the whole fascinating question of the historic juncture, collaboration and inter-marriage of the Irish and Germans, which arose from their being the simultaneous initiators of the mass European exodus to America in the nineteenth century. Though an accepted commonplace in America, this partnership has to be inferred by deduction from stray references in the pages of Mr Somervell and Mr Thistlethwaite.

DESMOND FENNELL

A HISTORY OF EARLY MEDIEVAL EUROPE, 476-911. By Margaret Deanesly. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd. 1956. Pp. 620+xii. 30s. THIS book fills the last gap in Methuen's well-known series of textbooks on general European history. The long hiatus between the volume and the rest of the series (which all appeared well before the outbreak of the Second World War) has been fortunate, for the period covered here has perhaps undergone more revision during the past two academic generations than has any other epoch of Europe's history. Professor Deanesly's task has been to provide a synthesis of a complex mass of technical research.

One feature of the book is the assumption of more erudition among its readers than the other writers in the same series were willing to concede to theirs. The frequent use of untranslated Latin technical terms is one indication of this. Another is the strangely allusive, almost untidy presentation of her material which Professor Deanesly often adopts. Here is an example: Professor Deanesly is talking on p. 533 about that interesting ninth century bishop and forger, Hincmar of Rheims. In the course of her account she quotes an opinion by a modern scholar, followed by the cryptic and bracketed reference: "(Wallace-Hadrill and see p. 420)". We learn indeed that the quotation is from some unidentified work by Mr J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, a leading authority on the Dark Ages. But, on the information which Professor Deanesly provides, it is impossible either to look up the reference or to understand what is meant by the citation of p.420. The first legitimate supposition that it refers to Professor Deanesly's own book is soon dashed: if the reader turns to Professor Deanesly's p. 420 he will find himself plunged into Byzantine history, with no ascertainable mention of or connection with either Mr Wallace-Hadrill or Hincmar of Rheims. And there the unsolved mystery has to rest.

One finds the same inadequacy of referencing in Professor Deanesly's bibliographies, which seem to have been compiled in a rather erratic manner. Time and again a writer is referred to in the text by surname, while no title

of any of his books is given in the bibliographies. The overall impression given by this lack of workmanship is one of hasty writing. This impression is clearly false, in view of the fund of learning and reflection which the author reveals : but it is regrettable that such an impression should have been given when it could so easily have been avoided.

One wishes too that in her exposition Professor Deanesly had been more merciful to the common reader. It was a good idea to start her account of the Ostrogoths in Italy with a biographical sketch of Cassiodorus ; but why complicate the sketch by mentioning without necessity or introduction Theodohad, Athalaric and Witigis, hardly household names even to the most hardened medievalist ? With such a technique, the book is hardly one for beginners in the study of the Dark Ages. But to readers who have learnt to swim a little in the deep waters of these centuries between the Scyrrian Odovacer and the Saxon Ottos Professor Deanesly's pages will be packed with value and interest. Here for once is an attempt to paint the Dark Ages in the round. In this respect the volume surpasses most other English books in this field. Not only political history but economic and social change, literature, religion, even more neglected subjects like iconography and music are dealt with. It is true that in some of these fields Professor Deanesly occasionally leans too much on controversial authorities. In Chapter VII (" Economic Change ") Pirenne's thesis of a sharp break in East-West economic connections as a result of the Islamic conquests is adopted on the whole, and might have received more qualification.

The great merit of this book is that it tries to present Dark Age Europe in its own dimensions, rather than in terms of its significance to later ages. On a few occasions, however, Professor Deanesly is untrue to this principle. It seems an exaggeration to say, as she does on p. 576, that, with the establishment of independent Christian kingdoms in northern Spain by the tenth century, " the eventual winning of the Atlantic coast of southern Europe, and eventually the New World, for the old Greco-Roman-Christian civilization was assured ". The chain of historical consequence is surely not so firmly linked as this.

The only illustration in the book is a frontispiece photograph of a sixth century ivory depicting a Byzantine emperor's triumph. This was an apt choice to emphasize the truth that the civilized centre of Europe before the eleventh century was the New Rome at Constantinople. Ostrogoths, Visigoths and Franks never denied the Byzantine claim to *de jure* overlordship of the West ; and the first Germanic empire, that of the Franks, had to back its *de facto* conquests by claiming that, by a kind of legal blood transfusion, it had become co-heir with Byzantium to the Roman heritage. Professor Deanesly points out the imitative attitude adopted by Carolingian culture towards its Byzantine elder brother ; the architecture and music of this age were particularly indebted to Byzantine influences. Professor Deanesly's chapters on Charlemagne, his empire and his circle of scholars and administrators form probably the most satisfactory account of the subject in English. Strangely enough, the impression one carries away is that Charlemagne's empire was not so overwhelmingly supreme in the total European scene as one is accustomed to think. In Italy Charlemagne had to share the balance

of power with his Byzantine rivals and it is significant that he never tried to penetrate very far south of Rome. The importance of the disputes between various factions of the Papal entourage at Rome is stressed and is likely to shed fresh light on the still unsolved problem of Charlemagne's coronation in 800.

Though Britain and Ireland are excluded from detailed attention by the policy of the whole series, this volume takes note of their contribution to the nascent Western Christian civilization. Peripheral peoples such as the Slavs and Scandinavians receive brief but informative treatment. There is also an excellent expository chapter on the rise and progress of Islam and its cultural and scientific bequests to Europe.

A number of strange mistakes in the text must surely be due to faulty proof-reading. It is clearly inaccurate to describe Kentish and East Anglian kings and nobles as sending their daughters to the Frankish nunnery of Chelles in the sixth century (p. 70), for England was not christianized in any sense at this time. Another odd slip occurs on p. 122, where it is implied that Julian the Apostate reigned during the third century. On p. 53 " E. R. Curtins " should read " E. R. Curtius " and on p. 117 the German title of Dopsch's book, *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Grundlagen der Europäischen Kulturwickelung* is wrongly spelt.

John B. Morrall

THE STRANGER IN IRELAND FROM THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH TO THE GREAT FAMINE. By Constantia Maxwell. London : Jonathan Cape. 1954. 25s.

Professor Constantia Maxwell is already well known for her works on Irish life in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In her present work she chooses nineteen foreigners who came to Ireland between the reign of Elizabeth and the great Famine, and gives an account of the impression made upon them by the country they saw. The book is divided into four parts, Elizabethan period, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and from the Union to the famine. She gives a summary account of the social, economic and political history of each period and follows it with chapters on each of her chosen travellers. The work is described by the author as a popular book, but it bears the mark of Miss Maxwell's serious studies. She brings to her work the knowledge gained in a life-long interest, and she presents her material in a pleasant and readable form.

Travellers' narratives make absorbing reading. Their interests are varied. Some, like Arthur Young, are agriculturists, and others, like Thomas Dineley, are antiquaries, and their interests and experiences make their observations in certain subjects particularly important. Others, too, have propagandist purposes in their writings, and the reader must be careful not to accept too easily all that they say. This is particularly true of matters outside their own actual observation. What they have heard is more likely to be inaccurate than what they actually saw. Miss Maxwell's book is helpful in assessing the value of the writings of the people to whom she devotes attention, as she gives useful biographical information about each and summarizes their impressions.

Not all of those chosen by Miss Maxwell were travellers, though by far the greater number were. Edmund Spenser spent eighteen years in Ireland. Mrs Delany came to Ireland in 1731 for six months, stayed eighteen, and later married Dr Patrick Delany and lived for twenty-four years in this country. Similarly, James Gandon the architect and Charles Bianconi, whose famous cars opened up Irish communications in the pre-railway age, were not passing tourists.

In all, Miss Maxwell builds up a picture of Ireland as it appeared to these strangers. In doing so she has added to her reputation as a writer, and her book is one which may be dipped into at any place for those social tit bits which add so much to the pleasure of period books. It can also serve as an introduction to select reading of contemporary works; and local historians may find it of value in indicating for them travellers who passed through their own area, and whose remarks may make a valuable contribution to the knowledge of a town, a parish, or even a building.

Thomas P. O'Neill

SCOTLAND UNDER CHARLES I. By David Mathew. London : Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1955. Pp. 320. 30s.

The study of Scottish history has languished during the past half century by comparison with its Irish counterpart. Scotland has produced its quota of historians, from David Hume onwards, but they have not interested themselves in Scottish history. For them, as for many others, the best sight in Scotland has been the high road to England. If one seeks for an explanation of this state of affairs, there can be little doubt that the dearth of Scottish historiography has its origins in the fact that there was no " Scottish Question ". The " Irish Question " loomed so large in the second half of the nineteenth century that it was next door to impossible to avoid taking an interest in Irish history. Lord Bryce, for example, writing in 1888 justified the publication of the book " Two Centuries of Irish History " on the grounds that " Irish history, of which the people of Great Britain have hitherto remained almost entirely ignorant, has become a matter of political consequence ". Scotland, on the other hand, remained quiet. There was no Scottish Parnell or Davitt and, as a result, no Scottish historiography. The Scots had no Froude, no Lecky, no MacNeill, no Curtis, nor were modern historians of the calibre of Dunlop or Hammond attracted into Scottish history as they were into Irish.

Any newcomer to the somewhat deserted field of Scottish history is therefore to be welcomed. Bishop Mathew makes his way from afar via Renaissance, Ireland, Charles I's England and even Ethiopia. He is none the less welcome for that. He has, however, undertaken a task which has its particular difficulties. In attempting to produce a book analogous to his *England under Charles I*, Bishop Mathew perhaps over-estimated the extent to which the field of Scottish history had been cultivated. It is no disparagement of his previous work on early Stuart England to say that there the ground had been well broken for him by Gardiner and his successors. Early Stuart Scotland is, by comparison, barren soil. There are few reliable monographs for the general historian to fall back on, and in the absence of them Bishop Mathew's task is an impossible one. He has, however, done his best with the material available.

His footnotes show an acquaintance with material in out-of-the-way places, from which he quotes liberally, perhaps too liberally at times.

Irish historians sometimes lose sight of the Scottish background to Ulster history and Bishop Mathew's book is here a useful reminder. He points out how the University of Glasgow attracted the sons of planters as undergraduates during this period and how economic interests, as well as intellectual and religious ones, linked the Clyde with Ulster. He sketches the position of Catholicism in Scotland ; and he attempts to indicate, without much success, the place of Presbyterianism and of the great magnates, Argyll, Hamilton and Lennox, in Scottish Society. Much of the material he uses will be new to many of his readers, but his marshalling of it is confused in places and the allusiveness of his style does not help matters. The book in its broad sweep raises, and begs, a good many questions. The author, however, is to be congratulated on undertaking so formidable a task. It is not his fault that he has met with only limited success.

H. F. Kearney

PHILOSOPHY

CHRISTLICHE PHILOSOPHIE IN DEUTSCHLAND 1920-1945. Ausgewählte Texte. With introduction by Paul Wolff. Regensburg : Verlag Josef Habbel. Pp. 342.

German philosophy during the past thirty years has been strongly influenced by the movement of Phenomenology. This was to a considerable extent a reaction against the subjective tendencies of earlier thinking, and the phenomenological method, perfected by Edmund Husserl, was a return to a more traditional and objective approach to epistemological questions. Husserl argued that thought was not only *intentional*, that is fundamentally directed to an object, but also included an element of intuition, the *Wesensschau* or grasp of the natures or essences of things. It is true that Husserl in his later works veered somewhat in the direction of Idealism, but the general trend of this movement associated with his name has been objective. Among his predecessors were Brentano, a Catholic, and Max Scheler, a convert to the Church, whose second of three periods was clearly influenced by St Augustine. Edith Stein, convert, philosopher and victim of Nazi brutality, was one of Husserl's favourite pupils and also for some time his personal assistant. Another pupil, Martin Heidegger, also by birth a Catholic, has employed the phenomenological method for his own philosophy, generally described as Existentialist but which he would probably prefer to speak of as an Ontology.

Dr Paul Wolff, at the request of many friends of Germany and German philosophy in other countries, has gathered together a number of articles and chapters from the writings of German Catholic thinkers in the period 1920 to 1945, and in a useful preface introduces the writers themselves.

The extracts include two chapters from Scheler's *Vom Ewigen im Menschen*, and a further section from *Umsturz der Werte* ; two selections from the writings of Peter Wust ; three from Theodor Haecker, of cultural more than philosophical character ; as also extracts, of varying compass, from Dietrich von

Hildebrand, Ferdinand Ebner, Joseph Geyser, Romano Guardini, Bernard Geyer, Siegfried Behn, Alois Dempf, Josef Pieper and Max Müller. The selected pieces are not as a rule technical in character but of general interest. Among the writers are theologians like Gottfried Söhngen (professor at Munich), Theodor Steinbüchel (at Tüningen) and Bernard Geyer (at Bonn). Some themes are cultural rather than strictly philosophical, for instance, the two charming prologues of Theodor Haecker to *Christentum und Kultur* and *Vergil, Vater des Abendlandes.*

The contributions cover a wide field of enquiry : from the more scholastic articles of Joseph Geyer on " Essence and Existence " or Bernard Geyer's " Concept of Scholastic Theology " to Dietrich von Hildebrand's " Special Character of Philosophical Knowledge and Philosophical Questions in contrast with other Sciences " or " The Problem of Doubt in the Twentieth Century " by Siegfried Behn, and again to Josef Pieper on " Prudence " or Max Müller's study of the Christian and the post-Christian estimate of man. Many of the extracts deal with what today is the central question of philosophy : the nature, destiny, problems and responsibility of Man. Peter Wust, for instance, writes on the metaphysical background of our present discontents, that *insecuritas humana* which is a feature of our age. Not that the contributors are Existentialists, but there is in several of the extracts that note of urgency which is characteristic of Existentialism.

This collection of philosophical studies has been made with a two-fold purpose : in the first place, to renew the bonds between students in other lands and Germany and, secondly, to provide a representative gathering of Catholic authors. The selection has been very happily made, though I could have wished for just one extract from Edith Stein to complete it, and will be of value for all who have a reasonable familiarity with the German language. Translations into French, English, Dutch and Spanish are envisaged ; one or other of them may already have appeared.

JOHN MURRAY

A TIME FOR TRUTH. Studies in Contemporary Philosophy. By Jeremiah Newman, Professor, St Patrick's College, Maynooth. Dublin : Browne and Nolan, Limited. 1955. 167 pages. 18s.

THIS volume contains six articles, previously published by Dr Newman in various periodicals, together with a prefatory essay by Professor Albert Dondeyne of Louvain. It is the kind of book which one opens with a slight feeling of prejudice. The suspicion lurks that this is just one more attempt by a self-satisfied author to give unwarranted permanence to essays of purely transient interest which should be decently folded away like yesterday's newspaper. Let me say at once that this suspicion will be completely dispelled before the reader has advanced very far in the present collection. The truth expounded in it is still timely and will be so for a long time to come. Its chapters have sufficient unity of theme to justify presentation in book form. And many readers—I confess I am one—who are interested in contemporary philosophy but have no inclination to search through the files of periodicals, will be thankful to have the articles conveniently collected between two covers.

Those British and Continental philosophies of which the author treats are

just now in the forefront of actuality. That means, in the concrete, Logical Analysis (British), French and German Existentialism, and, of course, Marxism. The chief merit of Dr Newman's writing is the remarkable clarity and sympathy of his exposition. Appraisal and criticism are brief but telling. Chapter One is an extraordinarily lucid explanation, well within the capacity of an educated but non-philosophical enquirer, of Existentialism as a philosophy. Readers of ' Pelican ' philosophers will find light and understanding in the two chapters on the nature and development of that modern phase of traditional British empiricism which goes by the name of Logical Analysis. The last chapter draws attention to the fact that Communist theory is an ideology much more than it is a philosophy or a scientific system. It rationalizes the desires and aspirations of masses of people rather than mirrors economic and social facts. Dr Newman's suggestive pages help to solve a question which has often perplexed the present reviewer: why is it that, though Communist teaching has been ably refuted scores of times, the Communist movement still marches on ?

No review is complete without a grumble. Here is mine : at eighteen shillings the book is somewhat dear for the private purse. For libraries, however, especially those which cater for the student of philosophy or the cultivated general reader of modern literature, it is a ' must '.

MICHAEL CONNOLLY

RELIGION

COR SALVATORIS. Edited by Josef Stierli S.J. Freiburg : Herder. 1954. 270 pp.

DEVOTION TO THE SACRED HEART. L. Verheylezoon, S.J. London : Sands. 1950. 280 pp. 15s.

Cor Salvatoris grew out of a symposium held five years ago, when the Rahner brothers, luminaries of the theological faculty of Innsbruck University, met two of their Jesuit brethren from Switzerland to discuss aspects of Devotion to the Sacred Heart. Continental priests speak of a crisis in this Devotion ; they note that many Catholics, and especially young people, find it less attractive than did their fathers. It is the questions posed by this crisis that the four Jesuit theologians set themselves to answer.

The problem is set forth in the first chapter by Fr Gutzwiller, who has a long experience of apostolic work in Switzerland. He outlines, and slightly exaggerates, the repugnance many people feel to some externals of the Devotion, the statues, pictures, rhetorically worded prayers ; and the difficulties a theologian might find in explaining the theology of the Devotion, its object, its place in the scheme of Catholic Dogma, the proper interpretation of the Promises to St Margaret Mary and the place of the Feast of the Sacred Heart in the Liturgical Year. In the rest of the book, the problem is gradually solved, first by a history of the Devotion from its roots in the Bible to its form today, then by a scrutiny of its dogmatic basis and finally by three chapters on the Church's prayers and Litany of the Sacred Heart and on the pastoral value of the Devotion.

A symposium like this is inevitably uneven in quality, and it is unfortunate that the most original and rewarding chapter, Fr Karl Rahner's seven ' theses ' on the theology of the Devotion, should be complicated by the thorniest of German prose-styles, and by the one serious misprint of a well produced book, the omission of one line and the repetition of another on page 172. It is principally on these pages that the value of the book rests. Fr Rahner finds that ' heart ' in Holy Scripture refers to a human reality not of the body simply, nor of the soul, but of the person lying behind the distinction of body and soul. It refers to the inmost centre of man, from which spring all his relations and attitudes to God and to other men. And whereas a deeper knowledge of men shows us that behind their partial and peripheral loves, the centre of their person is never free from selfishness, in the knowledge of Our Lord we make the unique experience of a Person whose Heart, whose inmost centre, is expressed fully in free love for God and for us. Of this inmost centre the physical heart is the natural symbol, and since it is but a symbol, it can validly be enriched by other symbols, such as the cross, the flames and the crown of thorns, in so far as they help our devotion. At the same time the proper and adequate object of the Devotion is the Person of Jesus Christ.

By side-stepping the distinctions normal in a discussion of the object of the Devotion, Fr Rahner avoids the air of scholastic vivisection that so often attends them. His definition of ' heart ' has biblical backing, but will be less easy to reconcile with the documents and prayers of the modern Devotion. Yet his second thesis explains precisely this modern Devotion, to what extent the private revelations of Paray-le-Monial influenced the Church's life, and how this new spirituality was given us by God not so much as an antidote to Jansenism (which was safely entombed in *Denzinger* long before the Feast of the Sacred Heart was approved for the Universal Church) but as an interior source of strength and holiness, especially for our own age in which God has been banished so completely from the life of the state and of society. The sixth thesis examines the practice of ' consoling Our Lord ', and finds its true meaning in the acceptance of our own sufferings in union with Christ Who once suffered for us and is now in glory. If He allowed Himself any comfort in the Passion, it was in that He foresaw not simply the emotional sympathy of a few holy souls, but all the good that men would do in His grace and love, whether consciously trying to console Him or not.

Fr Rahner writes with a depth and originality all his own, and we may hope that some intrepid soul be given the wisdom and fortitude needed to translate this book into English. Meanwhile Sands have published a handsome rendering of a Flemish book by Fr Verheylezoon. It is a reasoned and complete presentation of the Devotion. It tastes less of crisis and problems than *Cor Salvatoris* ; and it has found a ready acceptance in Belgium and Holland, where, as in Ireland, God is still blessing the Devotion with extraordinary fruits of holiness.

PAUL ANDREWS

IMAGE AND TRUTH: STUDIES IN THE IMAGERY OF THE BIBLE. By Stephen J. Brown, S.J. Rome: Catholic Book Agency. 1955. Pp. 161.

FATHER BROWN intends his book as a simple introduction to scriptural metaphorics for the reader who lacks technical literary training and biblical

erudition. The first three chapters develop briefly a classical theory of metaphor, and the final chapter deals with the criteria for distinguishing literal from figurative speech and with the principles for the interpretation of figurative speech.

In the central and more important chapters, however, the introduction takes the form not of a systematic body of information, but of observations on scriptural imagery and, especially, on certain difficulties which the present-day reader faces when he reads his bible. In particular, Fr Brown comments on the abundance of scriptural imagery, its reflection of a world and a mentality widely different from ours, and the difficulty, frequently encountered, of appreciating the precise point of comparison in a biblical metaphor (chapt. IV) ; on the oriental and religious character of Old Testament imagery (V) ; on the illustrative and not merely decorative purpose of Christ's own metaphors (VI) ; and on the Greco-Roman world as mirrored in St Paul's images (VII).

The reader interested in bringing the bible to life for himself will be stimulated by these *Studies* to try and penetrate more deeply into the world which the bible mirrors. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the books on which Fr Brown habitually draws, both in his chapters on metaphor in general and in those on the scriptures, are, for the most part, late nineteenth-century or early twentieth-century works which will be beyond the taste no less than the reach of the readers for whom Fr Brown is presumably writing. This is particularly noticeable in chapter VIII, " The Symbolism of Nature in the Bible ", which is primarily bibliographical in purpose. Only the three books and the two articles mentioned in the final paragraph of this chapter will embody a bit of modern theory on metaphor and, in particular, some hint of the vast and significant results of modern biblical scholarship.

MATTHEW O'CONNELL

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEOLOGICAL CENSURES AFTER THE COUNCIL OF TRENT (1563-1709). By John Cahill, O.P. The University Press, Fribourg, Switzerland, 1955. Pp. xxii + 194. Swiss Fr. 12.50 / DM 12.–

THE Church in the exercise of her guardianship over the truths of the faith finds it necessary from time to time to condemn various false and dangerous doctrines, both in the sphere of dogma and in that of morality. She does not, however, condemn them all in the same way ; she does not, to use more technical language, brand them all with the same theological censure. Some clearly and definitely contradict the faith ; and these she labels " heresy". For others she has milder terms. Thus, for instance, when 45 propositions of John Wyclif were condemned *in globo* at Constance in 1418, the Council declared that many of them were " notoriously heretical", while others were " erroneous", " scandalous and blasphemous", " offensive to pious ears " or " temerarious and seditious", without however determining which of these censures each individual proposition merited. Similar terms have been used in official condemnations made by the Church on various other occasions.

While the force of the qualification of " heresy " is sufficiently clear, the same cannot be said about the milder censures. The Church uses them,

but she has never given any official explanation of their exact meaning ; this work of interpretation she leaves to her theologians. And the theologians have by no means always been unanimous in their views on the matter.

In this dissertation Fr Cahill, leaving aside the term " heresy " as being sufficiently clear, sets out to elucidate the meaning of six of the more frequently used lesser censures : *error in fide, haeresi proxima, haeresim sapiens, de haeresi suspecta, male sonans, piarum aurium offensiva.* A complete chapter is devoted to each of the first two ; *haeresim sapiens* and *de haeresi suspecta* are taken together in Chap. III ; and *male sonans* and *piarum aurium offensiva* are treated in Chap. IV. The author proceeds chronologically in each case, collecting the principal views put forward with regard to these censures in three periods : the post-Constance period, i.e. from the Council of Constance (1414-1418) to that of Trent ; the post-Tridentine period, i.e. from Trent to the publication of Antonio de Panormo's *Scrutinium Doctrinarum* in 1709 ; the modern period, i.e., from the time of Panormo's work onwards.

As the title of the work indicates, Fr Cahill concentrates on the post-Tridentine period (without, however, by any means neglecting the other two) because during that time most progress was made in interpreting the censures under discussion. As he says, most of the opinions advanced in the post-Constance period were later abandoned ; and in the period after Panormo very little advance was noticeable : " theologians were content to depend on their predecessors rather than give the problem serious attention themselves " (p. xvi). The author's aim, however, is not to produce a mere historical study, but rather to arrive at conclusions regarding the precise meaning of the censures in question. Consequently the various opinions are analysed and compared, the criticisms which the theologians made of one another are studied and all opinions are viewed in the light of whatever evidence is available from the official documents of the Church herself.

The matter throughout the whole work is well arranged and presented. The contents of the different chapters and sections are clearly indicated ; a good " Table of Contents " is provided and also an " Index of Authors". At the end of each chapter there is a " Recapitulation and Conclusion", in which the evidence already marshalled is briefly reviewed and the author's own conclusion about the censure or censures in question is given. Finally, at the end of the work there is a " General Conclusion", in which the findings regarding each censure are summed up and tabulated in an orderly and easily accessible way. Essentially a book for the theological scholar and expert, it makes a valuable contribution in what seems to be a hitherto rather neglected field. Would that every doctorate dissertation collected as much useful information and presented it in as succinct a fashion !

P. C. BARRY

NO MAN IS AN ISLAND. By Thomas Merton. Dublin : Clonmore and Reynolds. 1955. 16s.

THE most distinguished and vocal exponent of the growing American enthusiasm for the contemplative life is Thomas Merton, Fr Louis

O.C.S.O., who from his Cistercian Abbey of Gethsemani is pouring out a stream of books in which he celebrates the glory of his contemplative vocation. He has found a treasure which he wishes to share with others ; and as he is a competent, professional writer he is exercising a strong influence on Catholic spiritual thought, not merely in the U.S.A. but also in other English speaking countries. It is an unexpected voice to be heard from America—this quiet, tremendously sincere celebration of a life of renunciation, silent prayer and interior enlightenment.

No Man Is An Island is a series of sixteen chapters or essays on certain aspects of the spiritual life, in which Fr Louis is specially interested because they belong to his vocation. They are musings or meditations in which he gives to others the fruit of his own thought—*contemplata aliis tradere*. He has pondered long and prayerfully on subjects like charity, silence, vocation, solitude ; he has come to see that they contain a depth, a warmth, a light which he had not suspected ; and he wishes to communicate his discoveries to others. These would be considered the stock subjects of spiritual books, which in the hands of a man who had not the experience or the literary power of Fr Louis would make dull commonplace writing. There is none of them which he has not invested with new significance, or to speak more truly, in which he has not discovered new depths of meaning. This is a book from which one would like to quote at length. Here are a few spiritual aphorisms which express familiar truths in an arresting and concise way:

> A happiness that is sought for ourselves alone can never be found ; for a happiness that is diminished by being shared, is not big enough to make us happy.
>
> It is one thing to live *in* the flesh and quite another to live *according to* the flesh.
>
> Every man has a vocation to *be* someone ; but he must understand clearly that in order to fulfil this vocation, he can only be one person ; himself.
>
> There are two absences of God. One is an absence that condemns us, the other an absence that sanctifys us.

No Man Is An Island is not merely a collection of essays : it has a true unity. Each subject is discussed in function of God, and of man's destiny for union with God, and especially for prayer. This book approaches in design and spirit an earlier book, *Seeds Of Contemplation*, but it shows an advance in depth and comprehensiveness. It does not make easy reading because it is packed with thought ; and here and there the thought is subtle rather than profound, and is the fruit of ratiocination rather than contemplation. But the book is compact with spiritual wisdom and will bring light and encouragement to many souls who are going the same way, or who want to get closer to God.

H. Kelly

THE SPIRIT OF LOVE, in St Francis de Sales. By C. F. Kelley. London : Longmans, Green. 21s. net.

THE SPIRIT OF ST FRANCOIS DE SALES. By J. P. Camus. Edited by C. F. Kelley. London : Longmans, Green. 8s. 6d. net.

HAS Humanism, once proposed as the World's El Dorado, entered on an Arctic Region phase ? An observer from Mars, conning the concentration camps and studying the anxiety of Governments to chill the idea of permanent homes by widening the sphere of divorce courts, might think so. Indeed the movies, the fiction and the popular press of the day would confirm his belief that Love has but a small corner to dwell in.

It is, however, reassuring to find that the warmth of love is still offered to those who will have it from hearts that have been truly human, but divinely human in their love. St Francis de Sales, at a time when accepted standards closed the " devout life " to people living in the World, came forward as the great champion to insist that love, real love, the Master's great Commandment —love of God, with its corollary, love of the neighbour—was the only constituent of genuine Humanism ; that St Paul's stricture, " if I have not charity, I am nothing ", applied to all mankind. He wrote :

> It is an error, nay rather, a heresy, to wish to banish the devout life from the army, from the workshop, from the court of princes, from the households of married folk . . . St Joseph, Lydia, St Crispin were perfectly devout in their workshops ; St Anne, St Monica, Aquilla Priscilla, in their households ; Cornelius, St Sebastian, St Maurice, in the army ; Constantine, Helen, St Louis, Blessed Amadeus, St Edward on their thrones. (Devout Life, 1. 3)

We cannot compute the number of souls lifted out of the sordid rut of selfishness by the *Devout Life, The Love of God,* the inspiring letters of the saint, and the privilege of personal contact with this Bishop of Geneva of whom people said : " If the Bishop of Geneva is so good, what must God Almighty be like ? " We are indebted to Mr Kelley for an exceptionally helpful study of the way and the mind of St Francis in *The Spirit of Love.* He has done for St Francis de Sales what M. Gilson did for St Bernard, but in a way more accessible to the ordinary reader. From the extensive writings of the saint he has gathered, as St Francis himself would say, the best honey. One who cannot appreciate its flavour must have a sadly vitiated spiritual palate. Jacques Maritain, who contributed a Foreword to the book, writes :

> Dear Mr Kelley, may your book cause a wide circle of readers to know and love St François de Sales. Salesian spirituality will, I believe, reveal many men of our times to themselves. Your work, written with so much fervour, bears the mark of this very spirituality ; reading it, one feels how very dear it is to you.

The six chapters : Love : the Via Media ; The Theology of Love ; Love and the World ; Love's Strategy ; Love in Contemplation ; Love in Practice show the field that has been covered. Each chapter may be read as a unit. In our days, when the Lay Apostolate is happily at work, the chapter on Love and the World is very actual as the following quotation shows :

> Christianity, at least certain aspects of it, has tended at times to make the altogether too sharp and unhealthy division between the cloistered,

religious life and the life of the lay apostle in the world. But contemplation and action, cloister and workshop, eternal and temporal, heavenly and earthly are only diverse, not opposing states. They imply each other and are meant to work together. (p. 88)

From Mr Kelley's book we turn to his edition of Camus. Jean Pierre Camus, Bishop of Belley, "more than any other, has contributed to fix the personality and spirit of St François in our minds. He was especially equipped for the task of being the Saint's Boswell", as Mr Kelley writes in his Introduction. For fourteen years he was St Francis's intimate friend and his untiring questioner. He carefully wrote down the saint's answers to his ceaseless *quizzes* and he has bequeathed to us the condensed wisdom and bonhomie of St Francis on a wide range of subjects, in one way or another touching us all. Both books are well produced, a pleasure to read and a pleasure to handle.

GEORGE BYRNE

SEEING THE FAITH. Some suggestions for visual aids for teachers of religion. By F. O. Edwards, S.J. London : Burns and Oates. 1955. Pp. 198. 21s.

" WHAT's this, a manual for handicrafts?", queried a Parish Priest to whom I happened to show this book when first reading it. My own first reactions were similar, and could have been expressed in one word, " impractical ". Nevertheless as I began to read it carefully, I found my admiration mounting steadily. The plans for constructing doctrinal models, maps, etc., were skilfully and clearly worked out. The authors appeared to be most ingenious in utilizing the simplest and most ordinary raw materials, e.g., different types of paper and cardboard, Christmas cards, matches and pipe-spills. Suggestions for eliciting the interest and helpful co-operation of the pupils were obviously based on practical experience in the classroom. Final capitulation was effected with the reading of Chapter Nine, " Making and Using the Aids ".

In Chapter Nine the chief difficulties which worried my friend and myself are competently faced. Perhaps it would have been better to refer the reader to Chapter Nine as soon as he had read the first chapter or two. Misgivings on the " practical " nature of the book for classroom purposes would then be speedily dissipated.

From the very beginning the authors state clearly the aim of the book : " the main object is to provide a constructional handbook that will be of use to the modeller without special experience or skill, who also happens to be a teacher of religion ". (p. 2) Such a book can be used by any person interested in handicraft for moral or recreational purposes. The models can be constructed at home or at school, by the teacher, friends, or the pupils themselves " who teach themselves as they make the aids, and use them when they have made them ". (p. 179) Some of the methods explained are Movable Picture Diagrams, Doctrinal Models, Dioramas, Maps, Games, Model Theatre.

For a teacher, these visual and tactile aids are primarily ways to make more effective the teaching of religion. For all interested in the religious, artistic and technical development of the young this book should provide useful and stimulating ideas.

JOHN O'HOLOHAN

SHORTER NOTICES

ANE SATYRE OF THE THRIE ESTAITS. By Sir David Lindsay. Edited by James Kinsley. Introduction by Agnes Mure Mackenzie. Foreword by Ivor Brown. London : Cassell. 21s.

This is the abridged text of the sixteenth century Scottish ' morality ' play which was so successfully revived in Tyrone Guthrie's production at the Edinburgh Festival, 1948 : *Ane Pleasant Satyre of the Three Estaits in Commendatioun of Vertwe and Vituperatioun of Vyce* had not been performed since its production in 1554 before the Queen Regent Marie.

There are bits and pieces of everything in the *Satyre :* sotie, masque, farce, ceremony. The huge, sprawling text has been cut to dramatic shape by the Scottish dramatist, Robert Kemp, and Lindsay's remarkable sense of theatre is now set free. For linguistic reasons it is unlikely that the Satyre will ever be performed in Ireland but it is a text which should be read by anyone seriously interested in drama. In this speech, for example, ethical indignation is expressed with an almost Langlandian strength :

> Sir I compleine upon the idill men :
> For quhy sir it is Godis awin bidding
> All Christian men to wirk for thair living.
> Sanct Paull that pillar of the Kirk,
> Sayis to the wretchis that will not wirk
> And bene to vertews labour laith
> *Qui non laborat non manducet.*
> This is in Inglische toung or leit :
> *Quha labouris nocht he sall not eit.*
> This bene against the strang beggers,
> Fidlers, pypers, and pardoners :
> Thir Iugglars, Iestars, and idill cuitchours,
> Thir carriers and thir quintacensours :

Denis Donoghue

GERMANY. A Companion to German Studies. Edited by Jethro Bithell. London : Methuen. 1955. Pp. 578. 42s.

This is a revised, enlarged and reset edition of a book first published in 1932, and dealing comprehensively with ' the physical and intellectual landscape of Germany '. The historical contributions (all by British-born specialists) have brought the story of Germany, her literature and her arts down to 1952. A new contribution is a chapter on German thought. In this Dr Majut records adequately the more academic speculations of the last two centuries, but his ' intellectual landscape ' shows notable gaps (no mention is made of the scope and vitality of Neo-Thomism in Germany), and the section on religious thought suffers from an imprecise concept of Christian philosophy. For all that, the book is a precious guide, full of up-to-date knowledge, splendidly produced, and planned and executed on the confident assumption that the Germany of tomorrow will stretch unpartitioned from Silesia to the Rhine.

Paul Andrews

The Irish Economy North and South

by GARRET FITZGERALD

WHEN the island of Ireland was first divided into two States, by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, few can have anticipated that this new frontier would prove such an effective barrier between the peoples of the two areas. Even the most enthusiastic Northern Ireland Unionist of that period can scarcely have envisaged such a breakdown of inter-communications as has followed during the first generation of partition, and many Northerners who had always looked on Dublin as their capital might have hesitated—briefly at least—had they realized the depths of mutual ignorance to which Ireland's two halves would be reduced a generation later.

It was not, perhaps, surprising that many of the inhabitants of Northern Ireland should have lost interest in the South, whose people, in their view, had deliberately cut themselves off from material advancement by their insistence upon independence from the United Kingdom, but it might have been expected that the people of the South, to whom re-unification has been the primary aim of national policy, would have maintained a passionate interest in the Six Counties.

In practice the opposite has happened. Few Southerners ever bother to visit Northern Ireland, unless they have business to transact there or relatives to visit, and with few exceptions the Republic's newspapers ignore the North, except to report sectarian disturbances of one kind or another, or an occasional political ' dust-up ' within the Unionist Party. The Northern Unionists, on the other hand, continue to treat the Republic as a second home. Their cross-border visits are four times as numerous in proportion to their population as the visits of Southerners to Northern Ireland, and during the holiday months in the tourist areas of the Republic, sample checks show that a quarter of all the cars have Northern registration plates.

No doubt this paradox can be explained—but not explained away. The almost total lack of interest of Southern nationalists in the way of life, the economy and the problems of Northern Ireland is certainly deplorable, and it does not make sense either in the context of the desire for re-unification, or even at the more down-to-earth level of a normal healthy interest in the affairs of a relative living next door, from whose experience in the garden one might have something to learn—especially

if his crops of fruit and vegetables are notably more successful than one's own !

Failure to use the Northern economy as a measuring-rod with which to assess our own achievements and failures has been partly attributable to the absence of reliable data concerning certain aspects of the Northern scene ; but these gaps are now gradually being filled in by such contributions as the important pioneer paper on National Income and Social Accounts read by Professor Carter to the Statistical and Social Enquiry Society of Ireland in Belfast in December 1954, and Professor Isles's Economic Survey of Northern Ireland, which at the time of writing is in course of publication.

Professor Carter's paper was an attempt to assess the Gross National Product and National Income of Northern Ireland in 1952, and to compare the result with the figures for the Republic and for Great Britain. More recently Professor Carter has published estimates for 1953. As Professor Carter himself points out, comparisons of this kind are, of course, dangerous, partly because of the inevitable unreliability of some of the figures, and partly because no two areas are strictly comparable owing to variations in the cost of living, the composition of families, the pattern of consumption, etc. Nevertheless making due allowance for an inevitable margin of error, these figures make possible a comparison of North and South in general terms, which throws some light on the economies of both parts of the country. From such a comparison we in the South may derive some guidance as to how best to order our own affairs with a view to achieving a higher material standard of living such as that enjoyed by the inhabitants of Northern Ireland ; and we may also learn something of the economic problems that underlie the partition of Ireland—the reef on which re-unification might founder even if the artificial barrier of sectarianism were swept away.

* * *

Professor Carter's calculations confirm what is, perhaps, already common knowledge that the standard of living in Northern Ireland is higher than in the South. His calculations suggest that national income per head in the North in 1953 was 20—30% higher than in the Republic, while consumer expenditure may have been about one-third higher in the North. The difference in national income per head as between both parts of Ireland and Britain would, however, appear to be very much greater than that which differentiates North and South—for the average rate of national income per head in Great Britain has been estimated by Professor Carter to be about 45% higher than in Northern Ireland and 85% higher than in the Republic.

The particular value of these new national income and expenditure figures, however, is not so much the fact that they confirm what was already common knowledge concerning the relative wealth of the different administrative units in these islands, but rather the opportunity they afford to investigate in some detail the reasons for these differences, and the relative importance of the different influences at work.

Table I provides a general breakdown of the Gross National Product of the two parts of Ireland in 1953, and also shows the respective National Income figures arrived at after deducting depreciation from the Gross National Product total. [All tables will be found at the end of this article.] This table shows clearly that the difference of £43 per head per annum between the Gross National Product in Northern Ireland and in the Republic is accounted for almost exclusively by differences between the average amount of domestic income from employment in the two areas, all the remaining items accounting for no more than 11% of this disparity. Consequently, it is in an analysis of employment and of earnings from employment, North and South of the Border, that we may expect to find the explanation for the higher degree of prosperity in Northern Ireland.

The disparity between the average income from employment per head of population in Northern Ireland might be accounted for in a number of different ways : there might be a lower proportion of children and/or old people in the North ; there might be a higher proportion of female employment ; there might be a larger concentration of employed people in the more remunerative types of employment ; or the average wage, salary or personal profit might simply be higher there than in the South because of greater productivity. More probably the explanation is to be found in a combination of some of these different factors.

In the first place it is clear that Northern Ireland suffers from an initial disadvantage in that its population contains 5% more women than men, whereas in the Republic, which has experienced a higher rate of female emigration, there are $3\frac{1}{2}$% more men that women. This initial handicap virtually wipes out the advantage which the North would otherwise gain from the higher proportion of female employment there ($24\frac{1}{4}$% of the female population is at work as compared with only $21\frac{1}{4}$% in the Republic), because the lower proportion of men in the population as a whole is naturally reflected in the fact that male employees form a smaller proportion of the total population.

Thus whereas in the Republic 40.0% of the population was at work in 1953, the figure for Northern Ireland was very little higher at 40.85%, and this Northern figure may have included certain groups excluded from the Republic's statistics—people who actually worked in other countries and were on holiday in the North on census night, and occupied

people temporarily in hospital. Moreover whereas only 26% of those at work in the Republic were women, in the North female workers comprised 30½% of the active labour force, and this greater dilution of the employment pattern by lower-paid female labour must outweigh any slender advantage the North may have gained from its possibly very slightly higher proportion of workers in the population as a whole.

* * *

It may be concluded, therefore, that neither variations in the proportion of children or old people, nor differences in the proportion of women at work account for the higher rate of earnings from employment in the North. The explanation lies within the employment pattern itself, which is analysed in Table II. This Table compares the total labour force in the two parts of Ireland in 1953, and the *per capita* earnings in each type of employment, in so far as these figures are available. (*Per capita* in this context means ' per person employed ', for having established that the main explanation for the difference in national income *per head of population* lies in the field of income from domestic employment and also that the proportion of the population at work in the two areas is very similar, further analysis can be directed towards the incomes *per person employed* in the various occupations.)

The Table suggests that the explanation of the disparity between National Income per head in the two parts of Ireland does not lie so much in differences in the *distribution* of employment between industry, agriculture, etc., as in differences in the average income levels of several important occupation groups—notably farmers, other employers and self-employed people, and, to a lesser extent, those engaged in service industries, administration, etc. Indeed the average income level of most of the main occupation groups in the Republic is so consistent that no conceivable re-distribution of the working population *at the existing average income levels in the Republic* could seriously affect the over-all level of National Income per head.

The most striking difference in average income levels is that between the farming communities North and South of the Border. The average level of agricultural profits in the North, when divided by the number of farmers and relatives assisting, is 85% higher than in the South, and even if the relatives are excluded from the calculation, the resultant average profit per farmer is still more than 50% higher in the North. Such a marked difference in agricultural income levels clearly merits further analysis.

In endeavouring to trace the reasons for this very marked difference between agricultural profits in the two areas in 1953 a number of different possibilities have to be considered. In the first place it can be stated that the difference was *not* attributable to any higher proportion of

totally unproductive land in the Republic : the proportion of unproductive land is identical in both areas at 32%. It is, however, possible that the productive land in the South contains a larger proportion of marginal land of low productivity ; but on the other hand virtually all of the richest land in the country lies within the boundaries of the Republic.

Another possible explanation of higher agricultural profits in the North might be a difference in the average sizes of farms in the two areas. The official statistics show, however, that the average number of acres of crops and pasture *per farmer* is not very different in the two areas—42 in the North and 50 in the South ; and as the average number of holdings per farmer is somewhat higher in the Republic the average number of acres of crops and pasture *per holding* is only 10% higher in the South than in the North. Averages may, of course, be misleading where they are derived from a very wide range of different-sized units, but the *pattern* of farm acreages also appears to be similar in the two areas.

Higher prices in Northern Ireland undoubtedly accounted for some part of the higher agricultural profits there, but in the year under review (1953) higher prices applied only to certain farm products : the prices for all cereals other than flax were lower in the North, and the same was true of sheep and poultry prices. (The lower average prices for poultry were, however, partly due to a different pattern of poultry production in the North where nearly 95% of the poultry are hens, as against less than 85% in the Republic.)

Nevertheless prices for pigs, milk and eggs in 1953 were very much higher in Northern Ireland. Even when the lower prices for other agricultural produce are offset against the greater return on these three items, it is clear that about one-tenth of agricultural income in the North in that year was attributable to this higher level of agricultural subsidies—financed by the United Kingdom Government.

The remainder of the difference between agricultural incomes in the two parts of Ireland would appear to have been attributable to higher productivity in the North, which might or might not be accounted for by differences in the quality of the land in production.

It is possible to narrow down the differences in productivity still further, for statistics are available covering the yield of various crops in the two areas, and these figures show that, apart from the special case of flax, yields in Northern Ireland in 1953 were uniformly lower than in the Republic. As the proportion of land under crops in the North is very much higher than in the Republic (14.7% as against 10.7%), this was another factor militating against higher over-all productivity north of the Border. And it suggests that there must have been a very substantial difference between productivity of livestock and livestock products in the two areas.

That this was, in fact, the case is very evident from the official statistics. These statistics need careful interpretation, however, as straightforward comparisons of output per acre of pasture could be most misleading in view of the fact that so much of the Northern 'output' of cattle and sheep takes the form of large-scale imports from the Republic which are held for a brief period and then sold, no doubt at a profit. Thus the 'output' of cattle in the North in 1953 was 202,000, but imports from the Republic totalled 171,000! 'Output' of sheep in Northern Ireland was 487,000, and imports from the Republic totalled 215,000.

In the case of cattle and sheep, therefore, the most reliable comparison is one of livestock population on a particular date, rather than output. On this basis it will be found that on 1 June 1953 the average acre of pasture in Northern Ireland was supporting 25% more cattle and 75% more sheep than in the Republic.

The actual Northern pig population was not far short of the Republic's figures, and output was thus three to five times as high in proportion, according to the particular criterion employed—pigs per acre, pigs per farmer, pigs per holding, etc. A similar ratio existed in the case of poultry and eggs.

Milk production in the North was 80—85% higher per acre of pasture than in the Republic, and 45% higher per milch cow.

These necessarily approximate figures of differences in the output of livestock and livestock products in the two parts of Ireland three years ago are open to considerable refinement. But they are sufficiently startling to suggest that the Republic has much to learn in this aspect of agriculture without looking as far afield as Holland, Denmark and New Zealand. Perhaps the most striking feature is the fact that output in the North was so much higher in *every* aspect of livestock production: it is not simply a question of a different pattern of agriculture, achieving higher productivity in some sectors at the expense of others. The over-all level of livestock productivity per acre or per person employed is evidently strikingly higher than in the Republic, with the result that the North can afford to devote a much higher proportion of its land to the production of crops which have a lower yield than in the South (mainly oats and potatoes), and yet achieve an over-all level of agricultural production and income very much higher than in the Republic.

* * *

The figures for non-agricultural employment income accruing to employers and self-employed people in Northern Ireland in 1953 are residuals, derived by subtracting the estimated farmers' profit figure from the total of income from this source. They are nevertheless reasonably reliable figures, warranting the conclusion that in the non-

agricultural sector also the average employment income level of self-employed people and employers is very much higher in the North than in the South.

The Northern Ireland figure for Agricultural Workers' wages is no more than a rough estimate, as the published figure apparently includes the remuneration, actual or hypothetical, of relatives assisting on the farm. Similarly the estimated level of distribution workers' wages and salaries in Northern Ireland (£16 million) is an approximate estimate, and the figure for wages and salaries of workers in services, administration, etc. (£72,666,000) is a residual derived by subtracting the totals for the other groups from the grand total for salaries and wages in the North (£155 million).

Yet this latter residual figure is reasonably reliable, as the error in the estimates for agricultural and distribution workers' wages and salaries could not be more than three or four million pounds—or about 5% of the residual total. It can, therefore, be concluded with reasonable certainty that the average level of wages and salaries for this group of employees engaged in services, administration, etc. is 20—30% higher in Northern Ireland than in the Republic.

There is, therefore, only one major occupation group the average level of whose employment income was in 1953 no higher in the North than in the Republic ; this, surprisingly, is the group to which the greater prosperity of the North might *prima facie* be mainly attributed, the industrial workers. Moreover the fact that the average level of industrial workers' wages in Northern Ireland was only fractionally higher than in the Republic is one of the best-attested facts in this comparison, for it derives from the Censuses of Production carried out annually in both parts of the country.

This might be partly explained by the higher proportion of lower-paid women workers in the North—where 38½% of industrial workers in 1953 were women as against only 25½% in the Republic. But that the larger proportion of female employment provides only part of the explanation is evident from an analysis of industrial employment and earnings.

Table III shows that in the industrial group to which 80% of the women workers in Northern Ireland belong—Textiles and Clothing—the average earnings were only 3½% higher than in the same industrial group in the Republic ; and in both parts of the country the proportion of women to men in this group is almost identical at approximately 70%. Of course the disproportionate size of this relatively poorly-paid industrial group in Northern Ireland, where it accounts for 43% of all industrial employment as against barely 18% in the Republic, is an important factor in lowering the over-all average level of industrial earnings in the North. This would otherwise have been about 15% higher than in the

Republic owing to the higher level of earnings in the Metals and Engineering, and Buildings and Mining groups.

It is worth noting, however, that it is only in these latter three groups that the average rate of earnings in Northern Ireland was higher than in the Republic ; and in the case of the Metals and Engineering group the difference was in part attributable to the higher proportion of female labour in the Republic ($13\frac{1}{2}\%$ as against 6%). In the remaining three industrial groups—Other Manufacturing Industries, Food, Drink and Tobacco Industries, and the Services group of Gas, Electricity and Water —the average level of earnings was higher in the Republic than in the North, by up to 6%.

Another surprising feature of the industrial scene in Ireland is the fact that with the very important exception of the engineering and textile trades which are such a striking feature of Northern life, the remaining industries are more highly developed in the Republic, in the sense that they employ a higher proportion of the total population south of the border than they do in Northern Ireland. Thus the remaining Manufacturing Industries, which in the Republic provided employment for 3.3% of the working population in 1953, were responsible for only 2.5% of the jobs in Northern Ireland in that year. Of the working population in the Republic in 1953, 4.15% were employees in the Food, Drink and Tobacco industries, as against 3.8% in the North. Finally the Building and Mining group was responsible for 5.55% of all employment in the South, as against only 4.75% in the North.

Moreover even in the Textile and Clothing trades the development of Northern industry is distinctly uneven, and in several sectors there has been a much greater expansion of output and employment in the Republic than in Northern Ireland. Thus the output of boots and shoes in the Republic is seven to eight times greater than in Northern Ireland, and almost nine times as many people are employed in making them. Over four times as many people are engaged in making hosiery in the Republic, and three-and-a-half times as many are at work in the woollen and worsted trade, where the disproportion in output is even greater owing to the higher level of productivity in the Republic. It is the combination of a more highly developed clothing industry with the enormous scale of the Northern linen industry (which employs as high a proportion of the Northern population as the whole range of manufacturing industry employs in the Republic !) that accounts for the remarkable Northern predominance in this sector of manufacturing industry.

It may reasonably be concluded, therefore, that the greater prosperity of Northern Ireland is not primarily attributable to any general or widespread industrialization on a scale greater than that achieved in the Republic, but rather to the extraordinarily intensive development of two major industries—the linen trade and shipbuilding with its allied

trades—which between them account for nearly all the differences in the level of industrial employment income output as between the two parts of the country.

The predominance of these two trades has indeed been accompanied by some degree of under-development in other industries, presumably because of the absence of any protection from British competition. Thus, for example, the footwear trade in Northern Ireland clearly caters for no more than a fraction of the Northern market for boots and shoes.

Moreover while the greater development of shipbuilding and allied trades in the North provides a substantial volume of additional *male* employment at rates of pay higher than in the South, the linen trade is primarily an employer of additional low-paid female labour. Indeed almost one-fifth of all gainfully occupied women in Northern Ireland are engaged in the linen industry, which is also partly responsible for the fact that almost 15% of married women in Northern Ireland are at work as against less than 5% in the Republic.

The existence of this extensive market for female labour is, of course, an important factor in reducing the volume of female emigration from Northern Ireland, and is therefore to some extent responsible for the fact that women outnumber men in Northern Ireland. In the South the opposite is true owing to the exceptionally high rate of female emigration in the absence of opportunities either for employment or marriage.

On the other hand the dependence of Northern Ireland upon this large low-paid female labour force for the maintenance of its over-all employment level is clearly a weakness whose importance may, perhaps, best be illustrated by saying that but for this greater volume of female employment in textile and clothing industries in the North, the proportion of the total population at work in Northern Ireland would be about 7% lower than in the Republic.

It appears, then, that the undoubtedly higher level of income and output in Northern Ireland are primarily attributable neither to the higher proportion of the population engaged in industry, nor to any marked difference in the average level of industrial earnings, but rather to significantly higher employment incomes of farmers, other employers and self-employed people, and workers in non-industrial occupations. Over 40% of the difference in national income per head between North and South in 1953 was accounted for by the higher level of farmers' profits in Northern Ireland ; almost 20% was accounted for by higher employment incomes of non-agricultural self-employed people and employers ; and 25—30% by the difference in income levels of non-industrial workers.

In endeavouring to trace the reasons for the higher level of national income in Northern Ireland, no reference has so far been made to the

financial relations between the Governments of Northern Ireland and the United Kingdom, which involve cross-transfers of many millions of pounds each year. The agricultural subsidies mentioned earlier are in fact paid by the United Kingdom Exchequer, and there are other social welfare payments by the United Kingdom, amounting to quite a few million pounds.

Most authorities seem to agree, however, that in recent years these receipts from the United Kingdom Government have more or less balanced against the annual 'Imperial Contribution', so that there has been little or no *net* transfer of revenue between the North and the United Kingdom on these scores. This is the conclusion reached by Mr G. C. Duggan, former Comptroller and Auditor-General of Northern Ireland, in a series of articles published in the *Irish Times* some years ago; Professor Carter reached the same conclusion more recently; and *The Economist,* in its special section on 'Ulster' published with the issue of 6 October last, concurred with this view.

It may broadly be concluded therefore that Northern Ireland's farm subsidies and social welfare benefits are covered by tax revenue raised in the area; but the fact that these payments are no more than covered by the Imperial Contribution means that Northern Ireland is contributing nothing towards the cost of the central services, such as Defence, Foreign Affairs—and the Monarchy! To this extent there is a concealed subsidy of the Northern economy by the United Kingdom Government, but important though this factor undoubtedly is in the context of any practical proposal for re-unification, the amounts involved must represent such a small proportion of the total National Income of the North that for the purposes of a general survey of relative standards of output and prosperity in the two parts of Ireland, this concealed subsidy can virtually be ignored.

* * *

How do the Northerners spend the extra income, which they enjoy as a result of their somewhat higher national output? The answer to this question might suggest the possible pattern of any increases in consumption that would follow the eventual achievement of a higher level of real national income in the Republic.

The general pattern of the disposal of Personal Income in the Republic is officially estimated each year and in Table IV, these figures for 1953 are compared with Professor Carter's estimate of the disposal of Personal Income in Northern Ireland in that year. (Personal Income and National Income are somewhat different concepts: Personal Income includes Transfer Income from Public Authorities, while on the other hand it excludes the undistributed profits of companies which are, of course, an integral part of the National Income. The net effect of

these and other adjustments necessary to reconcile the two concepts is not great, however, as will be seen by comparing the two figures as shown in Table IV. In considering broadly how the National Income is disposed of it is not, therefore, necessary to reconcile them in detail. An analysis of the disposal of Personal Income, after Direct Taxation, is sufficient.)

In the course of the research for his paper on National Income in Northern Ireland, Professor Carter studied food prices in Belfast and Dublin in 1954, and came to the conclusion that prices in Belfast were 2½% higher than in Dublin. If this relationship applied throughout the two areas in 1953 then Professor Carter's estimates of expenditure on food in Northern Ireland suggest that food consumption there must have been almost 40% higher than in the Republic. This is certainly surprising in view of the fact that food consumption in the Republic has been officially estimated to exceed that of any other country in the world (including, of course, the United Kingdom)—a claim which may, however, require re-consideration in the light of the Farm Survey's evidence concerning the level of ' on the farm ' consumption of farm products.

On the other hand drink and tobacco prices in Northern Ireland were calculated by Professor Carter to be 35% higher than in the Republic, so that the slightly greater expenditure on alcohol and tobacco in Northern Ireland would reflect a level of consumption about 20% lower than in the Republic.

The price of clothing in Northern Ireland was found by Professor Carter to be over 20% lower than in the Republic—although this figure may not make sufficient allowance for savings through purchases at Sales in the Republic. If this ratio were correct, purchases of clothing per head in the North would be almost 50% greater than in the Republic. Similarly the cost of fuel and light in Northern Ireland was estimated at 20—25% below the level in the Republic, so that the slightly lower expenditure on this item in Northern Ireland would, in fact, reflect a rate of consumption almost 20% above that of the Republic.

Comparisons of expenditure on Other Goods and Travelling are vitiated by the different treatment of private motoring in the two sets of statistics, but with prices of household goods about 7% lower in Belfast, it is apparent that the total volume of travelling and of consumption of other goods in the North must be about 50% greater than in the Republic. No accurate comparison of rents in the two areas is possible.

The fact that expenditure per head on amusements in Northern Ireland is almost double the level in the Republic, suggests that even making due allowance for possible higher price levels in the North, the inhabitants of that area are less dour than is generally assumed !

It will be noted that this table shows a significantly higher rate of personal saving in the Republic. This figure relates, of course, to 1953 ;

since then the rate of personal saving in the Republic has almost halved. Nevertheless the disparity between the rate of personal saving in the two areas in 1953 is surprising, bearing in mind the higher level of prosperity there and the alleged propensity to thrift of Northern Ireland people.

It is, of course, unfortunate that the statistics employed in this article refer to a period of three years ago, and that more up-to-date figures are not available for comparative purposes. Nevertheless changes in the relative standards of living and prosperity of two areas such as Northern Ireland and the Republic do not occur rapidly, save in quite abnormal circumstances. Most of the data for 1953 must retain considerable validity to-day.

One Northern Ireland figure has been projected forward to 1955, that for personal expenditure. Professor Carter's preliminary estimate suggests that between 1953 and 1955 there was an 11% increase in personal expenditure in Northern Ireland. In the same period personal expenditure in the Republic rose by an almost identical amount—although as the National Income grew by only $3\frac{1}{2}$% in this period this sharp rise in personal expenditure in the Republic was achieved only at the expense of a sharp drop in personal saving, already referred to, and a disastrous disimprovement in the balance of payments.

Thus although, until this year at least, our standard of living has kept pace with that of Northern Ireland this has been achieved only at a price which we can no longer afford to pay. In the period immediately ahead we must expect to see the gap between the standard of living in the two areas gradually increasing, instead of diminishing as we would wish. In endeavouring to set about closing this gap in the future we might be well advised to study the Northern economy in some detail so that, for example, we may learn the secret of its success in achieving a relatively high level of agricultural productivity.

No doubt the North has something to learn from the Republic also, in such matters as the development of small local industries with relatively high productivity ; and co-operation at the technical level might prove profitable to both economies, just as the remarkable co-operation achieved in such matters as the joint operation of railways, fisheries, electricity distribution—and astronomy !—has been mutually beneficial. The co-ordination of official statistics and of academic research, such as the Economic Survey of Northern Ireland by Queens' University and that of the Republic now being undertaken by Trinity College, might be a first step in this direction.

Meanwhile it is particularly important that the contrast between agricultural productivity in the two areas should be emphasized, for it is all too easy to fall into the delusion that the Northern farmer is better off simply because of the extra income from higher prices financed by higher subsidies. In this field as in others there is a danger that such

limited interest as is shown by people in the Republic in the affairs of Northern Ireland might lead to the superficial—and unfortunate—conclusion that all that is wrong with the Republic is that it *is* a Republic, and not, like Northern Ireland, a part of the feather-bedded United Kingdom. The benefits of independence as a small economic unit in the lee of a relatively wealthy and powerful imperial nation are liable to be under-valued. Yet these benefits are tangible and if combined with an intensive utilization of more limited resources, inspired by a boundless willingness to learn from the experience of others, could lead eventually to a way of life no less satisfying and attractive than that of a much larger, somewhat wealthier, but more impersonal community.

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TABLE I—GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT AND NATIONAL INCOME, 1953

Gross National Product	*Republic of Ireland* Total £	*Republic of Ireland* Per Head of Population £	*Northern Ireland (Estimated)** Total £	*Northern Ireland (Estimated)** Per Head of Population £
1 INCOME FROM ABROAD :				
(*a*) Net inflow of profits	13,200,000	4·5	12,000,000	8·5
(*b*) Net inflow of pensions, wages, etc.	4,800,000	1·75	1,000,000	·75
(*c*) Net inflow of emigrants' remittances	10,700,000	3·75	2,000,000	1·5
TOTAL	28,700,000	10·0	15,000,000	10·75
2 DOMESTIC INCOME FROM CO. PROFITS AND RENT				
(*a*) Co. Profits	54,400,000	18·5	29,000,000	21·0
(*b*) Rent	10,200,000	3·5	7,000,000	5·0
	64,600,000	22·0	36,000,000	26·0
Total Income Not from Employment	93,300,000	32·0	51,000,000	36·75
3 INCOME FROM EMPLOYMENT ...	373,000,000	126·5	228,000,000	164·75
TOTAL—Gross National Product ...	466,300,000	158·5	279,000,000	201·5
Less Depreciation	—25,500,000	—8·75	—24,000,000	—17·25
TOTAL—National Income ...	440,800,000	149·75	255,000,000	184·25

* The totals for Northern Ireland may be under-estimated by £10—15,000,000. Moreover the purchasing power of the pound in the Republic is estimated to be slightly lower than in Northern Ireland. Consequently the real disparity between incomes in the two areas is probably slightly greater than this Table might suggest.

TABLE IV—EXPENDITURE OF PERSONAL INCOME, 1953

	Republic of Ireland Total £ million	Republic of Ireland Per Head of Population £	Northern Ireland Total £ million	Northern Ireland Per Head of Population £	*Northern Ireland Excess Per Head of Population* £
National Income (see Table I) ...	440·8	149·75	255·0 to 270·0	184·25 to 195·1	+34·5 to 45·35
Personal Income (after Direct Taxation)	424·4	144·1	253·0	182·8	+38·7
1 PERSONAL EXPENDITURE :					
Food	129·4	44·0	87·0	62·8	+18·8
Alcohol and Tobacco ...	53·7	18·2	27·0	19·5	+ 1·3
Clothing	49·8	16·9	28·0	20·2	+ 4·3
Fuel and Light ...	28·3	9·6	12·0	8·7	— ·9
Other Goods	55·4	18·8	33·5	24·2	+ 5·4
Travelling*	16·1	5·5	16·0	11·6	+ 6·1
Rent	15·4	5·2	11·0	7·9	+ 2·7
Amusements	5·0	1·7	4·5	3·3	+ 1·6
Other expenditure ...	30·0	10·2	20·0	14·5	+ 4·3
TOTAL	383·1	130·1	239·0	172·7	+42·6
2 PERSONAL SAVING	41·3	14·0	14·0	10·1	— 3·9

* The Northern Ireland figure for Travelling includes the cost of private motoring, which is included under other headings in the statistics for the Republic.

TABLE II—ANALYSIS OF EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME FROM EMPLOYMENT—1953

	REPUBLIC OF IRELAND						NORTHERN IRELAND					
	Population Analysis				Income		Population Analysis				Income	
	Percentage of Total Population						Percentage of Total Population					
	Men	Women	Total	Total No. Engaged	Total £	Per Person Engaged £	Men	Women	Total	Total No. Engaged	Total £	Per Person Engaged £
(*a*) Self-Employed, Employers and Relatives Assisting :												
Agricultural :												
Employers and Self-Employed ...	6·7	1·2	7·9	231,750			3·6	·3	3·9	54,000		
Relatives Assisting ...	4·3	·9	5·2	154,000			1·4	·1	1·5	20,500		
Total	11·0	2·1	13·1	385,750	128,600,000	333	5·0	·4	5·4	74,500	46,000,000	617
Non-Agricultural... ...	2·45	·85	3·3	97,250	31,000,000	319	2·2	·5	2·7	37,000	20,000,000	540
Grand Total ...	13·45	2·95	16·4	483,000	159,600,000	330·5	7·2	·9	8·1	111,500	66,000,000	592
(*b*) Employees :												
Agricultural	2·55	—	2·55	75,500	16,400,000	217	1·6	—	1·6	22,750	7,000,000*	308*
Non-Agricultural :												
Distribution	2·0	1·2	3·2	93,750	25,685,000	274	2·45	1·5	3·95	54,000	16,000,000*	297*
Industry (Census of Production) ...	5·7	1·95	7·65	225,925	71,935,000	318 25	9·1	5·7	14·8	205,275	66,334,000	323
Other Industry ...	1·0	·15	1·15	33,075	99,380,000	331·5	2·25	·3	2·55	34,500	72,666,000*	422*
Other Activities ...	4·85	4·2	9·05	266,750			5·8	4·05	9·85	137,475		
Total	13·55	7·5	21·05	619,500	197,000,000	318	19·6	11·55	31·15	431,250	155,000,000	359
Grand Total ...	16·1	7·5	23·6	694,750	213,400,000	307	21·2	11·55	32·75	454,000	162,000,000	357
Total Gainfully Employed	29·55	10·45	40·0	1,178,000	373,000,000	317	28·4	12·45	40·85	565,500	228,000,000	403

* These figures are merely rough estimates intended to complete the picture of employees' earnings whose total and main constituent (industrial earnings) are known with some degree of precision.

TABLE III INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT AND EARNINGS—CENSUS OF PRODUCTION STATISTICS, 1953

Industry	Republic of Ireland					Northern Ireland				
	Numbers Engaged			Earnings		Numbers Engaged			Earnings	
	Men	*Women*	*Total*	*Total* £	*Per Employee* £	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*	*Total* £	*Per Employee* £
(*a*) *Goods*										
Textiles and Clothing	12,975	28,550	41,525	9,460,000	227·75	25,175	63,375	88,550	20,898,000	236·0
Metals and Engineering	17,800	2,775	20,575	7,475,000	363·25	44,925	3,275	48,200	21,474,000	445·5
Other Manufacturing	28,625	10,000	38,625	13,320,000	344·75	10,150	3,875	14,025	4,783,000	341·0
Total Manufacturing	59,400	41,325	100,725	30,255,000	300·25	80,250	70,525	150,775	47,155,000	312·75
Food, Drink and Tobacco	34,175	14,600	48,775	16,455,000	337·25	13,975	7,425	21,400	7,139,000	332·5
Total Goods	93,575	55,925	149,500	46,710,000	312·5	94,225	77,950	172,175	54,294,000	315·25
(*b*) *Services and Mining*										
Building and Mining	64,000	1,125	65,125	20,440,000	313·75	26,425	625	27,050	9,623,000	355·75
Gas, Electricity and Water ...	10,675	625	11,300	4,785,000	423·5	5,650	400	6,050	2,417,000	399·5
Total Services and Mining ...	74,675	1,750	76,425	25,225,000	330·0	32,075	1,025	33,100	12,040,000	363·75
TOTAL—INDUSTRY	168,250	57,675	225,925	71,935,000	318·25	126,300	78,975	205,275	66,334,000	323·0

John Redmond

by DENIS GWYNN

THE centenary of John Redmond's birth, on 1 September 1856, was commemorated during this autumn with celebrations on a scale that caused considerable surprise. Earlier in the year there had been discussions among some of Redmond's former followers about the possibility of organizing such a celebration. But the general impression was that both Redmond himself and the Nationalist Parliamentary party, with which he had been so prominently identified for some forty years, had been forgotten and discounted among the later generations who have reaped where they sowed. But there still survives a strong tradition of loyalty to the Redmond family in both Waterford and Wexford ; and the enterprise and determination of his faithful supporters in both counties were mainly responsible for organizing these recent celebrations with such remarkable success. With the active support of the local newspapers in both counties, a strong committee was formed in Wexford, with Mr Eoin O'Mahony, K.M. and Mr Thomas Leacey as its joint secretaries. When they started work it was already too late even to attempt holding large celebrations on 1 September ; the main celebrations were accordingly planned for the end of the month. Arrangements were, however, made at once for requiem Masses in commemoration of John Redmond in Dublin and Cork and other places. These were attended by an unexpectedly large number of representative public men and women. A public meeting was also held in a hall in Dublin at very short notice, which Mr Costello made a point of attending, on 1 September.

These unexpected signs of a reviving appreciation of Redmond's forgotten services as the national leader were soon followed by evidence of wide and influential support in all parties. It was decided that, in Wexford city, memorial tablets should be placed upon each of the four sides of the Redmond monument, close to the railway station, which was erected in honour of John Redmond's grand-uncle many years ago. The tablets were to commemorate the earlier John E. Redmond, who was elected for Wexford late in life after contributing so largely to the modern development of the city ; to his nephew William Archer Redmond, who was one of the original members of Butt's Home Rule

Party and who afterwards supported Parnell ; to John Redmond and his brother Major William Redmond, who were both members of the Nationalist Party at Westminster for nearly forty years ; and to John Redmond's son, Captain W. A. Redmond, who sat at Westminster for county Tyrone and also for Waterford city, and who subsequently represented Waterford city in Dáil Éireann until his death, when the long family tradition was continued by his widow. The memorial tablets were solemnly unveiled at a large public meeting on 30 September by Sir John Esmonde, S.C., one of the three surviving members of the Parliamentary Party at Westminster. These arrangements brought the active support and personal attendance of numerous deputies and senators, besides the mayors of Limerick, Clonmel, Kilkenny, Wexford and Waterford, who all came in their robes. The Bishop of Ferns presided, and preached an impressive panegyric of John Redmond, at a High Mass in Wexford on the morning before the public celebrations. Five members of the present Cabinet took a prominent part on the platform when the tablets were unveiled, besides several former Ministers in the Fianna Fáil cabinets.

Even more unexpected was the announcement that Mr de Valera had agreed to attend the centenary celebrations at Wexford in his official capacity as Chancellor of the National University of Ireland, which was established by the Irish Universities Act of 1908 at the instigation of Redmond and his party. The Provost of Trinity College had also agreed to attend, but was represented instead by one of his senior professors. Mr de Valera not only made a point of taking part in the celebrations, on his way back to Dublin after an important previous engagement in Cork on the same morning. He also presided at the evening meeting in the Theatre Royal, when a series of addresses was given by university historians on different aspects of Redmond's life and public service. Mr de Valera's prominent co-operation in the celebrations gave them a more representative character than had been expected, and his action was confirmed by the attendance of several of his best known former Ministers, and a number of prominent members of his party.

This general response to the centenary had a further practical outcome which was still more surprising. Representations had been made to the Government earlier in the year from various sources, suggesting that a postage stamp to commemorate Redmond's centenary should be issued this year. No support for that suggestion could be found until the celebrations in Wexford were taking place. It was then announced from the platform, by the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, that the Government had decided to issue a Redmond commemorative stamp early in the new year, and that preparations for designing and printing it are already in hand.

Redmond's great public services have indeed been deplorably forgotten and disparaged during the forty years since his death on 6 March 1918. It has been an encouraging sign to find such a widespread desire among all parties to make amends for that neglect and lack of gratitude. Yet for a brief period John Redmond had attained, without any personal ambition or self-seeking, a status of almost unquestioned authority as the elected leader of the Irish people at home and abroad. It was a position which O'Connell never held, because in O'Connell's day the Irish settlements overseas were not yet numerous, and they were unorganized. Even Parnell could scarcely speak with such a sense of united support and approval from the vast majority of Irishmen, as Redmond did command during the years when he compelled a reluctant British Ministry to legislate for the establishment of a national Parliament and government in Ireland.

The Home Rule Bill did not remotely represent John Redmond's full conception of the powers that national government must imply. It was he, during that same period, who had emblazoned upon the Parnell monument in Dublin Parnell's assertion that " No man can set limits to the march of a nation's progress ". But he believed in progress by stages, within the limits of what was attainable at any time. Asquith's Bill represented, in his view, the widest concessions which at that time could be carried through by any British Government. On that basis John Redmond brought to the verge of climax, after years of apparently hopeless failure, the long struggle to secure an Irish Parliament. Where neither O'Connell nor Parnell had been able to advance so far, John Redmond did succeed in finally breaking down the traditional British resistance to the admission of Ireland's right to freedom. And by compelling the English Liberals to engage in a direct conflict with the House of Lords, he had overthrown the one insuperable obstacle which would otherwise have defeated even the wider dramatic triumph which came after his death.

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It was appropriate that this centenary celebration should be held in Wexford city. The inspiration of all John Redmond's life of dedicated service to his country was deeply rooted there. He grew up in a family tradition of patriotic service, and from his boyhood he was constantly aware of its claims upon him. Through the years of oppression and persecution under the penal laws, the Redmond family had been leaders among the impoverished Catholics of this whole countryside. Many of them were driven into exile, and won distinction in foreign service. But they retained their affectionate association with those who remained

at home, and who contrived somehow to maintain their elementary rights under the penal laws. The Redmond family were prominent among the sturdy class of Catholic merchants who began to agitate boldly for Catholic relief during the wars with America and France. They employed their growing financial strength to promote political agitation, and they founded private banks which helped immensely in reviving the fortunes of the Catholic community.

Foremost among them was John Redmond's grand-uncle, whose permanent achievements are so conspicuous in and around Wexford city today. It was he who promoted and developed the new harbour and shipyards and land reclamation, and who introduced the railway. When the Emancipation Act of 1829 enabled Catholics to represent their people, he was urged to accept election. But he was absorbed in his constructive work for local development until near the end of his life. At his death he was then succeeded as member for Wexford, by his nephew, John Redmond's father, William Archer Redmond, who became one of the early members of Butt's Home Rule Party.

To inherit a claim to be the elected representative of one's own city or county seems to us nowadays an enviable privilege. But in those days, eighty years ago, and right through John Redmond's public career, the life of an elected nationalist member involved endless sacrifices, for any man of outstanding abilities. John Redmond, as a boy at Clongowes, had given abundant proof of abilities and of character which would have ensured him a rapid and dominating success at the Irish Bar. He had the gifts of concentration and industry, clarity of mind and impressive eloquence, and a personal dignity and a power of leadership which were to make him so formidable a figure in politics. Yet the claims of public service, in the tradition of his family, prevented him even from completing his studies for the bar. His father's failing health required his assistance in London during the parliamentary sessions, and John Redmond accordingly interrupted his legal training to accept a small official position in the House of Commons. Soon afterwards his father died, and John Redmond was universally regarded as his successor for the constituency.

Even that early ambition was to be frustrated by the young man's loyalty to Parnell. His father had been one of Parnell's early supporters when a revolt developed against the conservative leadership of Isaac Butt. Parnell had then formed his close alliance with the Land League, which Michael Davitt had just founded, and he had been touring America to raise a political fund. His young secretary Tim Healy had just been imprisoned under a coercion act, and Parnell decided that the first vacant seat, which happened to be Wexford, should be offered to Healy. John Redmond agreed at once to stand down ; but soon afterwards

another vacancy occurred at New Ross and he was elected. He went straight to London in answer to a summons by telegram, and within little more than twenty-four hours he had taken the oath and his seat, made his maiden speech and been forcibly expelled, when the Speaker had decided to defy all precedent and suspend the protracted debate.

Very soon Parnell appointed him a party whip, and he was sent out then to Australia with his younger brother, who also had been elected to Parliament, to raise funds for the national campaign. In those early years of service under Parnell, Redmond acquired that sense of unity and co-operation among Irish people in all parts of the world, which was to inspire his outlook as an Irish leader. His first duties under Parnell had been to organize the Irish voters in Britain. Under the conditions of that time they could frequently hold the balance in industrial centres where Irish labourers had immigrated. But his mission to Australia gave him a wider conception of the Irish race in modern times, and of its incalculable influence if it could be organized. Both he and his brother married Irishwomen in Australia during their mission ; and in after years they had many relatives in the new world who were a constant reminder of the wider aspects of Irish nationalism. They succeeded so well in this first Australian mission, in spite of adverse conditions, that they were soon sent out to America for a similar tour.

Such were the first stages of Redmond's training for the national leadership, to which at that time he had never aspired. He had been called to the Irish bar, but could not build up a practice because of his political duties. And as a young member for his own county, he very soon experienced the full hardships of public life. Evictions were being widely enforced to intimidate supporters of the Land League ; John Redmond went down to protest against one such eviction where a highly respected tenant could not pay his rent. The landlord was offering paltry bribes to enable such tenants to emigrate to America, from well kept farms which their families had held for generations. Redmond's firm but temperate speech in denunciation of the landlord's action resulted in his imprisonment, in convict clothes, for seditious conspiracy.

Those were thankless times indeed, when a local member could not address his constituents without risk of being sent to jail. At best, the protests against injustice or misgovernment could only be made at Westminster. But Parnell's leadership had inspired new courage and boundless loyalty. His young followers believed that somehow his genius for political strategy would win back a national Parliament for Ireland. Then suddenly came the unexpected crisis over the O'Shea divorce case, followed by Gladstone's announcement that he would not cooperate with the Nationalists unless they changed their leader. In that bitter controversy Redmond emerged as leader of the minority who supported Parnell at all costs. His attitude was simply that the Irish Nationalists must be

absolutely independent of dictation by English parties. Not even gratitude and admiration towards Parnell counted for so much with Redmond as that first principle, which was to govern his future career until his death.

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It would be hard to imagine a more bleak and discouraging public career than that which John Redmond accepted with unfaltering devotion during the years that followed. He was ejected from his former constituency as a Parnellite. But he fought again in Waterford, and there won the seat which he was to hold with such distinction until his death. Parnell soon died, worn out by a bitter personal struggle which poisoned the memories of that era of recrimination and despondency. But through those tragic years Redmond preserved most remarkably his personal integrity and his avoidance of personal abuse. As leader of the small Parnellite group he won increasing respect and sympathy for the convictions and aims that he pursued. His chief contention, as leader of the Parnellite minority, was that the absolute independence of English parties, which Parnell had always practised, must be preserved by the parliamentary party. "Our power was not in our numbers", he insisted, "twenty against six hundred. Our power lay in our absolute disregard of any interests save the interests of Ireland ; our power lay in the fact that the English parties never knew upon what side we would vote. We were independents, and our votes always hung in the balance. I say that our power as twenty men was greater far than would be the power of 86 united nationalists who were prepared on the purely Irish question of the Irish leadership to obey the orders of an English statesman."

As leader of the Parnellites, Redmond soon made his mark as an orator and debater in the House of Commons. That shrewd and experienced observer, Sir Henry Lucy, recorded at the opening of the new session in 1893 that Redmond

> today strode into the front rank of parliamentary debaters. His manner of delivery is excellent. He has a melodious voice, perfectly under control. His diction is pure, free from the gaudy colours which come natural to some of his countrymen, and yet, as was shown towards the end of his speech, capable of sustained flights of lofty eloquence. Mr Redmond's oratorical style, as the House discovered, is based upon a substratum of solid knowledge, sound common sense, and a statesmanlike capacity to review a complicated situation.

In his speeches during these years Redmond paid constant attention to the plea that Home Rule must be resisted because Ulster was opposed to it. The same controversy was to revive, though in a different and much more acute form, some twenty years later. Redmond continued then to counter the Unionist contentions with broad assertions that were still manifestly true, but that did not meet the new difficulties which arose

when a separate treatment of Protestant Ulster, by a policy of partition, was being seriously considered. In his speech accepting Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill " in a fair honest and candid spirit ", he made the declaration about Ulster which was so often quoted against him during the Ulster Covenant campaign :

> The argument about Ulster is false and misleading. The very name of the Ulster question itself is a false one. There is no Ulster question. There may be a Belfast question—there may be a question of a small corner of Ulster, but it is false to speak of this question as an Ulster question. The present population of Ulster, including Belfast, contains 46 *per cent* of Catholics. Leaving out Belfast, it shows a fair majority of Catholics over Protestants. I deny altogether that every Protestant is an anti-nationalist. This agitation against the Bill is promoted by a small minority of the Protestants of Ireland. Large masses of the Protestants are, no doubt, frightened by the Bill. I do not wonder at it. They have had in their hands for generations a monopoly of all power and place and patronage. To be born a child of the favoured race is to be provided for by some place or position of emolument from one's cradle.

The defeat of Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill had been inevitable so long as the Lords could exercise their veto ; and Gladstone's courageous Irish policy had split the Liberal party which he had committed to Home Rule. But Redmond never lost hope in the bleak years that followed. He believed absolutely in the vitality of the national demand for self-government. Unlike some of his colleagues, he never was seriously afraid that the agitation for Home Rule would lose its momentum if progress towards self-government were made by stages. The Tories, under Arthur Balfour's guidance, began to put through a programme of constructive reforms which were deliberately intended to " kill Home Rule by kindness ". Balfour himself instituted the Congested Districts Board ; and his brother Gerald Balfour soon afterwards sponsored the Local Government Act, which abolished the Grand Juries and introduced a wide measure of democratic control over local administration. Redmond never doubted that both these reforms would increase rather than diminish the demand for Home Rule, even if discontent were reduced for a time.

Horace Plunkett set about devising methods for improving Irish agriculture by Government assistance, on lines to be decided by agreement among all parties. Plunkett appealed for the formation of a Recess Committee, representing all parties, so called because it was to meet during the parliamentary recess to try and evolve some constructive policy, which the Government might be induced to adopt under pressure from a united public opinion. The majority of the Parliamentary party refused to collaborate with Plunkett. They believed that this was another and more insidious attempt to deflate the national agitation for Home

Rule. But Redmond, as the Parnellite leader, agreed readily to co-operate ; and the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, which arose from the report of the Recess Committee, was one of many constructive reforms which Redmond thus supported at the risk of discouraging the spirit of agitation.

Years of bitter recrimination and of mutual distrust had deepened the general sense of disillusionment at the end of the century ; and the Tory programme of constructive reforms had unquestionably reduced the momentum of the national agitation. But the constituencies still returned members pledged to concentrate upon the demand for Home Rule, whether they were Parnellites or anti-Parnellites. A new breath of vitality came with the rise of new movements outside politics, the Gaelic League, the co-operative societies and the literary theatre; while the centenary of 1798 revived patriotic memories and hopes. In that atmosphere of returning confidence William O'Brien emerged again as a dynamic figure. He threw all his great energy and his gifts for arousing popular enthusiasm into an effort to bring the opposing parties together. The United Irish League, which he founded for this purpose, met with an immediate response and there were earnest discussions about the possibility of uniting the conflicting sections of Parnell's old party under an acceptable leader. John Dillon showed his natural magnanimity by resigning his position as chairman of the anti-Parnellites and offering to serve under a new leader. Much manoeuvring followed and it was finally agreed that Redmond should become leader of the united forces.

It was an overwhelming and discouraging prospect which confronted him in 1900 when he accepted that thankless task, with long experience of the suspicions and intrigues that would surround him. The agitation which Parnell had raised to such intense excitement had lost all its impetus. The old slogans and the repeated promises of early victory had acquired a hollow sound. And when the Tories encouraged George Wyndham to introduce a Land Purchase Act which promised to end the old land war once and for all, the prospects of reviving a vigorous Home Rule agitation were still more discouraging. But Redmond gave his full support to the Land Purchase Act, as he did to the proposals for a university settlement. Then, suddenly, the Liberals swept back into office with so large a majority that the Nationalists could scarcely exert any effective influence. Under pressure they agreed to produce only a shadowy instalment of Home Rule, in the Irish Councils Bill ; but Redmond refused to consider it. But the establishment of a real and vigorous university which Catholics could enter with confidence and enthusiasm appealed strongly to Redmond's sense of the need for training and preparation. It was during those most difficult years, when Irish pressure could scarcely produce any effect, that the nationalist party under Redmond's leadership secured the Irish Universities Act of 1908.

It established the university colleges in Dublin and Cork and Galway, while leaving independent universities in Belfast and in Trinity College.

Looking back now upon the situation which Redmond had inherited, we may well wonder how through all those years of disillusion it had been possible to enforce the party pledge, of loyalty and obedience to party decisions, which was required of all its members. They were not at that time paid even the small salary of £400 a year which was introduced shortly before 1914. To any ambitious young politician the prospects of making a career in Ireland became increasingly remote, as one big grievance after another was removed, with the introduction of local government, the congested districts board, the department of agriculture and above all land purchase. Compared with conditions today, the revival of political agitation was vastly more difficult. In most constituencies there had not been for years even a contest between rival Irish parties. The same member would be elected time after time ; and the young generation, as I remember it, regarded Irish public life with a sense of hopeless frustration, combined with an ungrateful impatience towards the Old Guard, with their records of national service, which is not unknown today.

Yet Redmond's unfailing confidence in Parnell's strategy was justified at last. His opportunity came when Lloyd George's radical Budget in 1909 provoked a direct collision with the House of Lords. Unlike some of his colleagues Redmond had never acquired any tie with one of the English parties. But it was inevitable that Irish sympathies would support the Liberals if they really entered into conflict with the House of Lords. Redmond declared openly that "we regard the abolition of the Lords' veto as being tantamount to the achievement of Home Rule for Ireland". Even so he insisted absolutely, before promising the support of the Irish party and of the Irish vote in Britain, that the Liberals must first pledge themselves to introduce a Home Rule bill.

Within a few weeks of that decision the long apathy of previous years was swept away by a wave of excitement and of rising hopes. For the next five years John Redmond was to dominate the whole development of British politics. No one can read now the old newspapers of those years, or can recall his personal memories of the time, without realizing how formidable and commanding a figure John Redmond had become. In Ireland he had created a new conviction that the distant dream of self-government was no mere mirage. At Westminster it became evident that the formerly insuperable resistance to Home Rule had finally broken down. The veto of the House of Lords was already gone. Both the Liberal and the Labour parties were now solidly supporting Home Rule. From the Dominions and from the United States there was a steady and powerful pressure on Ireland's side. That new situation had

been brought about by years of patient organization and propaganda ; Redmond himself had been the leading spokesman and organizer.

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In both general elections in 1910 Redmond succeeded in achieving the balance of power at Westminster which Parnell had once before attained. But where Parnell had been halted by an insuperable resistance, Redmond was producing swift and decisive results. This new situation drove the Tories to desperate courses, under new leaders who defied their previous traditions. Looking back today, it is impossible for any serious student to deny that Redmond was unquestionably the victor in that extraordinary conflict. What Bonar Law and Carson had confidently intended was to kill all plans for Irish self-government, by intimidating the Liberal government with threats of armed resistance in Ulster. They had no thought, at first, of partition ; and even when the main conflict was inexorably narrowed down to that much smaller issue, Carson himself was intensely reluctant even to consider partition. But he had been so outmanoeuvred, by Redmond's relentless pressure, that he had to acquiesce in the principle of self-government for Ireland, and concentrate upon excluding whatever parts of Ulster he could retain.

Who can wonder that Redmond, no less than Carson, was taken unawares by this sudden emergence of a new demand for dividing Ireland to placate the Ulster agitation ? To Redmond the very idea was abhorrent, and the brief remainder of his life was spent in ceaseless efforts to avert it. " To us", he proclaimed in one of his principal speeches at that time, " Ireland is one land and one people." He would never allow the Unionists to claim that they represented Ulster. For a brief period, during the height of the Ulster crisis, a by-election in Derry city was won by a Home Ruler. Redmond could then claim positively that a majority of all the Ulster members was now in favour of Home Rule.

What he did not foresee, nor did anyone else, was that Parnell's methods of playing off one English party against the other might suddenly become unworkable, if the two parties should think in terms of coalition. As Redmond's official biographer, I read through all his confidential political papers, which have since been deposited in the National Library in Dublin. They contained no hint that Redmond was ever aware of the secret moves towards organizing a coalition government before the outbreak of war in 1914. He was aware only of the disquieting endeavours of Churchill and Lloyd George to narrow down the issues that separated both parties. Still less was he aware of the fact, recently revealed in the life of Bonar Law, that Bonar Law, as a returned Canadian of Ulster covenanting stock, had made up his own mind that Home Rule was now inevitable, and that what really mattered was to secure the exclusion of Protestant Ulster.

These intrigues and these undercurrents brought about a swiftly changing situation, as the final passage of the Home Rule Bill became imminent. The Unionist leaders virtually abandoned their general resistance to the Bill while they concentrated upon demanding exclusion for Ulster. They intensified their preparations for the provisional government in Belfast. Redmond was soon being subjected to extreme pressure from the Liberals to accept even a temporary partition in order to overcome resistance to the Bill as a whole. It became evident at last that the Liberals might drop the Bill altogether if some temporary concession were not made. Yet even in that crisis, when the Buckingham Palace Conference met in June 1914, Redmond remained adamant in refusing more than a six years' period of exclusion. And even that brief concession was to be offered only to such counties as contained clear Unionist majorities. He refused absolutely to give way over Tyrone or Fermanagh ; and his refusal broke up the Conference.

One aspect of Redmond's leadership during this period of tense anxiety demands special notice. He was determined, at almost any cost, to preserve Irish unity and to avoid any entrenched conflict with the Ulster Unionists. We forget now that at that time Joseph Devlin's gallant leadership of the nationalist minority in Belfast was one of the chief answers to the claim that Ulster was Unionist. In Armagh, Cardinal Logue was Primate of All Ireland. In Donegal, Bishop O'Donnell, who afterwards became Cardinal, was one of Redmond's oldest and most trusted colleagues. These powerful nationalist interests in Ulster made Redmond intensely reluctant to sanction any unconstitutional organization which might make civil war more probable. For that reason he at first definitely discouraged the formation of the Irish Volunteers as a rival force to the Ulster Volunteers. Only when the movement spread rapidly and spontaneously among the younger generation did Redmond agree to recognize it. He insisted then that it must be placed under what he considered to be responsible and representative control.

Some of us still remember how, in those hectic days when the Home Rule Bill seemed likely to become law within a matter of months, there were frequent assertions that only the outbreak of a European war could now prevent its operation. Scarcely anyone took that phrase seriously. Even in the few days that actually preceded the declaration of war, on 4 August, Redmond had been able to insist upon an immediate adjournment of the House of Commons, in protest against the shooting in Dublin, after the Irish Volunteers had landed their arms at Howth. But when the floodgates of war had already opened, it was obviously impossible that any contentious measure could be brought into operation at once.

There has been wide misconception concerning Redmond's famous speech on the declaration of war. He made no reference whatever in it to recruiting Irishmen for active service overseas. What he did propose,

with immediate effect, was that the internal defence of all Ireland should be handed over to the combined forces of the Irish and Ulster Volunteers, and that all British forces should be immediately withdrawn. That proposal implied an immense advance upon the previous limits of the Home Rule Bill. The response to his appeal was decisive. Within a few weeks Redmond had prevailed completely in insisting that the Home Rule Bill must become law, subject only to a suspensory period during the war. Only after that solemn enactment did Redmond proceed to appeal openly for volunteers, in the new Irish divisions which were to be raised as distinctive units for service overseas.

By that time a great number of young Irishmen had already volunteered for war service. Redmond's campaign was designed as much to keep them together in Irish formations, as to encourage further recruitment. His attitude towards the war reflected faithfully the response of the vast majority of Irish men and women to the German invasion of Belgium and France. Not only was Belgium overrun, with the apparent prospect of a German seizure of the Channel ports. Paris itself was in acute danger, and many cities and shrines which had a magic appeal for Irish people were threatened or actually devastated. The war appeared to the vast majority of Irish people not as a passing difficulty for England, but as a direct threat to the whole tradition of christian Europe. And to Redmond, with his wide experience of Irish organizations overseas, it appeared as a crisis of national defence in which Ireland could not stand aside while Irishmen in Australia and Canada and many other countries were equally involved.

During these years of world crisis, Redmond had lost contact completely with the aims and preparations of the resuscitated I.R.B., who were already planning an insurrection in Ireland to hamper the British Empire. It is a curious thought that if the British War Office under Lord Kitchener had not given such stupid discouragement to Redmond's efforts to recruit Irish divisions, there would have been little of that growing irritation and disillusionment which so quickly undermined Redmond's prestige as a national leader. It has become fashionable since those days to assume that the Easter Rising of 1916 changed the whole face of Irish history, and that national government could never have been achieved without an armed rising and bloodshed. But even those who assert that doctrine admit freely that the Easter rising was the work of a very small minority working by secret means ; and that when it took place, it aroused widespread resentment and very little sympathy at first.

To John Redmond, living under the constant stress of those war years, the Easter rising came as a total surprise. He genuinely believed that it could be explained only by German instigation and financial aid. His private papers and the recollections of his friends leave no doubt

that he was taken completely off his guard. He had no sympathy either with the secret planning or the insular outlook of those who planned the rising. Yet among all his papers nothing impressed me more than the immense correspondence which he conducted after the Rising with General Maxwell and the British authorities, working incessantly to obtain release or a reduction of sentences for the young men whose political activities he so strongly disapproved. He could still command an urgent hearing with Asquith and the Liberal Ministers, and in those tense weeks after the rising his personal intervention contributed largely to securing reprieve for some of the most prominent figures in Irish life.

The rising of 1916 had forced the pace of future advance, and it had also brought a sudden realization of the full liberty that had become attainable since war began. But it produced other less desirable results at the time, which conflicted directly with much that Redmond had succeeded in accomplishing. It cut across the tradition of close co-operation between Ireland and the self-governing Dominions, which were then throwing their full weight into the world war. It aroused bitter opposition in powerful quarters that had not been actively hostile before. Even in the United States, it similarly aroused formidable and organized hostility to Ireland in many quarters, though it galvanized the sympathy of Irish-Americans and also revived the anti-English prejudices of many Americans who found a brief opportunity for exploiting the Irish question. It created a new sense of suspicion and distrust among the Liberal and Labour parties in Britain, which had come to regard Ireland as a sympathetic ally. Above all it deepened the gulf between Protestant Ulster and the rest of Ireland, and thereby added incalculably to the danger that partition might be imposed to keep Protestant Ulster outside the jurisdiction of an Irish Government.

The prospect that partition might be established as a corollary to the concession of national government, which Redmond had already won, became a nightmare which darkened the few sad and lonely years that still remained to him. War had brought immense changes in politics. It was already evident, after 1916, that much more extensive concessions than the Home Rule Bill had contained would be attainable by consent when the war ended. Manhood suffrage, and even votes for women, which had been utterly unattainable in the pre-war years, were to be passed almost without opposition when peace returned. Even before the end of 1916, both Asquith's Ministry and Lloyd George's coalition had declared their desire for a wider Irish settlement by consent among all Irish parties. To Redmond that appeared as a supreme opportunity to avert Partition, by agreement between nationalists and unionists. He had already won support from the moderate unionist leaders to a degree which would have seemed incredible a few years before. But at all costs

he was determined to avoid partition of Ireland, while the rise of Sinn Féin increased from day to day the cleavage between the Republican south and the unionist counties of east Ulster.

In his long career of self-sacrifice and remoteness, he had lost touch with the younger generation, who had begun to regard him, under war conditions, as an imperialist indifferent to the ideals of Irish nationalism. Since Parnell's day Redmond had never deviated from the austere ascetic rule which forbade any social contact in England. It did not even allow an Irish member of the pledge-bound party to practice at the English bar. He had trained himself to a lonely and restricted life in his small flat in London, with occasional escapes to a modest hotel at some seaside resort within easy reach. When he returned to Ireland, he headed straight for the remote shooting lodge at Aughavanagh, in the Wicklow mountains, which Parnell had occupied many years before. There, in the solitude which was still possible before the days of motor cars or wireless or even telephones, he could find peace and rest after his harassing life at Westminster. Even in those momentous years, when he had often thrown the political world into a crisis by a speech or a firm decision, he had been personally dependent on his slender private means, supplemented by a meagre salary which would seem inadequate to any junior civil servant today. The only public reward which he ever accepted was when his friends presented him with his first and only motor car, after he had been injured in a driving accident.

He had spent forty years of his dedicated life as a public representative. Incessant cares and anxieties had undermined his strength though he was little more than sixty. Early in 1918 he was faced with a serious operation which made it impossible for him to continue as leader of the party. There had been times, both in his ardent youth and amid the triumphs of his later years, when he had enjoyed the dreams of ambition. He had looked forward then to opportunities of constructive service in an Irish Parliament, instead of being compelled to manoeuvre endlessly through the changes and chances of politics at Westminster. But in these last few years there had been no hope of personal advancement or fulfilment. In that last phase of sorrow and discouragement, his continued inspiration and strength came partly from his deep religious faith, and partly from that abiding sense of dedication and of patriotic duty which had sustained his whole public life. Through it all he had continued to set a superb example of moral courage and of fearless integrity and independence. As leader of the Parnellite minority he had acquired a total indifference to applause or to unpopularity, so long as he believed that he was performing his duty to the utmost of his powers. It had been his sole ambition always to be the faithful servant, or if need be the chosen leader, of his people.

The Natural Law and the Irish Constitution

by DECLAN COSTELLO

THE natural law is as old as man himself. It is called natural because it derives from the nature of man as a rational being, a person and an individual in society. It is a moral law which prescribes how men should act according to right reason ; it imposes obligations and confers rights on man as regards both himself and his fellow men. In order to fulfil the obligations of the natural law human nature is endowed with certain rights which are anterior to all positive human law and which no human law can abrogate. Maritain (in *Man and the State*) has described it thus :

> The same natural law which defines our most fundamental duties, and by virtue of which every law is binding, is the law which assigns to us also our fundamental rights. It is because we are caught up in the meshes of the universal order, in the laws and regulations of the cosmos and the immense family of created essences (and finally in the order of creative wisdom) and because we have at the same time the privilege of sharing in spiritual nature that we possess rights vis-a-vis other men and all the universe of creatures.

It was with the advent of the scholasticism of the Middle Ages—and particularly of St Thomas Aquinas—that natural law, with the obligations and rights that constitute it, was clearly and systematically defined. But when scholasticism fell into disrepute, the true concept of natural law and of natural rights became clouded. The eighteenth century philosophers, it is true, proclaimed a theory of natural law and inalienable natural rights, but building these theories on the Social Contract and the equality of man they wandered far from the thomistic concept of man's nature and its relationship with God. The whole theory of natural rights became based on a concept of man in a state of nature : emphasis shifted from man's duties conferred on him by his rational nature to man's rights as man. " Natural rights", wrote Paine, " are those which appertain to him by virtue of his existence." A. P. D'Entrèves in his *Natural Law* described the eighteenth century metamorphosis in the following words :

> The modern theory of natural law was not, properly speaking, a theory of law at all. It was a theory of rights. A momentous change has

taken place under the cover of the same verbal expressions. The *ius naturale* of the modern political philosopher is no longer the *lex naturalis* of the medieval moralist, nor the *ius naturale* of the Roman lawyer. The different conceptions have in common only the name.

Twentieth century legal thinking not only reflects the false eighteenth century theories of natural law and natural rights, but also the nineteenth century's rejection of natural law as a basis both for law and human rights. The legal philosophy of the nineteenth century mirrored faithfully the current adherence to scientific progress and the laws of science, to empirical reasoning as against *a priori* ideas. Austin taught that the science of jurisprudence was " concerned with positive laws, or with laws strictly so called as considered without regard to their goodness or badness ". Maine, whose *Ancient Law* had almost as powerful an impact on legal thought as Austin's writings, complained that plausible and comprehensive theories such as the Law of Nature which are " absolutely unverified, enjoy a universal preference over sober research into the primitive history of society and law " ; he declared that before the historical method " the Law of Nature has never maintained its footing for an instant ".

Recognition of human rights, however, did not disappear : only the true philosophical basis for such rights. They have been reasserted in the political pronouncements of the democratic world. The constitutions of the States set up after the Treaty of Versailles and enacted west of the Iron Curtain since the last war all contained declarations of human rights. So, too, did the Constitution of the Irish Free State and the Constitution of 1937. This article is concerned with clauses in the Irish Constitution of 1937 which declare and guarantee human rights, and its purpose is to discover to what extent they can be said to be based on a true concept of natural law and to examine in the light of nearly twenty years' experience the strength of the guarantees by which human rights are protected. Such a study is greatly facilitated by the authoritative decisions of the Supreme Court which in the course of that time has had to interpret nearly all the important human rights clauses.

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Certain very far reaching results have emerged. Constitutions always have to strike a balance between safeguarding the individual's rights and permitting parliament to regulate them for the common good. It has become manifest that the Constitution by using different phraseology has in respect of certain of these rights weighed the balance in favour of Parliament. And, secondly, where the language implies or affirms a

theory of natural law based on St Thomas, the balance is more strongly tilted towards the guarantee of the individual's rights. No reason is to be found in the Constitution as to why these guarantees should be so differently expressed. But they are ; and the effect has been to create a sort of hierarchy of rights in which some have more effective guarantees than others.

It is true that a Constitution is a legal not a philosophical document, and that it would be unreasonable to expect that it should contain a philosophical exposition of natural rights. The preamble is couched in terms expressly christian. The people enacted the Constitution " in the name of the Holy Trinity from whom is all authority and to whom, as a final end, all actions both of men and States must be referred ". So too, in respect of some, but only some, of the articles dealing with fundamental rights is language used with definite christian overtones. This differentiation has had profound results.

A Section of five Articles (Articles 40 to 44) headed " Fundamental Rights " deals with human rights : the right to personal liberty, the inviolability of the dwelling, the right to free expression of opinion, of peaceful assembly, to form associations, family rights, educational rights, property rights, and freedom of conscience and religion. Article 40, on " Personal Rights", is concerned with rights dealing with the person, the dwelling, freedom of expression and freedom of association. As a preamble to this Article, it is declared that all citizens as human persons are equal before the law and that the State guarantees to defend and vindicate the personal rights of the citizen. Family rights are contained in Article 41, educational rights in Article 42, property rights in Article 43, and religious rights in Article 44. One of the most striking facts of this division is that property rights are not included under the heading of " personal rights " and that the right of private property is set apart in a special article.

In Article 40 itself a distinction appears : the right to personal liberty and the inviolability of the dwelling are set apart from the rest. Clause 4 states : " No citizen shall be deprived of his personal liberty save in accordance with law " ; and Clause 5 states : " The dwelling of every citizen is inviolable and shall not be forcibly entered save in accordance with law ". The enjoyment of these two rights, then, may only be restricted " in accordance with law ". This phrase must be noted. The exercise of the other rights declared in this Article is also restricted but in a different form. The State grants the citizen liberty to exercise these latter rights subject to public order and morality, but Clause 6 provides that laws may be enacted for their regulation and control in the public interest. This distinction is of capital importance.

The special framework in which the right to personal liberty is set,

" no citizen shall be deprived of his personal liberty save in accordance with law ", is one to be found in many constitutions : it is similar to Article 6 of the 1922 Constitution of the Irish Free State ; the 1919 Constitution of the Weimar Republic declared that personal liberty is inviolable and that no deprivation of personal liberty by any public authority is permissible " except in virtue of law " ; the Constitution of the Polish Republic of 1921 stated that limitations on liberty " are only permissible in cases prescribed by law and according to the method fixed by law ". It is also analogous to the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution of the U.S.A. which provides that " no person shall be deprived of property, without due process of law ". Its model is to be found in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1789 which, after declaring " man's natural, imprescriptible and inalienable rights ", provided that " no man should be accused, arrested or held in confinement except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed ".

The effect of the phrase " save in accordance with law " was considered in a case which was heard not long after the passing of the Constitution (See in re Article 26 of the Constitution and the Offences against the State [Amendment] Bill, 1940 : 1940 I.R. p. 470). It arose when the President sought the opinion of the Supreme Court as to the constitutional soundness of a Bill which had been passed by the Oireachtas. The Constitution had especially provided that should the Oireachtas pass a law expressly for the purpose of securing the safety and preservation of the State in time of war or armed rebellion the Constitution would not be invoked to invalidate any such law. The Bill, in question, however, had not the protection of this Clause—it was an ordinary piece of legislation, and was not expressly for the purpose of securing the safety of the State in time of war. Nevertheless it gave to Ministers of State wide arbitrary powers of imprisonment without trial.

The Bill amended Part VI of the Offences Against the State Act, 1939. The part of the Act so amended was to come into force when the Government published a Proclamation declaring that the powers conferred by the Act were necessary to preserve public peace and order—the Dáil having power to pass a Declaration annulling the Proclamation. Section 4 provided that " wherever a Minister of State is of opinion that any particular person is engaged in activities which in his opinion are prejudicial to the preservation of public peace and order or to the security of the State, such Minister may by warrant under his hand and sealed with his official seal order the arrest and detention of such person under this Section ". Any person so arrested was to be detained in prison until released by order of a Minister of State or until that Part of the Act ceased to remain in force. Rights to search, take fingerprints and photo-

graphs and to question persons so arrested are conferred on members of the Garda Siochana. Section 8 provided for the setting up of a Commission to which an arrested person could appeal, and if the Commission reported that no reasonable grounds existed for the continued detention of such person, he was to be released. The Supreme Court decided that this Bill was not unconstitutional.

First, the judgment of the Chief Justice pointed out that prior to the enactment of the Constitution several Acts had been passed by the Oireachtas giving powers for the detention of persons. In spite of this there was no express prohibition in the Constitution against such legislation. " This is a matter to which we are bound to attach considerable weight in view of the fact that many articles of the Constitution prohibit the Oireachtas in plain and unambiguous language from passing certain laws therein specified " (see p. 478). Dealing, then, with the preamble of the Constitution, the judgment stated :

> it is difficult for us to understand how the dignity and freedom of the individual members of a State can be attained unless social order is maintained in the State. There is nothing in this Clause of the preamble which could be invoked to necessitate the sacrifice of the common good in the interests of the freedom of the individual. (See p. 479.)

The Court considered that the Minister was entitled to form an opinion on the matter specified in the Section and that no Court could question the validity of such opinion ; the detention which the Minister ordered would not be in the nature of punishment, but a precautionary measure for the purpose of preserving public peace and order.

In dealing with Article 40 Clause 3 (referred to above) which provides that the State guarantees to defend the personal rights of citizens, the Court interpreted the Clause as follows :

> The guarantee in the Clause is not in respect of any particular citizen or class of citizens, but extends to all citizens of the State, and the duty of determining the extent to which the rights of any particular citizen or class of citizens can properly be harmonised with the right of the citizens as a whole seems to us to be a matter which is peculiarly within the the province of the Oireachtas and any attempt by the Court to control the Oireachtas in the exercise of their function would, in our opinion, be a usurpation of its authority.

Turning then to the phrase " in accordance with law " the judgment reads : " In this Article it means the law as it stands at the time when the legality of the detention arises for determination. A person in custody is detained in accordance with law if he is detained in accordance with

the provisions of a statute duly passed by the Oireachtas, subject always to the qualification that such provisions are not repugnant to the Constitution or to any provision thereof". Lastly, the Court found that the Bill did not take away the right to *habeas corpus*—it merely altered the law, but did not take away a right.

The effect of this decision is far reaching. The Court has decided that with regard to Article 40 it is a matter for the Oireachtas to decide how the rights of the individual are to be harmonized with the common good ; that in certain circumstance a person can be detained without trial if his detention is in accordance with a law passed by the Oireachtas ; and that such a law need not be unconstitutional. In respect to the right to personal liberty a Government, with the support of a majority of the Dáil, can therefore with perfect legality take away by ministerial order the exercise of the right to personal liberty, if it is done " in accordance with law ".

As this phrase is also to be found in Clause 5 (" The dwelling of every citizen is inviolable and shall not be forcibly entered save in accordance with law "), any law passed by the Oireachtas conferring right of forcible entry would be a law which the Supreme Court could not declare to be an infringement of the right conferred by this Clause.

The other rights contained in Article 40, the right to free expression of opinion, freedom of assembly and freedom of association were not subject to this phrase, " save in accordance with law", but were subject to being regulated and controlled in the public interest.

The extent of the power of Oireachtas to pass laws regulating and controlling these rights in the public interest was queried in a case in which a Trade Union, the National Union of Railwaymen, sought a declaration that a Trade Union Act passed in 1941 was unconstitutional (see National Union of Railwaymen and others *v.* Sullivan and Others, 1947, I.R. p. 77). This Act had set up a Trade Union Tribunal with power to grant to an individual union the sole right to organize workmen in a particular class ; if such a right were granted no other union could accept as a new member any workman in the class in question.

The Supreme Court held that the Act did not prohibit all freedom of associations, but it purported to prohibit the right of the citizen to join one or more prescribed associations, and that this limitation deprived the citizen of a free choice of the persons with whom he would associate. Dealing with the Clause guaranteeing this right of free association, the Court pointed out that it was not an unqualified right and that the legislature had power to regulate and control the exercise of the right. The question for the Court to determine was whether the Act was contrary to the constitutional guarantee of the right of association or

whether it was merely a law regulating or controlling the exercise of the right.

The Court, however, was of the opinion that

> both logically and practically to deprive a person of the choice of the person with whom he will associate is not a control of the exercise of the right of association, but a denial of the right altogether. It was stressed in argument that control in the public interest was given to the Oireachtas and that such control might extend to deprive the citizen of all freedom of choice of his association, provided he could join a prescribed association for the particular object. The Constitution stated the right of the citizen to form associations or unions in an emphatic way, and it seems impossible to harmonize this language with a law which prohibits the forming of associations and unions and allows the citizen to join prescribed associations and unions. In the opinion of the Court a law which takes away the right of citizens to form associations and unions, not contrary to public order and morality, is not a law which can validly be made under the Constitution.

With regard, therefore, to the three rights subject to this qualification of regulation and control the Courts will examine every law to see that it does not take away a right, but merely regulates and controls it. The mere fact that the right is regulated in accordance with a law passed by the legislature will not prevent the Court from declaring that it is unconstitutional, if the law in fact infringes a right.

The distinctions of phraseology within Article 40 have therefore considerable significance. So too have the distinctions between this Article as a whole, and the others which deal with fundamental rights. This Article had declared the existence of certain personal rights which the State had undertaken to defend and vindicate. There is no statement of the nature of these rights or that they are inalienable or superior to positive law. But when the rights in the following Articles are set out it is of interest to note with how much greater force they are stressed and how much more absolutely they are guaranteed ; and also that for the first time in this set of Articles, the concept of natural law and of rights superior to positive law appears.

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Article 41 recognizes the Family " as the natural primary and fundamental unit group of society ", and describes it as a " natural institution possessing inalienable rights antecedent to and superior to all positive law ". With regard to education the " State acknowledges that the primary and natural educator of the child is the Family " and guarantees to respect what is termed " the inalienable right and duty of parents "

to provide for the education of their children. These two Articles (41 and 42) refer to rights which are superior and antecedent to positive law. But in the Article dealing with private property the reason and basis for the right to private property is predicated. There the State acknowledges that " man in virtue of his rational being, has the natural right antecedent to positive law, to the private ownership of external goods ". This is a clear statement of the thomistic concept of man possessing rights by virtue of his rational nature, and it is not to be found in the earlier Article dealing with other personal rights.

The limitations imposed on the rights, discussed in these three Articles, are by no means as clear-cut as in the earlier Article. The rights of the Family cannot in any way be interfered with. They cannot be " delimited ", their exercise is not " subject to public order and morality ", nor does the Article permit laws to be passed to " regulate and control " them in the public interest. This Article goes further. The State pledges itself to guard the institution of marriage and to protect it against attack ; and it specifically provides that no law shall be enacted providing for the grant of a dissolution of marriage. The free practice of religion is guaranteed—the only limitation is that it must be subject to public order and morality. The inalienable right of parents to provide for their children's education is subject only to a specific interference by the State. It is expressly stated that parents are free to provide education in their homes and that the State will not oblige parents " in violation of their conscience and lawful preference " to send their children to any particular school established or designated by the State. It is, however, provided that the State should, as guardian of the Common Good, require in view of actual conditions that the children receive a certain minimum education, moral, intellectual and social, and that in exceptional cases where parents fail in their duty the State shall endeavour to supply the place of the parents, " but always with due regard for the natural and imprescriptible rights of the child ".

In Article 43 the State affirmatively guarantees to pass no law attempting to abolish the right of private ownership or the general right to transfer, bequeath and inherit property, but it is recognized that the right of private ownership and the right to transfer property " ought in Civil society to be regulated by the principles of social justice ". Accordingly, " the State may as occasion requires delimit by law the exercise of the said rights with a view to reconciling their exercise with the exigencies of the Common Good ".

The strength of the guarantee of these rights is well illustrated in two cases in which the Supreme Court examined the rights conferred on the family and parents with regard to education, and a third case which involved the right to private property.

The Oireachtas in 1942 had passed a Bill known as the School Attendance Bill, and the President in accordance with the Constitution referred it to the Court for a decision as to whether or not it was repugnant to the Constitution (see 1943 I.R. p. 334). Section 3 of the Bill provided that the parent of every child to whom the Act applied " shall cause such child to attend a national school, a suitable school or a recognized school on every day on which such school is open, unless there is a reasonable excuse for not doing so ". Reasonable excuses were instanced. One such excuse would be that the child was receiving suitable education within the meaning of the Act in a manner other than by attending a national school, a suitable school or a recognized school. But before it could be said that a child was receiving suitable education within the meaning of the Act it was necessary to obtain a certificate from the Minister for Education to that effect.

The effect of the Act was summarized on page 343 of the Judgment as follows :

> it appears clear that the normal method of education contemplated is to be obtained by attending school, and that parents failing to send their children to school are subjected to penalties unless they can justify such failure under one or other of the clearly defined and restricted excuses prescribed in the Acts.

After dealing with the parents' rights to educate their children, conferred by Article 42, the Judgment stated :

> It must, however, have been, and clearly was, contemplated that some parents would, or might fail to discharge this duty and for the purpose of providing for this eventuality, Clause 3 (2) was inserted. It provided that the State shall as guardian of the Common Good, require in view of actual conditions that the children receive a certain minimum education, moral, intellectual and social. What is the meaning and extent of this provision ? What is referred to as a certain minimum education has not been defined by the Constitution, and accordingly we are of the opinion that the State, acting in its legislative capacity through the Oireachtas, has power to define it. It should in our view be defined in such a way as to effectuate the general provision of the Clause without contravening any of the other provisions of the Constitution. Subject to this restriction it seems to us that the State is free to act so long as it does not require more than a certain minimum education and which expression in the opinion of the Court indicates a minimum standard of elementary education of general application.

The Court then decided that the Minister, when granting his certificate that children were receiving suitable education otherwise than by attending school, might require a higher standard of education than the

minimum standard prescribed by the Constitution. By requiring such a higher standard the Minister would be acting unconstitutionally. For this and other reasons of less import the Bill was declared unconstitutional.

A case of wider application and of more fundamental effect arose in recent years involving the binding form of pre-nuptial agreements relating to the religious education of children (see, in the Matter of Tilson, Infants, 1951 I.R. p. 1). Before the Constitution of 1937 the English Law of pre-nuptial agreements applied in Ireland ; and it was well established in the English Courts that an agreement entered into before marriage by a man and woman to bring up their children in a particular religion was not binding in law. The Supreme Court has declared that Article 52 altered this position in Ireland, and that all such agreements are legally binding.

The majority decision is based on the fact that the Article guaranteed to respect the inalienable right and duty of " parents " to provide for the religious and moral, intellectual physical, and social education of their children. " Where the father and mother are alive", the Judgment reads, " this Article recognizes a joint right and duty on them to provide for the religious education of their children. The word ' parents ' is in the plural and naturally should include both father and mother. Common sense and reason lead to the view that the mother is under the duty of educating the children as well as the father ; and both must do so according to their means." The Court therefore held that, the right and duty being a joint one, if the father and mother make an agreement and put it into practice, neither can legally break it without the consent of the other. Thus, Article 42 has given legal force and effect to the moral obligations involved in pre-nuptial agreements.

In the year 1924 the honorary treasurers of the Sinn Féin organization paid into the High Court, under the provisions of the Trustee Act, 1893, a sum of over £8,000 ; the treasurers by reason of the political differences that had arisen in the organization were unable to decide who was entitled to the money. In 1942 an action was commenced by persons claiming to be officers and members of the organization. They sought a declaration that the Trust moneys were the property of the organization and an order directing payment of the moneys to the Plaintiffs on behalf of the organization.

In May 1947, whilst the Action was still pending, an Act entitled the Sinn Féin Funds Act, 1947, was passed providing that all proceedings in the Action be stayed, that on the application of the Attorney General, *ex parte,* the High Court should dismiss the Action ; that on the further application of the Attorney General the High Court should make an Order directing the funds in Court to be paid to a Board set up by the Act. Provision was made in the Act for the payment of the Parties' Costs,

and for the manner in which the Board would utilize the moneys. When the Counsel on behalf of the Attorney General applied under the provisions of the Act for an Order dismissing the action, the Order was refused by the President of the High Court on the ground that the Act was unconstitutional. On appeal to the Supreme Court it was held unanimously that the President's view was correct.

The Judgment in this case (see Buckley and Others *v.* Attorney General and Another, 1950, I.R. p. 67) is based primarily on an interpretation of Article 43 of the Constitution which deals with private property. After referring to this Article the Judgment of O'Byrne, J. reads :

> we do not feel called upon to enter upon an inquiry as to the formulation of natural rights or as to their nature and content. These have been the subject matter of philosophical discussion for many centuries. It is sufficient for us to say that this State by its Constitution, acknowledges that the right to private property is such a right, and that this right is antecedent to all positive law. This, in our opinion, means that man by virtue and as an attribute of his human personality, is so entitled to such a right that no positive law is competent to deprive him of it and we are of the opinion that the entire Article is informed by and should be construed in the light of this fundamental conception. Consistently with, and as an adjunct to this recognition, the Constitution proclaims : (1) that in a civil society such as ours the exercise of such rights should be regulated by the principles of social justice and (2) that for this purpose the State may pass laws delimiting the exercise of such rights so as to reconcile their exercise with the requirements of the Common Good.

The Judgment rejected the argument put forward on behalf of the Attorney General that the effect of the Article was merely to prevent the total abolition of private property : the Article, it stated, was created to protect the property rights of individual citizens, subject to the right of the State to regulate and control these rights in accordance with the principles of social justice and to delimit their exercise so as to reconcile it with the exigencies of the Common Good. The Court also rejected another argument, namely that the question of the exigencies of the Common Good is a matter for the legislature and is not subject to review by the Courts. " We are unable", the Judgment reads, " to give our assent to this far-reaching proposition ". It further stated that the only justification for such a statute under review would be if a conflict had arisen or was likely to arise between the exercise by the Plaintiffs of their rights of property and the exigencies of the Common Good, and that no such conflict had been suggested. The Act, in the opinion of the Court, was repugnant to the solemn declaration of the right to private property contained in Article 43. The Act was also declared to be unconstitutional

as being " an unwarranted interference by the Oireachtas with the operation of the Courts in a purely judicial domain ".

It will be noted that the Court placed great weight on the " solemn declarations " as to property rights contained in this Article, and on the fact that the right is declared to be a natural right antecedent to all positive law. Of equal importance in this Judgment is the view that before the State can attempt to delimit the exercise of such rights a conflict between it and the exigencies of the Common Good must have arisen or be likely to arise. Again, the case must be regarded as a landmark in Irish constitutional law for the declaration that it is not for the legislature alone to decide what are the exigencies of the Common Good, that this is a matter not removed from the cognizance of the Court.

In this regard the interpretation differs from that given by the Court to the somewhat differently worded Clause referring to the right to personal liberty. There the Court held that the duty of determining the extent to which the rights of any particular citizen, or class of citizen, can properly be harmonized with the right of the citizens as a whole was peculiarly a matter for the Oireachtas ; and for the Court to attempt to control the Oireachtas in the exercise of this function would be a usurpation of its authority.

That the Irish Constitution has a christian character is clearly to be seen. It is enacted in the name of the Most Holy Trinity ; the State acknowledges that the homage of public worship is due to Almighty God and undertakes to hold His name in reverence ; man is referred to as a rational being with natural rights antecedent to positive law, and citizens are referred to as " human persons " ; recognition of the family as the natural fundamental unit of society is given. Yet, as has been shown, certain of the fundamental rights are couched in language of a secular rationalist nature, while others are clearly and strongly inspired by the christian view of natural law. The desire for uniformity, the wish to be able to point to a Constitution in which human rights are not only safeguarded but correctly defined, must naturally prompt criticism of these distinctions. Yet such distinctions may have served one very useful purpose. Constitutional experience in Ireland for the past twenty years has shown that where constitutional guarantees can be traced to philosophical truths they are not mere empty formulas ; they are real safeguards of individual liberty.

Re-visiting Austria

by JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

WHAT impressed me this summer and what, I feel, must impress any visitor able to penetrate beneath surface opinions was the quiet confidence of the people of Austria in their present and future. Not that the Austrians have themselves changed. They appeared just as memory registers them : steady, courteous and friendly in the Tyrol, as conscious as ever of their regional habit of life and traditions, as anxious some day to see the reunion of the Southern Tyrol with the North ; or charming and *gemütlich* like the Viennese, mellowed by centuries of contact with other peoples, Slav and Hungarian, and with their nostalgic atmosphere of a grand Imperial past. But what I found new was this spirit of confidence.

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After the first world war Austria lay prostrate in defeat and disintegration. The land and people were exhausted. A small Republic of seven millions found itself heir to the old Austro-Hungarian Empire of more than sixty million inhabitants. Chaos and local jealousies cut it off from neighbouring countries. The Czechs refused it coal ; doctors were able to study the ravages of hunger and famine in Viennese hospitals. Its past lay in shreds around it ; the future seemed utterly problematic or even an impossibility. Plebiscites held in Salzburg and the Tyrol produced overwhelming majorities for an immediate *Anschluss* with Germany. Austria, the old *Ostmark*, which the Germans had pushed forward as an outpost towards the East, had better return to its original historic home. That was the prevalent opinion, with which even the Socialist leaders like Dr Renner and Bauer were in agreement. It was indeed only the peace treaties of 1919 and 1920 that ruled out this solution and compelled the young Republic to struggle on its lonely way.

Politically, Austria was divided into two principal groups : the Christian Social Party, representing in the main the provinces and Catholic in general inspiration, and the Social Democrats, strongly Marxist in leadership and with considerable Russian sympathies. A sequence of notable Chancellors, among them Drs Seipel, Dollfuss and von Schuschnigg, tried to steer a political course between dogged Socialist opposition and the growing power and interference of the Nazis. Not, it should be remarked, without some genuine success for, had the plebiscite envisaged by von Schuschnigg in 1938 been actually held, it is likely that he would have secured a substantial majority for the *Austrian idea* ; and it is most improbable that, despite all their intrigue and propaganda and the natural flush of admiration felt in some Austrian

quarters for their successes in Germany, the Nazis would have secured a majority or anything approaching a majority in Austria. Nevertheless, the years between the two wars were for the people of Austria difficult and uncertain years, for many of them a sad and distressing collapse.

All the more remarkable, then, that the second war had no sooner ended than the Austrians displayed an energy and initiative which have been maintained and even developed during the past ten years. Vienna was scarcely liberated by Russian troops when three elements in Austria started to bestir themselves : the Resistance, of which more than 15,000 members had been executed by the Nazis ; a number of Socialist politicians, led by Dr Karl Renner ; and some Christian Social Party members released now from prison and internment. The Russian authorities approved of Dr Renner as head of a provisional government, which functioned only in the area which the Russians occupied. Associated with him were four Socialists and four ex-Christian Social representatives, plus three Communists and two non-party individuals : the Communists were included as a gesture to the Russians.

From the beginning there was close contact between Socialists and Christian Social Party members. The first objective was economic, to provide food and fuel, to restore transport services, to establish law and order. For a time some danger existed that the Western Allies might set up another government in Western Austria under the suspicion that the Renner administration was a Communist instrument. The Control Commission for Austria, with its seat in Vienna, was not established until 4 July, 1945.

Great emphasis was placed on what may be called the *Austrian note*. The land had now been freed from forcible annexation by Germany. It must now learn to appreciate its freedom and look to itself for the future. Even the Communists—and this means the Russians also—encouraged this Austrian idea. Austria was to stress its national traditions as distinct from German associations; to do this, it needed a united front.[1]

[1] The extent to which this theme was underlined by the Communists may be seen from an article written by Ernst Fischer, himself a Communist, in a newspaper, launched in 1945, *Neues Oesterreich*. The article concluded as follows :

> " And something more is necessary : that we Austrians awake to true national self-consciousness, that we have confidence in our own strength, as we have not always had in the past.
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> " Hard work lies ahead of us, but it is work for ourselves. After long years of servitude, we can work for the welfare of our people, for a free, independent Austria. With united strength we will overcome all the accumulated difficulties and make of our homeland what it deserves to be : a land of peace, freedom and creative human endeavour. And when the drab needs of every day life get a hold on us, ardent faith in Austria will rouse us again to action.
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> " Our great composer, Schubert, has bequeathed to us his beautiful unfinished symphony. Everything around us now is unfinished : fragments, ruins, the sadness of destruction. Never the less, we hear more clearly than ever before the urgent, admonishing notes of the unfinished symphony—Austria. We shall finish it."

(quoted from *The Rebirth of Austria*, a valuable account of postwar Austria from 1945 to 1952,

Political Co-operation

In November 1945, only six months after the cessation of hostilities, Austria held its first election. Ninety-three *per cent* of the population voted. Over one million and a half votes were given to the *Volkspartei* or People's Party which took up the traditions and programme of the old Christian Social Party, and somewhat less than a million and a half votes fell to the Socialists. The Communist total was less than two hundred thousand. In the new Parliament the *Volkspartei* secured 85 seats, the Socialists 76, the Communists 4. Dr Figl of the first-named party became Chancellor, and the government consisted of eight members of his party, six Socialists and one Communist. Dr Renner, the veteran Socialist who had played a large part in forming the original makeshift administration, was elected President of the Republic by 204 votes out of 205, with one abstention. The Russians were, it should be mentioned, deeply offended by these results. It was clear to them that any gratitude which the Austrians might feel was due to them for their liberation of Vienna was not to express itself in sympathy for Communism. These results were certainly one reason why the Russians were loath to agree to evacuation of their troops and put so many obstacles in the way of an Allied State treaty with the Austrian government. This was not concluded until 1955.

One ground for Austrian confidence today is to be found in its political stability since these first elections. A coalition government has administered and still administers the country. The balance of power between the two principal parties has remained fairly constant. At the 1949 elections, in which 97 *per cent* voted, the *Volkspartei* slightly increased their advantage ; in 1952 the Socialists gained three seats from them ; in 1956, on the other hand, the pendulum swung back in their favour. But, throughout, the co-operation has been loyal and genuine.[1]

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by Richard Hiscocks, who was the British Council representative in Vienna from February 1946 to October 1949. It was published by the Oxford University Press.)

It is typically 'Austrian' that a Viennese writer should think of Austria in terms of Schubert and symphonies. Vienna is the city of music and eminent musicians, and the place where their memory is charmingly and gracefully treasured. How far the 'unfinished symphony' of Austria has been completed is another question but certainly valiant efforts have been made to complete it, in spite of constant problems and continued foreign occupation, during the past ten years.

[1] Dr Oscar Pollak, writing in 1950, after five years' experience of this coalition, made the following significant statement :

> "When a democratic country owing to the class division of its people . . . is split into two great camps, two parties of approximately equal strength, this country cannot be governed by democratic methods against the will of one of the two parties . . . History has shown that every attempt to rule such a country through one half of the population against the wishes of the other must lead to the jeopardising and even to the annihilation of democracy."

(quoted in *The Rebirth of Austria*, p. 48)

This was the lesson which the Austrian Republican politicians had not learnt prior to 1938 and yet it harmonizes well with their temperate, good-natured and friendly character.

Of course collaboration has meant mutual compromise. The Socialists, in any case, are more moderate than they were before 1938 : this will appear when we consider their attitude towards religion. But they have been compelled to limit their plans of nationalization. On the other hand, the *Volkspartei* has accepted a large degree of nationalization of industries and social legislation which in some respects is more advanced than that of Britain. In July 1947, a law enacted holidays with pay for workers. After five years of service the worker has the right to three weeks' holiday with pay, and to a month after fifteen years. In the same year an attempt was made to introduce the system which has been more recently adopted in Western Germany under the name of the *Mitbestimmungsrecht,* and which allows for the association of workers with the running of industrial concerns. Works Councils in Austria may make recommendations to the management concerning productivity and general efficiency but the rôle of these Councils in Austria has remained advisory rather than essential.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

Between 1918 and 1939 the economic position of Austria was unsatisfactory and unpromising. Today one's impression is that Austria is relatively prosperous. Why this—in some degree—remarkable transformation ?

There are various factors, not least the quiet confidence that derives from a political stability which did not exist between the wars. In the first place, Austria received generous assistance in the immediately post-war years. From May 1945 till the end of that year, the Austrians had largely to fend for themselves. Then came massive help, before all else from U.N.R.R.A. and later directly from the United States. In 1946, from June to October, before the harvest could be garnered, 80 *per cent* of the rations of the non-agricultural population was provided by U.N.R.R.A. through money or actual provisions. Something like one hundred million dollars were spent on food to nourish the population, to say nothing of substantial grants for agricultural supplies and machinery. Austria has good cause to bless the collective generosity of Western nations and, to be just, she does acknowledge her great indebtedness. In 1947 the United States provided a further hundred thousand dollars, while towards the close of 1946 Britain had given eight and a half million pounds sterling. To add one final figure, more than 30,000 tons of food stuffs, clothing and medical requisites were despatched to Austria between 1945 and 1948 by various relief agencies in Switzerland.

There are, however, some additional factors to be considered. Austrian timber resources are very great. During the war these were relentlessly exploited but they still remain very large. Timber has

naturally been of the utmost value in rebuilding and reconstruction, and prices are correspondingly high. Many of the woods and forests in Austria are owned by the *Gemeinde* or community with the consequence that the sale of timber has financed local necessities such as schools and social services. Agriculture is also prosperous in spite of a certain drift to industry and the cities.

Indirectly, Austria has gained in two important respects from the Nazi and Russian occupations. The Germans developed a number of heavy industries in Austria in the hope that these centres would be less subject to Allied air raids. The vast Hermann Goering steel works were set up to the south of Linz with a nitrogen plant to make use of its by-products and an aluminium factory at Ranshofen some fifty or sixty miles distant. In the past fifteen years Linz has grown from a city that looked like a large village into an industrial town of 200,000 inhabitants. Thick yellow-brown smoke hangs lazily in the air as you approach the railway station or look landwards from the Danube. At the same time the hydro-electric supply of current was raised by more than sixty *per cent* under the Nazis. These and other industrial concerns received considerable aid from the Marshall Plan. One should notice also a tendency to transfer industries from East to West because of the Russian occupation ; the result is that the Western provinces, formerly agricultural, have become to some extent industrialized. A number of lighter industries, highly specialized glass work for instance, have been started in the Inn valley.

In the long run the economic status of Austria will have been even more radically altered by the development of her oil resources, chiefly in Lower Austria and Burgenland. Between 1937 and 1945 the production of oil was raised from 33,000 to 1,200,000 tons : there was a decline in 1945 and 1946 but by 1952 the amount had risen to more than three million tons. While the Russians were in occupation, they claimed most of this oil and exercised a control over the rest. And Austria is still committed to a large supply of this oil for the benefit of Russia and the satellite states. But the fact remains that the country has considerable oil deposits which are now in process of utilization and eventually will be fully national property, freed from the burden of reparations.

In consequence of these two developments Austria is more industrial than in 1938 and has industrial centres in the West. This has involved some changes in the pattern of these Western districts. There are today more industrial workers and a tendency on the part of young men to forsake the field for the factory. Wisely the government has tried to counteract this movement by extending to agriculture and forestry the rights and privileges of industrial workers. An Agricultural Workers' Law of June 1948 secured for them various advantages already granted

to industry : among these, labour contracts, holidays with pay, provision against accident and good working conditions.

There is one further factor to be noted. In the past few years Austria has become a paradise for tourists. And no wonder, for the land is beautiful, with its rich variety of forests, lakes and mountains, and the people one of the most friendly and delightful in Europe. In the summer Innsbruck and the Inn and Sill valleys are besieged by English, French and Dutch, to say nothing of Germans from over the near-by border. Salzburg has its festival of world reputation, Bregenz in the Vorarlberg a second festival, more modest in its appeal but attracting many visitors. It is proposed to start, maybe in 1957, a third festival centre in Innsbruck, different in character from the other two. Vienna, free this year for the first time from occupying troops, has attracted hundreds of thousands from abroad. As in Switzerland, so in Austria this tourist trade is one of the major sources of income. It has its problems. Priests have complained to me of its effects, especially in the more remote valleys where young men and women are disturbed by this sight of relative affluence. Critics of Salzburg and its festival argue that it has been completely commercialized. But I imagine that visitors to Austria would compare their hosts and the general tradesmen very favourably indeed with those of certain other tourist countries.

THE RELIGIOUS SCENE

Austria is a traditionally Catholic land and it played politically the leading part in the Counter Reformation. To the eye it is also, and strikingly so, a Catholic country with city churches in rich and at times magnificent Baroque and the village churches that stand out prominently from the country or mountain side. The *Zwiebeltürme* or ' onion towers ' of these churches dominate the banks and the sky line of the Danube, and there are splendid monasteries like Sankt Florian or Melk. The late eighteenth century introduced the phenomenon of Josephinism which left a ' broad ' or ' Liberal ' current throughout the nineteenth century among many of the upper and educated classes. Their Catholicism was often little more, if indeed more, than merely nominal. This Liberal tendency has largely disappeared, at any rate in its original form ; former Liberals have become pan-Germans or pro-Nazis. Provinces like the Tyrol and Upper Austria were regarded as stoutly Catholic ; so were Salzburg and Styria, though perhaps less unreservedly; Carinthia has a more mixed reputation. Vienna, on the other hand, was traditionally *gemütlich* or happy-go-lucky with a certain lack of religious earnestness behind its Catholic façade.

In recent years two schools of opinion have existed among Austrian Catholics. The first, optimistic, thinking in terms of ' Catholic ' Austria

where more than ninety *per cent* of the population are registered as Catholic ; the second, rather pessimistic, inclined to look on genuine Catholics as a minority in a half-secularized land. The former school, its opponents argue, is unrealistic and will not see things as they are ; the latter, again in its opponents' view, equally unrealist in its gloomy outlook and responsible for the creation of a ' ghetto ' mentality among Catholics which, they contend, has done considerable harm.

My own impressions this summer were favourable. The churches were frequently full. The people's love of pilgrimages was as pronounced as ever, and when I visited Maria Zell, which may be termed the ' Lourdes ' of Austria, the town was full with ardent visitors who clearly had come to pray. A number of churches, among them the Canisius Church of the Jesuits in Vienna, the Jesuit church in Linz and the Innsbruck university church have evening Mass every day. Priests on duty, for instance, in the church in Linz hear as many as 25,000, in one case 30,000, confessions in the year. Great care has been taken to restore churches, destroyed or damaged during the war. The restoration of the cathedral of St Stephen in Vienna was a national effort, admirably planned and generously supported. Catholic newspapers are vigorous ; there are many sodalities and associations of students and professional men. Many of the prominent politicians are admirable Catholics.

Some interesting details have been provided by a careful ' poll ' conducted by the *Wiener Markt- und Meinungsforschungsinstitut Dr Walter Fessel,* precisely on this religious question. 1,576 persons, chosen from every class, work and political affinity, were asked a number of questions about their religious attitude to God, the after-life, their belief in miracles, desire to receive the Last Sacraments and so on. Some of the more practical queries will give an insight into the Austrian religious situation.[3]

To the enquiry, " When were you last at Mass ? "

37 *per cent*	replied :	Last Sunday.
18 *per cent*	:	Some weeks ago.
16 *per cent*	:	Some months back.
28 *per cent*	:	Years ago.
1 *per cent*	:	Never.

55 *per cent* therefore go to Mass fairly regularly. 44 *per cent* may be considered at least as *Taufscheinchristen,* people who would call themselves Catholics. Only 1 *per cent* never attended church.

The attendance percentage in the former group (that is at Mass last Sunday or some weeks back) was higher among women (61 *per cent*)

[3] This ' poll ' was examined and commented upon in the *Oesterreichisches Klerusblatt* for 4 August 1956.

than men (49 *per cent*). It was also higher among the married (59) than the unmarried (53). It tended to increase with age and to decline with higher education. The figure was very eloquent in the case of divorced persons. Of these practically none said they had been at Mass on the previous Sunday: 17 *per cent* said 'some weeks back', 83 *per cent* 'a long time ago or never'.

In terms of employment, 58 *per cent* of industrial workers, 40 *per cent* of salaried employees and 43 *per cent* of those registered as self-employed belonged to the latter group whose last attendance was months or years ago, or even never.

When political allegiances came to be considered, it was discovered that 81 *per cent* of those who voted for the *Volkspartei* had been present at Mass on the previous Sunday or within recent weeks and—be it noted—36 *per cent* of the Socialist voters. If we regard only "the last Sunday" Mass attendance, then the figures were 67 for the *Volkspartei* supporters and 15 for those of the Socialists. Smaller political groups such as the *Freie Oesterreichische Partei* were not represented in this more Catholic category.

The value attached to religion, not least by those who do not themselves practise it may be gathered from the answers to another query: "Should children receive definite religious instruction even when their parents have no religious affiliations?" This brought an overwhelming majority in favour of religious education (91 *per cent*); 6 *per cent* gave a negative reply in the case of non-religious parents; 3 *per cent* returned no opinion. From *Volkspartei* supporters 97 *per cent* expressed their desire for religious education and in addition 88 *per cent* of those who normally vote Socialist. It was intriguing to discover that of those who declared themselves Communists 82 *per cent* wanted religious education for their children. On this point the enquiry is borne out by actual practice. According to Austrian law parents may have their children withdrawn from religious instruction in the schools if they insist. In practice, no use is made of this escape clause, and this is true of members of all political parties.

These figures help us to draw a number of conclusions. In the first place, there is in Austria no substantial percentage of people who have repudiated religion altogether. 99 *per cent* declared that they had been to Mass at some time or other, even though for 28 *per cent* of them the occasion was described as "years ago". 55 *per cent*, those who attended Mass on the previous Sunday or only a few weeks before, may be called reasonably practising Catholics. There are few Austrians who have not some association, however tenuous, with the Catholic Church. On the other hand, there is an evident need for pastoral work in a country in which more than 40 *per cent* admit that their last Mass attendance must

be reckoned in terms of ' months ' or ' years '. Some priests will tell you that Austrian Catholicism is too traditional, has become stereotyped in popular devotions and local pilgrimages to *Wallfahrtsorten* and is not sufficiently instructed or intellectual.

In the second place, despite the underlying Marxist philosophy of the Socialists, the parties cannot be labelled ' Catholic ' and ' anti-Catholic '. The *Volkspartei* is definitely Catholic in membership and leadership, as these figures have clearly shown. But we have to remember the 36 *per cent* of Socialist voters who had been at Mass on the previous Sunday or very recently.

Finally, an almost universal wish exists for religious education. Even those who have lapsed or whose links with the Church are very slender recognize the value of such education and would not care to see their children deprived of its advantages. The conclusions of the article in the *Klerusblatt,* to which I have referred in a footnote, were broadly optimistic. Catholic Austria, it asserted, was a good deal more than an historic expression : the religious core of the people was probably firmer and more enduring that was often supposed ; and, in the last resort, few Austrians indeed live permanently far from the Church or unaffected in some ways by its spirit and influence.

Western Sympathies

I was in Austria when the first news arrived of the Suez crisis. It was surprising—or should I say that ?—to notice how unanimously the papers took the British and French point of view. The Austrians have suffered from the ' nationalism ' of the peoples who once formed part of the Dual Monarchy, and they were never themselves really ' nationalist '. Loyalty in the old Empire was in the first place, to the House of Habsburg, to the *Kaiserliche und Königliche Majestät* and, secondly and in a general manner, to their own German background, language and culture. More recently they have been horrified by the extremist racial and nationalist theories of the Nazis. These papers did not hesitate to refer to Colonel Nasser as the little Hitler of the Nile. One paper proved an exception : it took its colleagues to task for what it called their uncritical Western attitude. Austria, in its opinion, ought to retain a neutral position.

The fact is, of course, that Austrian neutrality is only a matter of practical politics, and not of individual or national sympathies. The Austrians know as well as or better than most Western peoples that no neutrality is possible between Communism and the free concept of life of the West. Dr Renner once remarked that Stalin had made only two mistakes : he had shown Central Europe to the Russians, and the Russians to Central Europe. Austrian experience of the Russian occupation, though it was far milder than that of Eastern Germany,

has confirmed their allegiance to the West, if it needed such confirmation. The Austrian people know that, culturally and in the economic field, they are superior to the Russians. Their Catholic traditions and their very human qualities make them unpromising subjects for Soviet propaganda and indeed the manner in which they faced and resisted Russian pressure during the occupation years was distinctly courageous. There are very few Communists in Austria where the Socialist Party, as in the West German Republic, is firmly anti-Communist.

But however definite be her Western sympathies, there is a sense in which she is trying today to think of herself as *neutral,* as a State that can provide a bridge between different cultures and diverse peoples. Austria in the past was German but never aggressively German. She was for centuries the centre—and after 1867 one of the two centres—round which other peoples were grouped politically and, until the rise of Nationalism in the mid-nineteenth century, with tolerable contentment. Austria has had long contacts with the surrounding Slavs—Poles, Czechs and the Slavs of the Balkans. With most of them—Poles, Croats, Slovenes and many Czechs—she shares a common Catholic heritage ; and her relations with the Poles, Croats and Slovenes have been reasonably friendly.

She has also had a close association with Italy. A century back, she was mistress of Venice, Trieste, Istria and Dalmatia ; and one has only to stroll through the streets of Salzburg to realize how strong has been Italian influence upon its architecture.

The argument is that Austria stands at the meeting point of the three important streams of culture and tradition of Central and Eastern Europe : the German, the Latin and the Slav. It is accordingly her cultural—and to some extent also her political—mission to act as a factor of balance and reconciliation between the three. This was emphasized in a recent pronouncement of the Austrian government :

> Austria, which has been fashioned by the three most important cultural streams on the Continent of Europe—the German, the Latin and the Slav—is entrusted therefore with the vital task of providing a balance and bridge between them. The people of Austria may justly be proud of its history and its past achievements ; it may have a pride also in the new responsibility which the future will confer upon it.

A notable address on the same theme was delivered on 19 August 1956, by a Secretary of State, Dr Franz Gschnitzer at the inauguration of a European Forum Congress at Alpbach. He quoted a sentence of the Chancellor, Dr Raab : "*Deutsch ist unsere Muttersprache, aber unser Vaterland heisst Oesterreich*" (German is our mother tongue, but Austria is our Fatherland). He rejected two extreme positions : that of the Austrian Nazis in 1938 which loudly asserted that Germany and German

were everything and that Austria had lost all significance, and the opposite attitude, by reaction of many Austrians in 1945 that stressed Austria to the complete exclusion of everything German. Reflecting upon past glories, still symbolized by the Imperial regalia in the Schatzkammer and the magnificent Baroque and Renaissance palaces in Vienna, he claimed that Austria had organized and ruled the Danube lands, not through sheer force but with understanding and tolerance. Austrians today do not dismiss these historical memories. But times have altered and they must devote themselves to the same task of *Ausgleich*, of balance and mediation, in a new form.

> There is now no question of political sovereignty or suppression or conquest. We have to reconcile, appease and co-operate . . . This is the finest and most worthy mission that can fall to the lot of man : a mission which can more easily be fulfilled by smaller countries than by great and powerful States. For the great and powerful are dogged by the spirit of mistrust. Even when they act as mediators, men readily suspect them of pursuing their individual interests or seeking to extend their influence. It is a task that a neutral country is more capable of realising than another entangled in a wide net of national interests. It is a responsibility which has become in a special sense our Austrian responsibility. For we are the only land and people at the crossways of the three great elements of European culture. This task is now part of our very fabric and structure ; it is admirably proportioned to the traditions and character of the people of Austria. The Austrian can develop it better than any other person. Maybe he is the only person capable of its development.
>
> We are now free from the burden of empire, for it is indeed a burden. We are free from all suspicion of wishing to dominate others. We are not involved in international differences or tensions. We can be truer to-day than ever before to this mission of mediation and understanding.

Conclusion

This has been an article of analysis rather than description. I must, however, conclude with a series of short personal impressions : Vienna, seen from the Kahlenberg, one of the Wienerwald hills that encircle the city from West and North—the Kahlenberg from which the Polish and German soldiers of Jan Sobieski descended into the Danube plain to relieve the beleaguered Viennese on that fateful twelfth of September 1683, and to drive back for ever the Turkish menace to Central Europe ; Schönbrunn, the charming summer residence of the Emperors, loved and beautified by Maria Theresa, eloquent still of the gallantries and courtesy of other days and wistfully reminding the thoughtful visitor of the transience of human ambitions and how " sceptre and crown must tumble down, and in the dust be equal made, with the poor crooked scythe and spade " ; the Upper Belvedere, built by that prince of

Baroque architects, Johann Fischer von Erlach, for Prince Eugene of Savoy and prior to 1914 the home of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand ; patrician palaces and ornate *Bürgerhäuser* flush with the houses to their either side, and squares like the Josefsplatz with the superb Hofbibliothek fronting it and running out to meet it on both wings ; the Gothic of St Stephen's, yet enriched and coloured with warmer and more Southern tones, the resplendent glory of the Karlskirche ; nineteenth-century buildings that majestically flank the Ringstrasse and give a pattern to inner Vienna that finds its equal among European cities only in Paris ; graceful monuments and memories of Beethoven and Mozart and, in a sense, the more typical Viennese tribute—fluid, elusive, gracious and fleeting—in the Stadtpark to Johann Strauss.

There are some relics of the Russian occupation : tombs of Russian soldiers bedded amid flowers in the Volksgarten ; a tall column set up behind the Hochstrahlbrunnen at the end of what for ten years until very recently was known as the Stalinplatz but has how reverted to its older name, the Schwarzenbergplatz ; one Russian tank with its red five-pointed star across which, when I saw it, a commentator had written an historic French expression ; and near the Danube bridge, still officially termed the bridge of the Red Army, a tasteless obelisk, commemorating the ' gratitude ' of the Viennese for their liberation by Russian marines, from which incidentally the bilious pink-red plaster is rapidly peeling. The Russians have left behind them little but the thankful feeling that they have at long length gone and that the Austrians can live their own life again, undisturbed and in contact with the peoples of the South and West with whom they share the common heritage of European culture and free men.

The First Round on the Suez Canal, 1951-52

by J. J. W. MURPHY, C.SS.R.

THE chief object of British foreign policy since 1945 seems to have been the keeping of the U.S.A. from the isolationism which caused it to withdraw from Europe, with such unfortunate consequences, after the first world-war. In the Middle-East Britain has two inducements to offer, which have so far succeeded : they are oil and nationalism. This mixed bait has proved almost irresistible to that combination of commercialism and political idealism, which is characteristic of America. It worked at Abadan in 1951. It had been nibbled in Egypt since 1952. There is much nationalism and not much oil in Egyyt.

The British regular army, from long experience of their ways, has a deep distrust of all politicians, British included. The regular soldier listens only under compulsion to the political case for the side that sends him to war. The young man called up for his National Service is rather more concerned to know the reason why. But he is not impressed by official propaganda, unless it caters skilfully for the English wish to hear the other side of an argument. Regular soldier and National serviceman obstinately make up their own minds. Thus, faced with the actual situation at Abadan and harassed by people who could not make up their minds what to do about it, the British soldier in the Middle-East summed it up something like this : " Why not go in and blow the thing up ? The refinery is ours ; the oil is theirs. Leave them their oil under the ground where it was before we pumped it up. When the Russians invade Persia, we shall have to blow it up at the risk of our lives. Easier do it now." If that had been done, the moral effect on the Middle-East might have settled a lot of problems, including that of the Suez Canal. But if it had been done, the Americans would not now be firmly fixed in Abadan, where the British Foreign Office wanted them to be, sharing profits with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, which had rather reluctantly supplied the bait for the Americans. The scheme was helped on by Dr Mossadeq, who nationalized the refinery and nearly ruined his country financially as he ruined himself politically. The British soldier could only see that Britain was being pushed out of Persia three years after she had been pushed out of Palestine. He could not see why. Nobody ever pushed the army out, as he well knew.

British regular army chaplains generally follow the army tradition of saying little or nothing about the justice of the British cause, even when the case for it seems clear enough. This sometimes leads to complaints, as recently in the Korean war, that men do not know what they are expected to fight and die for. But if chaplains were to become eloquent when the issues were clear, it might be embarrassing when the issues were not so clear. Nevertheless there are always individual consciences to be guided, so it is a chaplain's duty to know all he can about the moral issues at stake in any situation where his men may be ordered to risk their lives or to take the lives of others.

On the Suez Canal in 1951–52 I found it difficult to get the information that would enable me to estimate the moral issues. No one seemed to have seen a copy of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936, or to know where I could get one. There were many good maps of the Canal Zone, but on none of them were the boundaries marked that were agreed to in that treaty. Nobody familiar, as I was, with the happy-go-lucky ways of the British army in such matters would be surprised at this. What surprised me was that I soon encountered a definite current of misleading information which did not seem attributable to the usual carelessness and indifference. Its purpose was not indifferent ; it was such as to prepare the minds of the troops for surrendering the Canal ; and its sources were British.

For example, it was said that the treaty of 1936 was only for twenty years and that the British would have to leave the Canal in 1956, if the Egyptians refused to renew the treaty. When eventually I got a copy of the treaty from London, I found that it said the exact opposite: that British troops were not to leave, unless at the end of twenty years the Egyptian army were fit to take over defence of the Canal. Of that fitness the British government, according to the express terms of the treaty, would be the final judge. The reason for this last provision was the Convention of Constantinople, signed in 1888 by Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Spain, Holland, Italy, Russia, and Turkey who signed also on behalf of Egypt as its suzerain. This convention, rather than the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936, is the true foundation of Britain's position in regard to the Canal. It established the Canal as an international waterway and gave expressly to the British government a special right and responsibility for its defence. I met nobody in the Canal Zone who seemed to have heard of it, but everybody seemed to have heard of Britain's assurances, during the past seventy years, that British troops were never meant to remain in Egypt.

It was natural that Egyptian propaganda should represent those assurances as broken promises and say nothing of the important point that they depended entirely on the condition, sometimes expressed and

always implied, that Egypt must be willing and able to take over the responsibilities laid upon Britain by the Convention of 1888. That the condition had not been fulfilled, was the British view. So it was interesting to hear the contrary Egyptian view coming from British sources, with the suggestion that Britain ought to make amends for past perfidy by getting out of Egypt, regardless of those responsibilities. One source of this, and of many similar misrepresentations, was of course Communist. The Russian Communist party-line then was, as it still is, to get British troops out of the Near and Middle East. But there were never many Communists in the British army, as I knew it. There were other sources.

The Labour Government of Britain was in an awkward position. Their huge majority at the 1945 election had been so greatly reduced in 1950 that they could barely carry on. Another general election was inevitable at an early date. The "scuttle from Abadan", as the Conservatives called it, would lose them votes. They were anxious to settle the Egyptian problem by some compromise which would tide them over the election without giving the opposition any more material for its campaign. They remembered that the first serious set-back to rising left-wing sentiment in Britain at the end of the war had come from the Army, although the majority of the Army voted Labour. It had happened when nearly every newspaper in Britain and the U.S.A. was denouncing Winston Churchill for sending British troops into action against the Communist organizations, E.L.A.S. and E.A.M., then trying to seize power in Greece. Even *The Times* solemnly joined in. Then came letters home from husbands, sons, brothers and boy-friends, who were fighting in Greece. They had the evidence of their own eyes to tell them what kind of people were in E.L.A.S. and E.A.M., whom the newspapers at home were presenting to the public as good democrats trying to get rid of a corrupt monarchy. The change in public opinion was quick and decisive. The newspapers had to follow suit. *The Times* had not been made to look so foolish since the exposure of Piggott's forgeries.

The Labour Party did not want any more letters home from the Middle-East giving the Army's views on what could be called another "scuttle". But at this stage there was no hope of a settlement with the politicians who ruled Egypt. They had their own internal troubles, which were to end in revolution and overwhelm them within the coming year. A quarrel with Britain seemed the only way to distract their people's attention. The British Government made a last-minute offer. Egypt was to become an equal partner in an allied organization for Middle-East defence with Britain, France, Turkey and the U.S.A. All British forces would be withdrawn except those agreed to by Egypt and the other allies as part of a joint force to defend the Middle-East. This proposal practically conceded the evacuation of the Canal Zone. It was

backed by the United States Government. Had Egypt accepted, the British Government would have gained its object of getting the U.S.A. to commit itself to the defence of the Middle-East. The withdrawal of British forces from Egypt would not be too high a price to pay for that. But the offer was rejected by Egypt ; and Labour lost the election.

On 15 October 1951, the Egyptian Parliament passed the decrees abrogating the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936. They were signed by King Farouk on advice of and under pressure from his Prime Minister, Nahas Pasha.

Trouble started immediately. Next day the morning train from Cairo to Port Said, which stopped at Ismailiya in the Canal Zone, carried among its alarmed passengers some hundreds of young hooligans who had evidently been organized for violence. The railway station at Ismailiya is in the European quarter, where many British army families were living in houses and flats rented from Egyptian landlords. The British garrison headquarters was in Moascar, on the other side of the town. Most of the party from Cairo got off at Ismailiya ; the rest went on to Port Said.

About ten o'clock that morning, as on every other week-day morning, the army wives in Ismailiya, having got their husbands off to duty and their children off to school, were doing their morning shopping, some in the native market but most in the army families' shop known as " The NAAFI ". The party from Cairo divided into small groups as it left the station. Some went to wreck and loot the houses and flats tenanted by the British. Others went to the NAAFI. They drove the women from the shop into the soldiers' canteen, which was in the same building, locked them in, looted the shop and set fire to it. The Egyptian police acted as they ought. They had evidently not got the instructions, which they got later, that they must turn a blind eye to such disturbances. They opened fire on the looters, shooting to kill. British troops arrived, shot a few more and rescued the women from the burning building. The Port Said police also behaved well. Less damage was done there, because most of the British families lived on the other side of the harbour at Port Fouad.

That night General Sir George Erskine, commanding British troops in Egypt, seized the railway bridge at El Firdan and the ferries at Kantara and Ferrypoint across the Canal, thus cutting the Egyptian army in two and settling the military situation finally.[1] A few Egyptian soldiers were killed and wounded in this operation and about thirty captured. The

[1] The main part of the Egyptian army was then in the few square miles of Palestine known as the Gaza Strip, 150 miles across the Sinai desert from the Suez Canal. Its supplies depended on two roads and one railway line from Cairo 90 miles further back. The only bridge over the Canal was the El Firdan railway bridge. This military position was, as recent events have shown, extremely vunerable. But it was vital to Egyptian prestige in the Arab world to hold, or to seem to hold, the Gaza Strip against Israel.

wounded were given the best medical attention possible in the British military hospital at El Ballah ; the prisoners were well treated and sent back in their own transport to their own lines. The Egyptian Commander-in-Chief was invited to call on the British Commander for a friendly talk. It was explained to him that the British wanted no quarrel with his troops, but that their seizure of the Canal crossings left him in an impossible military position should his political superiors insist on his taking any action against British troops. On the other hand, it gave him a perfectly good excuse for refusing to do so : that such action could lead only to disaster. The British Commander would allow supplies and reinforcements to pass by the railway to the Egyptian army on the other side of the Canal, provided that he was given no reason for thinking that they would be used against himself. A gentlemen's agreement on those lines was reached and faithfully kept. The politicians on both sides had to make what they could of it.

Naturally the Egyptian government did not like the arrangement ; but the British government hardly liked it better. It was not on their instructions that General Erskine had seized the Canal crossings, but on his own initiative as local commander responsible for the safety of his command. It was openly said that " Bobby Erskine " as the soldiers then began to call him—a sure sign of their approval—would have lost his job had not a general election been in the offing : not because of the gentlemen's agreement but because, by seizing the crossings, he had done something which the Labour government would certainly not have sanctioned, had he waited to ask for permission. That action committed them to a stand instead of a scuttle. No British government likes to be committed to anything by the army overseas, especially on the eve of an election.

Two weeks later there was a Conservative government in Britain. Any hopes that the British army in Egypt had of firm support from the new government were soon shaken. The Conservatives inherited the policy of getting the U.S.A. in the Middle-East to commit itself as fully as possible. They had also a reason of their own for avoiding, at any cost, even a minor war. The Conservative majority was barely sufficient to form a government. It would have been definitely larger but for a clever last-minute trick by the Opposition. The Socialist *Daily Mirror* published a cartoon showing two men's hands stretching for a gun, with the caption : " Whose finger do you want on the trigger ? " The two men were Attlee and Churchill. The fear of a world-war was then strong in Britain. That cartoon caused many to hesitate who on every other count would have voted against Labour. Churchill seems to have felt it deeply, and characteristically to have determined to take up the challenge and prove the accusation false. They had called him a

warmonger ; he would show them how wrong they were. Egypt would provide the proof.

For a month after the Port Said and Ismailiya riots there was quiet in the Canal Zone. The French population of Ismailiya, who had been frightened, felt safer after the British reaction to the first attack. Officially the Suez Canal Company proclaimed its neutrality, and indeed leaned over backwards to show the Egyptian government its goodwill and its indifference to the presence or absence of British troops. This was rather amusing to those who knew that the indifference was unreal, for there could be no doubt that if the British went, the French would soon have to follow. But the practical manifestations of this " indifference " were often at the expense of the British army, and the unnecessary inconvenience caused some annoyance.

In the Egyptian cabinet there was a division of opinion. The Prime Minister, Nahas, and the Foreign Minister, Salah ed Din, fearing that the agitation against the British would get beyond their control and would be turned against themselves by their political opponents, tried to hold back the extremists. But the Minister of the Interior, Serag ed Din, thought he saw his own opportunity of political advancement by forcing the hands of his colleagues. As Minister of the Interior he had the police under his command and he decided to use them as a private army to fight the British. But he could not rely entirely on them. Many of the senior police officers had been British-trained. Their action at Ismailiya showed that they had not forgotten that it is a policeman's duty to keep order, regardless of politics. So Serag ed Din took a leaf out of another book, also British but not in the British tradition. He recruited, mainly from the criminal classes, a force of " auxiliary police " and imposed them on the regular police in Ismailiya, Suez and Port Said, just as Lloyd George had imposed the Black and Tans on the Royal Irish Constabulary.

On Saturday afternoon, 17 November, many army families were strolling around the streets of Ismailiya, the wives shopping, the children running in and out, the husbands taking it easy. But every man had a gun. That was the rule since the troubles of the previous month. Nobody took it very seriously, but orders had to be obeyed. Suddenly firing started. Nobody knew how it started. The Egyptian police were firing and the British fired back. The streets were quickly cleared as women and children were pushed into friendly houses ; the soldiers took what cover they could and fired at the police. Next day the mutilated bodies of two British officers were found. They had fired, until their ammunition was exhausted, from outside a house in which their wives and children had taken refuge. There were no other British casualties.

General Erskine sent word to the police commander in Ismailiya that these events showed that the auxiliary police were not fit to be trusted with arms. The police commander may very well have agreed with this, but he could not disarm them without authority from the Minister of the Interior. General Erskine sent an ultimatum and concentrated troops to enforce it early on Monday morning. After waiting till mid-day and hoping earnestly that the Egyptians would fight, the troops were told that the General's terms had been accepted by the police. There would, therefore, be no fight. That was a disappointment. Disappointment changed into disgust when they learned that the terms accepted by the Egyptians had been watered down from what the General was thought to have demanded. The police were to lay aside their weapons ; these were to be kept in a central armoury under the personal supervision of the Egyptian Major-General in command of police, who would issue them only to police on guard duty at certain public utilities. This was stated in the official army newspaper, *Canal Zone News,* of 22 November 1951. Within a few weeks all the police were walking the streets of Ismailiya with rifles and fixed bayonets, as before. General Erskine declared, in a statement issued to the Egyptian Press and published in the *Canal Zone News* a month later, that he had " gone to great length to limit and isolate the incident and restore order in conjunction, wherever possible, with the Civil Authority ". Many believed that he ought not have, and would not have, gone to such lengths but for pressure by the British Foreign Office, and that this was due to local American influence which, despite official declarations from its government of support for Britain, was working in favour of Egypt. Certain interventions by the American Ambassador in Cairo bore out this last point. Much the same had happened in Persia during the Abadan crisis. The British Foreign Office was probably not displeased ; but the British soldier was.

He was still more displeased when the British Ambassador in Cairo appealed to General Erskine not to go ahead with his intention to demolish a number of houses on the outskirts of the town of Suez, from which British troops had frequently been fired on. General Erskine refused. In a statement published on 20 December he said : " This was no punitive action, but sheer military necessity. I have said that there will be compensation for the buildings which have had to be destroyed. In every action or counter-action I take, I do my best to provide the essential security of my troops in such a way that I shall not leave a sense of bitterness. If I was to do that, I realise how difficult a final solution would become."

There were many Egyptian officials in the Canal Zone who appreciated the moderation of General Erskine's policy, and who did their duty to their own government as best they could, without causing that sense

of bitterness which he was trying to avoid. But they were under pressure from the extremists in Cairo, where the newspapers were pouring out fantastic stories about British atrocities and Egyptian victories. Actually British fatal casualties after two months were only twenty-one. Some had been killed in ambushes which were fair guerrilla fighting. There were no hard feelings about that. But there had been other cases which left behind a bitter wish for revenge. As it became known to the troops that most of those killers were sheltered by their police uniforms in the Egyptian equivalent of the Black and Tans, this feeling concentrated on the auxiliary police. But the day of reckoning with them as a body might have been put off indefinitely were it not for the murder of a nun, Sister Anthony of the French Sisters of Charity, in Ismailiya on 19 January 1952.

She was well known to the British soldiers. Her convent was about twenty minutes' walk from the army children's school at Moascar. Morning after morning she was seen walking there to give the Catholic children religious instruction. It made no difference to her if bullets were flying around ; she calmly went on her way. But it was not by a stray bullet that she was killed, nor on the road. She was shot by an Egyptian in her own convent garden, after he and others had broken into it in order to use it as a firing-point against a British military post. She and the other nuns protested, but the Egyptians paid no heed. Under orders from her superior she then rang British headquarters and asked for help. She went back to the garden and was found dead by another nun a few minutes later. This nun saw an Egyptian fire round a corner of the convent and heard him say : " We've got her ". She went round the corner immediately and found Sister Anthony shot through the heart.

Sister Anthony was an American citizen. It was embarrassing for the pro-Egyptians at the American Embassy. The Consul-General came. No doubt he heard from the nuns the facts which I have given, and other details which left no doubt in the minds of the nuns that Sister Anthony's death was deliberate murder by an Egyptian, as they afterwards stated to me. But all the Consul-General could find to say in his official capacity was that *nobody saw Sister Anthony shot.* This was quite literally true. The nun who saw the the shot fired, did not see the bullet enter the body. The official statement was just a clever piece of evasive action.

The murder of Sister Anthony was not (as I have seen suggested) the immediate cause of the British decision to disarm the auxiliary police and expel them from the Canal Zone, a decision put into effect six days later. But it did create an atmosphere strongly favourable to that decision. It was felt that if sterner measures had been taken sooner, Sister Anthony and others might be still alive, and that to delay such measures would be taken as weakness. Searches on a larger scale than ever before were made

next week in Ismailiya ; much ammunition was found and many suspects were arrested. Cemeteries that had hitherto been immune were searched, and it was found that advantage had been taken of their immunity to hide in some Muslim graves seven thousand rounds of ammunition. A number of houses from which sniping had frequently occurred were cleared of their inmates and closed up. Then on Friday, 25 January, General Erskine sent an ultimatum telling the Governor of Ismailiya to disarm the auxiliary police, or he would do it himself. This time there was to be no watering-down of the terms, as there had been in November. The terms were not accepted ; shooting started at the regular police station, the Caracol, and at the temporary station of the auxiliary police, the Bureau Sanitaire, about a quarter of a mile apart. It went on from about 7 a.m. to 11 a.m. Then the police surrendered, were disarmed and taken prisoners, but not before the Lancashire Fusiliers had killed forty-two auxiliary police in hand-to-hand fighting. One British officer and twelve other ranks were wounded ; three were killed, and one died of wounds.

When the British soldiers who had taken part in this fight read the accounts of it next week in newspapers from home, they were indeed surprised. They read that the British had blown out the police with high-explosive shell-fire from their tanks, and that the police gave in only when their barracks were falling down on them. The soldiers were accustomed to inaccurate reports in the papers, but this went beyond the limits of inaccuracy. It gave a completely false impression. The Lancashire Fusiliers were particularly annoyed. They had the grim satisfaction of wiping out in blood the debt owed by the auxiliary police, and they had done it in a fair fight. No auxiliary had fallen under fire from the heavy armament of the tanks. One tank was used to smash open the gate of the Bureau Sanitaire, which it did by shoving. Then it fired three rounds as it rolled into the compound, one forward, one right and one left, as covering-fire for the infantry who followed close behind. Those shots made loud bangs which must have been unsettling to the police, but did no other harm than what it did to their nerves, for the tank fired towards the three sides of the compound where no police happened to be at the time. If the Lancashire Fusiliers had so few casualties in proportion to the number they killed, it was not because of superiority in armament. *De mortuis* . . . . These poor auxiliaries paid the debt, as far as human justice ever exacts it, for others' sins as well as their own.

There was a good deal of small-arms fire at the Caracol, but no tanks were used except as a threat. There were no fatal casualties. The Caracol is a solid stone building, and as long as the police kept behind its walls they were safe enough. The exchange of fire was intended more to save

the honour of the police commander than to kill him or his men. A certain sympathy had always existed between the British soldiers and the Egyptian regular police. It was recognized that they were in a difficult position and that, sometimes at least, they had done their best to preserve order impartially, in spite of pressure from extremists, one of the worst of whom was their political chief, the Minister of the Interior, Serag ed Din. From the safety of Cairo he had ordered them to fight to the last round and the last man. They would have to answer to him for surrendering the Caracol. The British task of getting them to surrender became largely a matter of providing them with a good answer for their ambitious and unscrupulous master.[1]

They need not have worried. Next day saw the end of Serag ed Din as Minister of the Interior and the fall of the Egyptian government, with Egyptian soldiers shooting mobs of looters on the streets of Cairo and some 20,000,000 pounds' worth of property, most of it Egyptian, going up in flames. As the Premier Nahas had feared, the agitation set going against the British had turned against the government. But it was not out of control ; it was only out of his control. The Communists had long foreseen this opportunity and had turned an anti-British government-sponsored riot in Cairo into a trial-run for the revolution, not the army revolution which came six months later but their own which is still to come. Egypt had lost the first round, or at all events some Egyptians had lost it. For the rest of that year the quietest place in Egypt was the Canal Zone.

[1] There is reason to think that the newspaper accounts of heroic resistance were fed to news agencies by the British in the hope of making things easier for the police with their own superiors in Cairo.

Dali's Christianized Surrealism

by GEORGE A. CEVASCO

ANY sharpening of interest in the contemporary religious art is bound to lead inevitably to the recent surrealistic works of Salvador Dali. An artist who is *modern* in every sense of the word, Dali now claims that he derives the greater part of his inspiration from the traditional philosophy and art of Christianity. Art and religion have, of course, always been companions throughout the history of the Church.

When Dali first turned to a serious consideration of modern art sometime during the late thirties, he found most of it confusing, obscure and downright ugly. Art was getting more and more wretched, he was convinced. Why? Because artists were both philosophically confused and afraid to face up to the dazzling perfection of the Renaissance. "People are tired of ugliness. It is not possible to continue the destructive themes of Picasso", he said at the time. And so he began to wage a one man war. His battle cry: "My revolution is very close to Catholicism!" Art should express, as he puts it, "the big ideas of philosophy". Actually, what he has attempted to do in his own paintings is to christianize surrealism.

Dali now regards himself as the forerunner of another Renaissance. Though his manifold activities as painter, sculptor, writer, designer of jewellery, ballets and stage settings recall the universality of the Renaissance artists, many are convinced that he is just one of the world's foremost eccentrics. A screwball Cellini of the twentieth century, Dali has been known to carry fantasy to the point of outrage. No doubt this odd kind of practical joker has encouraged a fantastic conception of himself, which has worked to his advantage.

To his fellow artists, he sometimes seems a buffoon who will do anything for attention—even creating bad art. To one of the patriarchs of modern art, Max Ernst, he is "the bureaucrat and racketeer of surrealism". He has been attacked in radical art journals for being anti-surrealistic. Moreover, André Breton, the philosopher of surrealism, solemnly purged Dali from the ranks of the now defunct Surrealist Party; for Ernst and Breton and all their followers—who had formulated a dogma of taking nothing seriously—took surrealism very seriously indeed, and they felt that Dali did not take it seriously enough.

Despite this scorn, however, it may truthfully be said that Dali is one of the great painters of our time. His canvases, executed in a realistic technique borrowed from the fifteenth-century Dutch masters, are

masterpieces of drawing and design. Notwithstanding the fact that he has been excommunicated from the surrealist brotherhood, he still works within their medium and has openly declared " *Le Surréalisme, c'est moi* ".

Breaking the barriers between the dream and the actual, between the daft and the sane, surrealism is generally considered the nadir of the romantic movement in its final decay. The immediate ancestors of the genre were Jarry, Apolinaire (who gave it its name), and the Dadaists. It is art expressing those levels of consciousness not ordinarily associated with rational life, but above or beyond realism. For the record, it may be well to note that surrealistic art has been repeatedly condemned in Soviet Russia as "bourgeois", and even disapproved of by Freud. Little wonder, for surrealism is Freudianism run mad.

Dali met the great Dr Freud some seventeen years ago. This almost inevitable meeting took place in London. Dali, like Freud, was concerned with the subconscious, and he believed that nightmares might make more sense than sensible people thought. Contrary to Dali's hopes and preparations, not much was said. Except for one or two of Dali's nightmarish paintings, Freud knew little about the surrealist. Unimpressed with Dali's intellectualism, as Dali readily admits, Freud just patiently listened to the artist for a few minutes and then turned the conversation to surrealism.

" In classic painting, I look for the subconscious", Freud said, " and in a surrealist painting for the conscious." Piqued by this paradoxical dismissal of surrealism, Dali grew somewhat bitter. Freud however remained perfectly indifferent, except for a continued stare. Dali pulled a few faces. Freud finally let fall the words : " I have never seen a more complete example of a Spaniard. What a fanatic ! " Dali sprang to his own defence and countered with : " The two most fortunate things that can happen to a person are, first, to be Spanish, and second, to be named Dali. Those two things have happened to me."

Taking what he wanted, loosely using what he took, ignoring much of Freud's later work, Dali was Freudian only in the general sense of the term. All surrealists were filled with a burning desire to paint the nightmares and regressions of the human mind revealed in dreams. Freud's *Interpretations of Dreams* became for them something of a breviary. Yet Freud could hardly countenance their claims, especially that the world is sick because it has been fed on reason.

Surrealists are artists interested in the irrational, the highly spectacular and the fantastic. Somehow, they feel that an inherent beauty lies in the jolt given our senses upon perceiving work done in this genre. It has two branches : the expression of dreams and the expression of automatic impulses. At present, Dali appears as the outstanding producer of both.

His creations, in all their illogical and often esoteric patterns, have led surrealism from its ivory tower into commercial success.

Like most revolutionary art movements, surrealism may be assumed to have had two phases : one improvised as a necessary rebellion in art ; the other conceived under a general social and economic revolution. Often the two have overlapped. For this reason serious opposition to the philosophical principles of surrealism has been found among Catholic intellectuals, who rightfully regard surrealism as indicative of the modern revolt against metaphysics. The genre does strive furiously to eradicate the barriers of being and attain to the abstract. As Maritain once declared, it seeks to arrogate to itself the *aseitas* of God.

Not without good reason has this aspect of modern art been called " the wanton choice of chaos" and " atheism in colour ". Whereas the faith supplied the great artists of the past not only with a cosmology and an ontology but with a set of values which saved them the time involved in fashioning approaches of their own, the surrealists shape art to the shapelessness of their own tangled theories. But artistic expression is the act of a free, responsible will, affecting not only the sight and perception of the spectator but his mental disposition and will as well. The norms of rationality and morality apply to art, consequently, and negate the tenets of surrealism.

When the Surrealist Party fell apart shortly before World War II, philosophical confusion was responsible for its members going logically (though they deny logic) into Communism. A few, antagonistic to totalitarianism, announced their purpose of taking a more spiritual stand, and they *vaguely* allied themselves with Catholicism. Among the latter we find Dali despite the fact that the surrealist movement, with which his art was so closely connected for more than a decade, treated religion in an antagonistic way. Dali's attitude toward religion in general and Catholicism in particular is perhaps still open to question.

There is no question about his opposition to Communism, however. Several years ago he was invited to join a sixteen member " world peace " delegation of intellectuals headed by Pablo Picasso, a notorious Soviet sympathizer. " Violence and the advocacy of violence constitute the first condition of the materialistic interpretation of history according to Marxism-Leninism", Dali declared when he univocally rejected the invitation. " The presence of outstanding Communists among the committee members cancels any best intentions while representing an opportunity to spread communistic propaganda and hypocrisy."

Better known than these words of anti-communism is Dali's masterful *Cross of Peace,* an answer to Picasso's *Dove of Peace.* Picasso's painting of the dove symbolized the Communist Party " peace programme ". Dali's painting stands as a non-political symbol of the force of the world's

spiritual crusade. Its form, according to Dali, signifies " the union in prayer and in the mystical force of all those who believe in God and have faith in the new anti-materialistic yearnings of our time ".

In his autogiobraphy, *The Secret Life of Salvador Dali,* he tells how he once became associated with an anti-Catholic tendency against his own wishes. The anti-clerical and political overtones of his film *L'Age d'Or* (1931) he explains away by declaring he felt at the same time that " politics . . . were becoming day by day more wretchedly anecdotic and threatened ruin . . . and on the other hand I undertook the systematic study of the history of religion, especially the Catholic religion, which appeared more and more as the ' perfect architecture ' ". Now that he has blasted the Communists and renounced his Freudian nightmares, his chief hope for the future is a religious regeneration based upon traditional Catholicism.

To religious art which strives to portray the beauty of the supernatural revealed to us by faith, Dali began to apply himself in 1940, when he came to regard his eccentric period as closed. But what can be thought of his working in art among spiritual themes, attempting in his own way to bolster the spiritual outlook of our times ?

Interestingly enough, he has persisted in the field of religious art for the past sixteen years. Besides many paintings of saints and angels, he has depicted the Nativity, our Blessed Mother, the Assumption, the Last Supper, and the Crucifixion. One of his latest successful canvases of the Crucifixion he labelled *Corpus Hipercubus.* When this work became part of the permanent collection of New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, however, its title was changed to simply *The Crucifixion.* Museum authorities thought this " would be easier to understand ".

Dali did not protest at the change of title, but the fact that it " made " the Met. drew Dali's detractors up short. " An outstanding modern religious painting, very serious, with little surrealistic eccentricities", stated the Museum shortly before placing this acquisition on public exhibition. Its structure, Dali was kind enough to add, is based on " the harmonious divisions of a specific golden rectangle " and on the studies of the cube undertaken by a sixteenth-century architect, Juan de Herrera. Floating before the figure of Our Lord crucified are four of Dali's small cubes, " the most perfect of geometric bodies ". A dull gold cross, dramatically spotlighted against a dark sky, holds—without touching—a luminous Corpus. In the lower left-hand corner, stands a woman in luxurious robes, gazing up in adoration at the averted, beardless figure of Our Lord. Said the famous art connoisseur Chester Dale : " I can't explain it except in one way—when it hits, it hits hard. It is a very honest picture, very great."

Contrary to what might be expected, this Crucifixion is provoking less controversy on the theological side than in art circles. On the whole,

critics of religious art have viewed with comprehension and approval what appears to be a sincere effort to express traditional values in forms consistent with modern art. Dali offers this Crucifixion as " an affirmation of the reality of prayer in a . . . perplexed atomic age ".

Another of his crucifixions is entitled *Christ of St John of the Cross.* In this painting Dali has given us a spectacular downward view of Our Lord on the cross, floating in midair above a placid sea-coast. " My Christ floats", explains the artist, " only because in a dream I saw a drawing of the Crucifixion made by the sixteenth-century mystic, St John of the Cross. Christ floated in that drawing I dreamed about, so I painted him in exactly the same way." Asked why he has Our Lord's face turned so far down that only the back of His head shows, Dali answered : " He had no face in my dream. Besides, we cannot imagine what the face of Christ looked like. Artists in the past usually painted His face as an impersonal, idealized image. The Christ of most modern artists is expressionistic and ugly. I wanted my Christ to be unimaginably beautiful." The calm sea and the fishermen with their boats in the lower portion of the painting remind one of the Gospel prediction : " But after I have risen, I will go before you into Galilee " (Matthew XXVI, 32). Dali admits " It could be the Sea of Galilee, but I saw it in a dream and it was probably Port Lligat, Spain." It is here at this small seaport that Dali maintains a studio.

The harbour of Port Lligat has also served as backdrop for one of his best religious canvases to date, *The Port Lligat Madonna.* This Madonna is simple and quiet and delineates our Blessed Mother's graceful dignity with manifest tenderness and warmth. The Mother of God is portrayed with features typical of Renaissance paintings, but surrealism adds a rectangular open space from chest to waist in the body outline. Within this opening is a floating figure of the Divine Infant, and this figure also has a corresponding opening. Beneath an arch of stones suspended in space, Mary sits upon a throne, likewise suspended. This suspension, like the rectangular openings, depicts the absence of materialism and denotes spirituality. " Modern physics has revealed to us increasingly the *dematerialization* which exists in nature", Dali maintains, " and that is why the material body of my Madonna does not exist ; and why, in place of a torso, you find a tabernacle ' filled with Heaven '." While everything floating in space denotes spirituality it also represents Dali's concept of the atomic system—" today's counterpart of divine gravitation ".

Usually he avoids such explanations. " That is what is so amazing", he will say innocently, " even I do not know all a canvas means." Actually, some of the features and bric-a-brac found in his religious works, which at first may appear startling, are found in certain paintings of the

old masters. The egg suspended on a string from a scallop shell over the Virgin's head in his *Madonna,* for example, appears in a canvas of the fifteenth-century Italian master Pierro della Francesca. The egg, of course, is a familiar symbol of purity and integrity, and of the Resurrection. The shell in art is likewise a traditional symbol of Our Lord's baptism. Fra Lippo Lippi used it most effectively in his famous *Madonna and Child.*

Symbolism plays a large part in surrealism. In many of Dali's works a crutch finds a prominent place. The basic purpose of these crutches and their bifurcated shapes, says Dali, is metaphysical : a reminder of both life and death. Life and death are also depicted by his drooping limp watches. In *Persistence of Memory,* one of his best known works, the limpness testifies to his concept of time as a " flexible quantity ". The watches are placed before a mountainous background which expresses eternity.

The majority of his paintings are similar in their use of perspective. Many of his earlier, non-religious works are filled with anatomical impossibilities, elongated dream vistas and metaphorical landscapes. Time and space, Dali now claims, are the subjects of these canvases ; moreover the time-space anguish can be relieved only in metaphysics and religion.

Despite the madcap quality of his actions, and his eccentricity Dali still gives the over-all impression of being a perfectly sincere person. " The only difference between myself and a madman", he once remarked, " is that I am not mad." Yet if one were foolish enough to take seriously his public life, his sanity could certainly be called into question. At any rate, his apologia could always be his conviction that that " the world's craziness has surpassed Dali's craziness ". Now that he is symbolizing eternal truths in his surrealistic religious art, perhaps it is not too much to cherish the hope that his artistic genius will always be placed at the service of truth. Whether or not he will live up to his name—" My parents baptized me Salvador . . . and as my name indicates, for nothing less than to rescue painting from the void of modern art . . ."—is best left to posterity.

Peter of Ireland

TEACHER OF ST THOMAS AQUINAS

by THE REVEREND M. B. CROWE, M.A., PH.D. (LOUVAIN)

ST THOMAS was sent, at the age of five, to take the habit as an oblate at Montecassino, where one of his kinsmen was Abbot. *Pater fratris Thomae,* said Bartholomew of Capua, *monachavit eum puerum.* Some nine years later, on the expulsion of the monks by Frederick II, the Abbot advised Thomas to continue his studies at the new University of Naples. And here it was that he numbered among his professors one Master Peter of Ireland. Who was this Master Peter? What was his connection with Ireland? What did he teach St Thomas? Scholars, with the notable exceptions of Baeumker and Grabmann, have paid curiously little attention to these questions despite the discovery, over thirty years ago, of several of the works of Peter of Ireland. And yet they are interesting and important questions.

The earliest sources for the life of St Thomas, the scattered and episodic references to him in the writings of his contemporaries, do not mention his teachers at Naples. But these authorities, with the exception of Bartholomew of Capua, do not refer at all to his career before he became a Dominican.[1] The earliest formal biographers of the Saint present something of a synoptic problem, whose niceties need not detain us. Two of them, William of Thocco and Peter Calo, mention that at Naples, St Thomas was taught by Master Martin and Master Peter of Ireland ; but they do not agree on the division of subjects between these two teachers. The fact that they were his teachers has never been doubted and it duly appears in biography after biography, with the occasional addition of a perfunctory tribute to Master Peter as " one of the most learned men of his age ". Nothing more was known of him.

There was, of course, speculation about the identity of Master Peter. In the eighteenth century, for example, the Dominican Bernardo de Rossi (de Rubeis) thought that he had solved the mystery.[2] He observes that the Cassinese monks had a house at Naples and that St Thomas, because of his relations with Montecassino, would have known this house and may even have lived there in preference to taking lodgings in the city. The monk Erasmus of Montecassino, a celebrated theologian in his day, had been called to a chair of theology at Naples after the expulsion of the mendicants by Frederick II in 1240 ; St Thomas's acquaintance with this teacher may have helped to draw him to the

Cassinese community—some writers suggest that before leaving Naples he may even have begun the study of theology under Erasmus. Be that as it may, de Rossi is interested in another of the Benedictine monks at Naples—in order to reject his claims to be Peter of Ireland. This monk, a professor and possibly superior of the house, went under the name of Petrus de Donis and is described as *Ultoniensis*. He cannot be the Peter of Ireland who taught St Thomas, for Master Peter was not a monk. The coincidence of name, however, and particularly the description *Ultoniensis* are striking. Was this monk perhaps a Petrus de *Dunis*, a member of the Benedictine community of Down, founded about 1177–8 when John de Courcy brought Anglo-Norman monks from Chester?[3]

According to de Rossi the real Peter of Ireland was a distinguished professor who was invited to Naples by Frederick II when he founded the *studium generale* there in 1224. The flattering terms of the invitation may be read in the letter inscribed *Magistro Petro de Hybernia de studio Neapolitano*, preserved in the *Epistolary* of the ill-fated Imperial Chancellor Pier della Vigna (Petrus de Vineis). Master Peter is praised for his *experta scientia, probitas cognita, doctrina probata*, and is bidden to Naples to preside over the new *studium* at a stipend of twelve ounces of gold a year.[4] The evidence is circumstantial; *Magister adest Petrus de Hibernia*, says de Rossi, *nomen enim et patria et tempora conveniunt apprime*. But the matter is not to be settled so easily. Closer study reveals that the professor called to Naples by Frederick was a jurist, a former student of Bologna, and not a professor *in naturalibus*. Further, he proves to have been a certain Petrus *de Ysernia* (modern Calabria), not *de Ybernia*. No one seriously disputes these matters now.[5] The supposed discovery of Peter of Ireland must, therefore, be abandoned as resting upon a confusion. It is disingenuous to resolve the difficulty by suggesting that Peter of Ireland was called to Naples as a jurist and later "exchanged the Code of Justinian for the *Physics* of Aristotle".[6]

Another mistaken identification can be traced to a letter in the Imperial collection of Pier della Vigna. It is an expression of condolence addressed to the scholars of Naples on the untimely death of a certain grammarian, *Magister P.* One manuscript examined by Baeumker has the added note, in red capitals, *Petrus de Ybernia*. This can be rejected on chronological grounds if, as we shall see, Peter of Ireland was alive and active in 1260; for Pier della Vigna died in 1249 and must, naturally, have been predeceased by the grammarian whose death he regretted. But there are other equally telling arguments. *Magister P.* is a grammarian whereas Peter of Ireland professes the natural sciences and, probably, logic. A combination of grammar with the natural sciences is far-fetched and would require much stronger evidence than is available here. The question, however, is really settled by the fact

that the better manuscript reading is not *Magister P.* but *Magister G.*, in which case a certain Girandinus or, more probably, Walter of Ascoli (Gualterus Hesculanus) is meant.[7]

Yet another confusion has had a certain currency. A manuscript in the Bruges municipal library was catalogued as containing *Quodlibeta Petri de Hibernia de vera significatione.* Grabmann found, on inspection, that this was a mistake for Peter of Auvergne (Petrus de Alvernia) and that the explanatory *de vera significatione* was a pure invention. Mgr Pelzer appears to have had a similar experience with a Leipzig manuscript.[8]

It was, then, a matter for congratulation when Baeumker discovered, and published in 1920, an important work of Peter of Ireland. Baeumker's learned introductory study and the later notice of it by Grabmann are still the only important monographs on Peter of Ireland.[9] In 1922 Mgr Pelzer discovered two manuscripts in the Vatican library containing commentaries by Peter of Ireland on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry and on various works of Aristotle.[10] Some time later Grabmann discovered, in the University Library at Erlangen, some logical commentaries of Magister Martinus Dacus. As a result of all this the more recent biographers of St Thomas have been able to eke out the names of his professors at Naples with a list of the discovered works of Peter of Ireland and a tentative identification of Master Martin with Martin of Dacia.

* * *

The work of Peter of Ireland published by Baeumker is a *determinatio magistralis* or master's decision of a scholastic disputation. It had lain hidden in the Erfurt Stadtbibliothek, bound with other manuscripts and not separately catalogued. It begins :

> Dubitauit rex Manfridus et quesiuit a magistris utrum menbra essent facta propter operaciones uel operaciones essent facte propter menbra. et fuerunt raciones ducte pro et contra, sed determinauit magister Petrus de Ybernia gemma magistrorum et laurea morum.

There is no reason to suppose that the occasion was imaginary, a literary fiction like a Platonic dialogue. Such disputations did take place. The fact that Manfred is called " king " puts the date of this one between 10 August 1258 when he was crowned (having been Regent since Conrad's death) and 26 February 1266, when he was killed in battle against Charles of Anjou at Beneventum. Baeumker proposes 1260 as a likely year and remarks that the gathering of masters would seem to indicate Naples as the place of the disputation. Amongst the masters Peter is singled out—*gemma magistrorum et laurea morum.* Is this distinguished master the same who taught St Thomas Aquinas a

generation before? This is certainly not impossible. On the contrary a master of more than twenty years' standing would very fittingly be called upon to "determine" on such a solemn occasion. Further, the question discussed and the solution offered strongly suggest a *magister in naturalibus*. It was one of those borderline problems, falling between medieval natural philosophy and metaphysics, that were commonly disputed in the arts faculties—and even in the theological faculties—of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The solution given by Peter turns upon the meaning of "design" in nature.

For the appreciation of this, the only published work of Peter of Ireland, it is necessary to know something of the background of cultural and scientific activity at the Hohenstaufen court and at the nascent University of Naples.

In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the southern kingdom, of which Naples became the capital, was the scene of a unique fusion of civilizations, Latin and Greek, Norman and Saracen. In the reign of Frederick II, after a century and a half of Norman rule, Sicily could still be described as more oriental than European; there were Greeks in Calabria and Apulia (once called Magna Graecia), Lombards in the southern principalities and Norman overlords. "Saracen emirs, Byzantine logothetes and Norman justiciars worked side by side in the royal curia, men of talent from every land regardless of speech or faith."[11] Greek, Latin and Arabic were in constant use, in speech and in official documents. And when one recalls that Greek, Latin, Arabic and Hebrew between them held all the treasures of ancient and medieval knowledge, and that Arabic in particular was the language of science as no language has been before or since, one expects the exchange of ideas to be exciting and the art of translation to flourish.[12]

In the twelfth century Sicily seems already to have had a semi-official bureau of translators. Henry Aristippus (d. 1162), Archdeacon of Catania and minister of state, made translations of the *Meno* and the *Phaedo* of Plato that remained the standard versions down to the fifteenth century. In his dedication of the *Phaedo* he refers to the enthusiasm for studies and curious questions that gripped the Sicilian court of his time.[13] He also translated the *De generatione* of Aristotle and part of the *Meteors*. This is a highly significant fact, for the intellectual ferment of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries was largely provoked by the introduction of Aristotle. Boethius's translations of the logical works had been known since the sixth century. It was the rediscovery of the other works, particularly the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics*, that caused the academic upheavals of the thirteenth century and the repeated condemnations of Aristotle at Paris and elsewhere. These works, the so-called *libri naturales*, were first translated in Spain from Arabic texts.

At Toledo, about the middle of the twelfth century, there was a college of translators of whom the greatest were Dominic Gondisalvi (Gundissalinus) and Gerard of Cremona. Their versions were necessarily very imperfect : they were made on a text itself several removes from the original Greek and they were coloured by neo-Platonizing glosses and the comments of Avicenna and Averroes that were translated with them. The influence of these Latin-Arabic versions of Aristotle was soon, and profoundly, felt in Sicily.

The greatest of the Sicilian translators was Michael Scotus who came as scientific adviser to the court of Frederick II after sojourns at Oxford, Paris and Toledo. His official title was that of *Philosopher* but his function may have been more nearly that of Court Astrologer.[14] It is unlikely that he was a native Irishman ; he refused the Archbishopric of Cashel, offered him by Honorius III, on the grounds that he did not know the language of the people.[15] But whatever his origin he represented the learning of western Christendom and Moorish Spain at the court of Frederick. He did not break much new ground in Aristotelian translation, but he made new versions of works already known, such as the *De anima* and the *De coelo*. And, most important of all, he translated Averroes which undertaking was " the major event in the history of translation during the first half of the thirteenth century ".[16]

Here was surely a stimulating environment for an institute of higher learning. The most important single factor to be counted upon was the fruitful, if exacting, patronage of learning by the Hohenstaufen rulers. In particular Frederick II, *stupor mundi et immutator mirabilis,* enhanced the brilliant and precocious culture of the kingdom he inherited. When he came to the throne his kingdom was still polyglot. Laws were still promulgated in Greek, and Italian poets celebrated his praises in Greek verse. But Frederick's visit to the east and his political and cultural exchanges with the Mahommedan countries contributed to the decline of the Greek element in the kingdom of Sicily. The fact that the doctrines of Averroes were well-known and discussed at the court of the Emperor convinced Mahommedan writers that, at heart, Frederick was no Christian ; and his way of life, more suited to an oriental despot than to a western prince, made Christians regard him as a sceptic and an unbeliever. Yet Frederick had a scientific curiosity that one does not always associate with despotism. Two experiments attributed to him illustrate this (as well as his entire lack of scruple). In the first he is reputed to have sealed a living man in a cask in order to ascertain if there is loss of weight when the soul departs the body. In the other he isolated a group of new-born infants in order to discover in what language they would begin to speak—this to settle the question of the language of the Garden of Eden ! (The experiment was inconclusive, for the children all died.)

The stories may be apocryphal, but there is no doubting Frederick's immense reputation, among his contemporaries, for erudition. He justified his reputation. He exchanged learned questionnaires with the courts of the Mahommedan world ; he took an active interest in architecture, zoology (he transported a menagerie with him on his travels about Europe), horse-breeding and veterinary science. He wrote a treatise on falconry, *De arte venandi cum avibus,* which shows a familiarity with scholastic terminology and classification and a not uncritical admiration of Aristotle. He corrects Aristotle where necessary—*non sic se habet*—for relying too much on hearsay, having " rarely or never had experience of falconry, which we have loved and practised all our life ".[17]

It does not surprise us that the thoughts of such a man in such an environment should have turned to the founding of a university. Frederick's action, however, was unprecedented—his foundation at Naples is the first university established by civil charter. Older *studia,* like Paris and Bologna, had acquired their status by long exercise of the academic function rather than by any definite act of foundation, papal or otherwise. Naples was different. It was founded, as an act of deliberate policy, by Frederick to provide the administrators, jurists, *dictatores* and scholars he needed for his southern kingdom. Hitherto the great law-school of Bologna had been the only nursery of legal and political talent available to him. But Bologna was a Guelph city and, although its *studium* was not a creation of the Papacy, he did not care to have his public servants trained there. He determined to have a rival school under his immediate control—and his methods were characteristically forthright and unscrupulous.

In 1224 Frederick announced the foundation of the *studium* at Naples, gave it a monopoly of higher instruction within the kingdom and forbade all travel abroad for purposes of study. In a Constitution of the following year, invoking the unity of the Imperial power, he deprived Bologna of the *studium,* ordered teaching to cease within four months under penalty of *infamia* and invited the students and professors to come to Naples.[18] This extreme measure seems to have been unsuccessful, for the Constitution was revoked in 1227. By 1234 Frederick had to admit that his University was practically defunct—*opus manuum nostrarum memorabile turbatione inter ecclesiam et imperium penitus dissolutum.* In 1253 Conrad transferred the *studium* to Salerno where there was an historic medical school.[19] In 1258–9 Manfred brought the *studium* back to Naples. And it is one of the ironies of history that the University, which was a creature of Frederick's anti-papal policy, should owe its permanent existence to Charles of Anjou and the protection of the Papacy.[20]

But long before the fall of the Hohenstaufen and the coming of Charles of Anjou, Naples had enjoyed its crowded hour of glorious life.

For a few years—and they were the years when St Thomas Aquinas sat at the feet of Master Martin and Master Peter of Ireland—the University of Naples had its place in the history of thought. The natural advantages of the situation, as pointed out by Frederick (or his letter-writer Pier della Vigna), were great: it had a pleasant climate, was near the sea and provided such plenty of wheat, wine, meat and fish that the cost of living was low—the citizens sold to the students *et etiam per contrarium*. To these gifts of nature Frederick added safe-conducts for the journey to Naples, the reservation for students of the best lodgings in the city at the rent of two ounces of gold per year, facilities for raising money on the security of their books and the incentive of places in his service for *studiosi* who showed themselves upright and diligent. The result was what he wished to see, a flowering of scholarship to match the natural fruitfulness of the region.[21]

Against this brilliant background we may now try to see the personality and the work of Peter of Ireland.

* * *

The *determinatio magistralis* published by Baeumker is the answer to a problem set by Manfred: are bodily organs to be considered as designed for a particular function or is the function for the organs? Are the claws of a bird of prey, for example, for the tearing of its victim? Or does it rend its victim *because* it has the instruments for doing so? There is nothing improbable in Manfred's interest in such an academic question. He had inherited many of the tastes of his father Frederick; he had tried his hand at translating the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise on immortality, *De pomo;* and his court carried on the scientific tradition of Frederick's. Manfred was particularly anxious to see a revival of philosophy which the incessant wars had practically banished from the kingdom. In organizing this disputation he was only imitating Frederick who used to set Michael Scotus problems.

Arguments were brought forward on both sides—*fuerunt raciones ducte pro et contra*—before Master Peter of Ireland "determined". This suggests that the exercise, like the Paris disputations of the same period, was made up of two parts. First there came the debate in which various disputants put the case for and against a given thesis; at Paris a bachelor could preside over this stage, sum up provisionally and reply to objections. The second part, perhaps on the following day, was the delivery of the definitive judgment that was the prerogative of a master. This *determinatio magistralis* was then usually edited for publication.

Peter begins his *determinatio* by remarking that the problem is metaphysical rather than natural (or, as we should say, scientific). It is really,

he submits, the problem of universal design in nature and its apparent failure in certain cases, a problem that Aristotle had faced and solved in the *Metaphysics*.[22] The preying of one species upon another seems irreconcilable with the omnipotence of God who disposes all things *ad permanenciam eternam uniuersitatis*. One proposed solution explains the mixture of good and evil in the world as the work of two supreme principles, one good and the other evil. This is Manicheeism (which Peter may have known in its contemporary form of Albigensianism). The correct solution, however, is found in the fact that different beings are differently ordered to the perfection of the universe. The universal order requires, in fact, the subordination of the less to the more perfect ; the " birds with hooked talons " require for their perfection that other species should exist as their prey. In general, order implies subordination —*posterius propter prius, uilius propter nobilius, materia propter formam.*

Consider now the relation of soul and body in animals. Clearly the body (*instrumentum*) is for the soul (*motor*). The nature of the soul, therefore, determines the activities of the body fitted to it. If the soul is *irascibilis et furiosa* then nature must see to it that the body is supplied with the organs for carrying out the appropriate operations. The ass has a " rough soul " and, in consequence, a sturdy body and hooves ; the lion has a " gluttonous soul " and, so, is provided with a great maw and sharp claws. The soul of man is the most perfect of all ; therefore man has the most versatile body—his hand, *organum organorum,* being potentially hammer, sword, dagger, pen. In general, each kind of soul demands a definite type of body—the *anima iracunda* of a bird of prey demands a hooked beak and talons. And so Peter of Ireland gives his formal decision :

> Patet ergo, domine mi rex, quod menbra et uirtutes sunt propter operaciones, et non e conuerso. Patet solucio questionis sicut michi uidetur.

This is the barest summary of a *determinatio* that presents many difficulties. One expects a master's decision to preserve something of the thrust and parry of the debate that went before. Peter of Ireland seems to have been tested by a debate that did not always keep to the point, for his *determinatio* weaves together a variety of threads with considerable ingenuity. The Aristotelian influence is strong for the solution turns, in effect, upon the acceptance of Aristotle's conception of the hierarchy in nature. In 1260, of course, the Aristotelianism that had put the conservative theologians and summists so much on the defensive was no longer a new force. But Peter of Ireland is remarkably familiar with it. He may have been especially interested in the application of Aristotle's views to scientific and medical subjects. And it is in the highest degree probable that he was already well-versed in Aristotle

when he taught the young Aquinas at Naples, so that the way was well prepared for St Thomas's later fruitful association with St Albert the Great, in the period of Albert's great Aristotelian paraphrases at Cologne. This should be remembered for Peter of Ireland when one meets the view, still widespread, that Albert was the first to introduce St Thomas to the thought of Aristotle.

A fact even more striking is that Peter of Ireland took his Aristotelianism with large infusions of Averroism. It will be remembered that the early versions of Aristotle were often vitiated by unrecognized and tendentious interpretations of the Arabic commentators. Gundissalinus and the Spanish translators came under the influence of Avicenna ; but Michael Scotus had given Sicily and Europe the commentary of Averroes. Peter of Ireland certainly used Scotus's translation of Averroes ; Baeumker demonstrates this by setting part of the *determinatio* and a passage from Scotus's Averroes in parallel columns.[23] May we assume that Peter of Ireland taught St Thomas Averroism as well as Aristotelianism ? There are difficulties in the way of accepting this. On the one hand Peter of Ireland held Averroes in high regard : he invariably takes him for his guide when he cites Aristotle, as he so frequently does. in the *determinatio*. On the other hand we recall the polemic tone of St Thomas's *De unitate intellectus contra Averroistas* in which Averroes is called *peripateticae philosophiae depravator, perversor*.

Closer study, however, reveals an unsuspected affinity between St Thomas and Averroes. Their methods of commentary were the same. St Thomas recognized that Averroes's great strength lay in the fact that he wrote genuine literal commentaries on Aristotle, not large paraphrases loosely linked to the text, like those of Avicenna or, indeed, those of St Albert the Great ; and he saw that the only answer was to combat Averroes on his own ground of close textual commentary. The agreement upon method of commentary must not be pushed too far ; it would be extravagant to make St Thomas play Averroes to St Albert's Avicenna. St Thomas is indebted to Avicenna too ; and literal commentary was not, in any case, an invention of Averroes for it had long been the method for the study of scripture (and theology) in the Schools. There are more important points of agreement between St Thomas and Averroes. Baeumker draws attention to some important opinions that St Thomas found neither in the " traditional " theology nor in St Albert the Great but in Averroes—the unity of substantial form, for example, or the philosophical possibility of the eternity of the world.[24] These were just the kind of views, as Grabmann remarks drily, that got St Thomas into the Tempier-Kilwardby condemnations of 1277. Did St Thomas take them from Averroes by way of Peter of Ireland ?

This possibility is greatly strengthened by Grabmann who, in characteristic fashion, traces a progress in St Thomas's use of the

Commentator from the ample and rather uncritical adoption of Aristotle *secundum expositionem Averrois* in the *Commentary on the Sentences* to the sharp recriminations of the Aristotelian commentaries of his last years.[25] It is, of course, true that before 1250 scholastics received Averroes sympathetically and without misgiving.[26] But St Thomas's early and not unfavourable attitude towards Averroes may still owe something to Peter of Ireland ; only later and progressively did he recognize the influence of Averroes as baneful.

Clearly, then, the questions raised by Peter of Ireland's *determinatio magistralis* are of the greatest importance for our knowledge of the development of St Thomas's thought.

* * *

Who *was* this Peter of Ireland ? The preceding sections of this study may have the air of being more informative than they really are. Perhaps they provide no more than some circumstantial evidence for a fact that was never in dispute, namely that St Thomas had as teacher at Naples one Master Peter of Ireland. Of Peter himself we have discovered practically nothing. Was he really an Irishman ? What was his career before coming to Naples ? Was he still alive when St Thomas returned, at the end of his life, to Naples ? We seem very little nearer the answers now than at the beginning.

Was Peter Irish ? Baeumker thought so and suggested that he was introduced to the Sicilian court by his fellow-countryman Michael Scotus. It is unlikely, however, that Scotus was Irish ; have we any more reason for thinking that Peter was ? His description *de Hibernia* seems to be strong evidence. It is not uncommon to find, among the known medieval writers, names like Gualtherus de Hibernia, Hugo de Hibernia, Thomas de Hibernia. Malachias Hibernicus, Brendanus Hibernus, Gildas Hibernus, Patricius de Hibernia and others.[27] Are all these native-born Irishmen ? Before trying to answer that question let us ask another. How, in the early thirteenth century, could a native Irishman have been launched upon the career that would eventually lead him to a distinguished chair of natural philosophy at Naples ? Ireland had no *studium generale*. When, in 1310, John Lech, Archbishop of Dublin, petitioned Clement V for authority to found a university he gave as a reason the paucity of learned men in Ireland and hinted that *magistri in artibus* were particularly scarce.[28] The religious orders had their own schools ; but even religious had to face the " grave perils of the sea " if they wanted a proper university education. The situation can hardly have been better in the previous century. Peter

of Ireland must, therefore, have gone abroad for his academic career. But where? Oxford and Paris are the most likely centres; and there is evidence of Irish students at each.

At Oxford Peter would undoubtedly have come under the influence of the great Chancellor, Robert Grosseteste (1168–1253). Now Grosseteste was a bold promotor of philosophical and scientific studies and a translator of Greek, and perhaps even of Arabic, works—achievements that were in extraordinary contrast with his rather conservative theology. Another Oxford teacher, whom Peter of Ireland might have met, was John Blund who is said to have introduced the *libri naturales* of Aristotle to the University. The Oxford of the first half of the thirteenth century took a great interest in science and philosophy; its professors were acquainted with the writings of the Arabs Algazel and Avicenna. It is not difficult to conceive of Peter undergoing his initiation there and later, at the court of Sicily, assimilating the novelties of Averroes. At Paris, on the other hand, the repeated prohibitions of the *libri naturales* (in 1210, 1215 and 1231) had the effect of concentrating attention on logic, ethics and grammar. Roger Bacon boasts of having been one of the first, about 1245, to lecture on Aristotle's natural philosophy at Paris. Oxford, then, on the evidence of the *determinatio magistralis* seems the more likely scene of Peter of Ireland's early studies (although he might have studied at Paris and later specialized *in naturalibus* at Naples). But the *determinatio* is not the only evidence. Peter is also the author of logical works, still unpublished, which may point to Paris. The method they employ—a combination of *lectio* (or direct commentary) with *quaestiones* (or problems arising out of the text)—was used by Nicholas of Paris (mid-thirteenth century) and by Siger of Brabant in his Aristotelian controversies; but it had also been used by Michael Scotus long before.[29] Still, if Oxford seems more probable, Paris cannot be excluded.

Nor can Toledo, where Michael Scotus learnt the science of the Arabs, be ruled out. How, it may well be asked, did Peter of Ireland manage to write on logic and on natural science? Did he profess both? The earliest biographer of St Thomas, William of Thocco, says that Master Martin taught St Thomas grammar and logic while Master Peter of Ireland taught him natural science. This agrees perfectly with the medieval division of the seven liberal arts into the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric and dialectic) and the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music). Peter Calo, who had independent sources of information, says that St Thomas soon mastered grammar under Martin and went on to study logic and natural science with Peter of Ireland.[30] Perhaps Peter taught logic as an introduction to natural science. This is an idea he could have got from Gundissalinus's *De divisione philosophiae*, written at Toledo about 1150, where logic is given a place to itself as a

scientia media between the literary sciences or sciences of words (in fact the *trivium*) and the real sciences or sciences of things (an expanded *quadrivium*). Perhaps Michael Scotus had established this Toledo tradition at the court of the Hohenstaufen ; or did Peter of Ireland get it himself in Toledo ?

Was Peter of Ireland at Oxford, Paris or Toledo ? Or did he visit all three as Michael Scotus had done ? At present we cannot say. The possibilities, however, do shed a little light on our original question about Peter's connection with Ireland. Was Peter, perhaps, a Norman, born in Ireland of an Anglo-Norman father ? He lived about a generation after the Norman invasion and partial conquest of Ireland ; and the name Peter is common in Norman families and rare in Irish families of the time. *De Hibernia* need mean no more. In the following century Richard Fitzralph, born at Dundalk about 1300, was commonly known and cited as *Hybernicus* although he was in no sense an Irishman by race.[31]

The close links between the Anglo-Norman lands and the Norman kingdom of Sicily would explain how Peter gravitated to Sicily. In the twelfth century John of Salisbury, who was Henry II's agent at the papal court (and obtained for that Anglo-Norman monarch the Bull *Laudabiliter* approving his annexation of Ireland) was a frequent visitor to Sicily. In 1177 a political marriage was arranged between William II of Sicily and the Norman-English princess Joanna. Pier della Vigna, Frederick's Chancellor, once petitioned the English king for a grant of English citizenship.[32] There were cultural exchanges like Henry Aristippus's dedication of his version of the *Phaedo* to a certain " Roboratus " who has been plausibly identified as the Englishman Robert of Cricklade; or Adelard of Bath's dedication of his *De eodem et diverso* to the mathematician William, Bishop of Syracuse; or Alfred of Sareschal's dedication of his work on the heart to Urso of Salerno. And, more interesting still, there were ecclesiastical relations. The offer of the Archbishopric of Cashel to Michael Scotus has already been mentioned. In the thirteenth century there were " Italian " clerics enjoying revenues in Ireland and Scotland ; Pope Innocent IV mulcted them for the support of the Roman Church *ab Imperatore Frederico II vexata.*[33] The process worked in the opposite direction too, for there seems to have been a definite policy of giving preferment in Sicily to ecclesiastics from the northern lands. In the circumstances it would not be out of the ordinary for an ecclesiastic, born in Ireland but Norman by race, to attain to the distinction of Peter of Ireland at Naples. It would be quite extraordinary for a native Irishman to do so—in Ireland itself there was a conspiracy of Norman-English churchmen to keep Irishmen out of benefices, an abuse that drew a strongly-worded decree from Pope Honorius III in 1220.[34]

That seems to be as much as, in the present state of the evidence, we can say about Peter of Ireland. Perhaps when the manuscripts of his unpublished works are adequately examined we may be in a better position to form a judgment as to where he studied before going to Naples. But the hope of discovering any other details of his character or life is of the slenderest ; medieval scholastic manuscripts are, for the most part, starkly impersonal.[35]

NOTES

[1] E. Janssens, " Les premiers historiens de la vie de saint Thomas d'Aquin ", in *Révue néo-scolastique*, 1924, pp. 201 ff.

[2] *Dissertationes criticae, I*, reprinted in the Leonine edition of the works of St Thomas, vol. 1, pp. lxv–lxvi.

[3] For this suggestion I must thank Fr Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., of University College, Dublin.

[4] *Epistolarium Petri de Vineis*, iii, 10. In some manuscripts " recturus " is wanting ; and the number of ounces of gold varies.

[5] H. Denifle, *Die Universitäten*, I, pp. 456–7 ; H. Rashdall, *Medieval Universities*, ii, p. 23, note 1.

[6] G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ii, p. 57 ; cf. T. L. Kington, *History of Frederick II*, i, p. 446 ; M. Bateson in *Dictionary of National Biography*, xv, p. 938.

[7] *Epistolarium Petri de Vineis*, iv, 8 ; J. Huilliard-Bréholles, *Vie et correspondence de Pierre della Vigne*, p. 140 and Pièce justificative, n. 98 ; C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, p. 251, note 44.

[8] cf. *Révue néo-scolastique*, 23 (1922), p. 357 note.

[9] C. Baeumker, *Petrus de Hibernia der Jugendlehrer des hl. Thomas von Aquin und seine Disputation vor König Manfred*, in Proceedings of the Bavarian Academy, 1920 ; M. Grabmann, " Magister Petrus von Hibernia, der Jugendlehrer des hl. Thomas von Aquin, seine Disputation vor König Manfred und seine Aristoteleskommentare", in *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben*, i, pp. 249-265.

[10] A. Pelzer, " Un cours inédit d'Albert le Grand sur la *Morale à Nicomaque*, receuilli et rédigé par saint Thomas d'Aquin ", in *Révue néo-scolastique*, 23 (1922), p. 356.

[11] C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, pp. 155–6; A. Keller, " The Normans in Sicily ", in *History Today*, April 1956, pp. 242-3.

[12] cf G. Sarton, *Guide to the History of Science*, p. 31.

[13] ". . . cujus curia schola comitatus, cujus singula verba philosophica apofthegmata, cujus quaestiones inextricabiles, cujus solutiones nihil indiscussum, cujus studium nihil reliquit intemperatum " cited by Haskins, op. cit., p. 166.

[14] cf. *Inferno*, xx, 115–8—" Quel altro, che ne'fianchi è così poco
Michele Scoto fu che veramente
Delle magiche frode seppe il giuoco ".
Scotus cuts a slightly more respectable, if anachronistic figure in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Canto ii, 13 ff.

[15] *Regesta* of Honorius, manuscript in the British Museum, quoted by T. L. Kington, *History of Frederick II*, i, p. 449 ; on the meaning of " scotus " cf. E. B. Fitzmaurice and A. G. Little, *Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland*, pp. 87–88.

[16] F. Van Steenberghen, *Aristotle in the West*, p. 93.

[17] cf. C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, p. 261.

[18] *Epistolarium Petri de Vineis*, iii, 11 and 12. The Constitution was first published by A. Gaudenzi in *Archivo storico italiano*, Serie V, xlii, (1908), p. 352 ; it had previously been known only from its revocation—cf. H. Rashdall, *Medieval Universities*, ii, p. 22 and i, p. 171 note.

[19] Even Frederick had had to respect this institution, although he did try to regulate its courses and to impose the presence of royal officers at its examinations.

[20] cf. S. D'Irsay, *Histoire des universités,* i, p. 135.

[21] *Epistolarium Petri de Vineis,* iii, 10, 11, 12.

[22] Λ, 10, 1075a12 ff.

[23] C. Baeumker, op. cit, pp. 20–22 notes.

[24] Ibid., p. 34.

[25] M. Grabmann, op. cit., p. 263.

[26] F. Van Steenberghen, *Aristotle in the West,* p. 93.

[27] J. Bale, *Index Brittaniae Scriptorum* (ed. R. L. Poole and M. Bateson), Oxford, 1902.

[28] E. B. Fitzmaurice and A. G. Little, *Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland,* pp. 107–109 ; cf. p. 79.

[29] M. Grabmann, op. cit., pp. 264–5 ; B. Nardi in *Encielopedia cattolica,* ix (1952) s.v. Pietro d'Ibernia ; B. Geyer in Uberweg, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie,* ii, p. 359.

[30] cf. *Acta Sanctorum* (March 7) p. 658E ; *Vita S. Thomae Aquinatis,* ed. D. Prümmer, Toulouse, 1912, p. 20.

[31] cf. A. Gwynn, " Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh ", in *Studies,* 22 (1933), pp. 389–405.

[32] cf. C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science,* pp. 166, 170, 183 ff. ; J. Huilliard-Bréholles, *Vie et correspondence de Pierre della Vigne,* Pièce justificative, n. 8.

[33] A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum,* p. 47, n. 124.

[34] Ibid., p. 16, n. 36 ; cf. also p. 16, n. 38 and p. 23, n. 55.

[35] The statement in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* xv, p. 838 that " Peter de Hibernia, the tutor of Thomas Aquinas, was buried in the convent of Aquila, in the province of Abbruzzo Molie " seems to be a misreading of L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum,* iv. p. 321, which refers to the Franciscan Thomas de Hibernia. This Thomas was, like his great namesake, a pupil of Peter of Ireland.

Secondary Education in Ireland

by SEÁN Ó CATHÁIN, S.J., M.A., PH.D.

Part Three*

EXAMINATIONS—I

AT the beginning of these articles on the present position of secondary education in Ireland I said that a large number of teachers were convinced that the system is opposed, and necessarily opposed, to the true end of education. An analysis of their opinions showed that they condemned in particular two features of the system : the extent and shape of the curriculum, and the form of the certificate examinations. Having established what true education should mean, I reviewed the curriculum and came to the conclusion that its fundamental defect was that it did not attend sufficiently to the widely differing abilities and aptitudes of secondary school pupils. Finally, I proposed certain changes which, it seemed to me, might overcome this defect. It now remains to consider what effect the certificate examinations are having on teaching and learning and to suggest remedies where they may be needed.

The Two Examinations

The Department holds two examinations each year : the Intermediate Certificate Examination and the Leaving Certificate Examination. The purpose of the first is, in the Department's words, " to testify to the completion of a well-balanced course of general education suitable for pupils who leave school at about 16 years of age, and, alternatively, to the fitness of the pupils for entry on more advanced courses of study in a secondary or vocational school ". The purpose of the second is " to testify to the completion of a good secondary education and to the fitness of a pupil to enter on a course of study at a University or an educational institution of similar standing ". The important words are naturally " a well-balanced course of general education " and " a good secondary education ". The Department claims therefore that success in its examinations implies that a good well-balanced education has been achieved. It is true that it does not (wisely, perhaps) go into the details of such a good education, and it is possible that it would not agree that the idea of education as set out in the first of the present articles is either complete or even valid. Where there is not substantial

* For Parts One and Two cf. *Studies*, Winter 1955 and Spring 1956

agreement on what constitutes good education it is clear that there can be no common ground for debating on the effectiveness of the tests of such an education. Nevertheless I propose to start here from the assumption that the aim I have sketched is correct and to discuss the effect of the present system of examinations on that aim.

EXAMINATIONS IN EDUCATION

I must make it quite clear at the beginning that I am not opposing examinations as such. Ever since the first teacher, whoever he was, began instructing a pupil there have been examinations. It does not matter what you call the process—testing or questioning or repetition or revision or homework—every teacher knows that it is an essential part of learning. Essential in the sense that true learning is impossible without it. An analysis of the time spent by the good teacher in class will show that at least one half of that time is given to some form of testing the pupil's grasp of what he has been taught. The reason why such a form of classwork is so vital is (as we have already seen in the first article) that before knowledge can be really assimilated it must be turned over in the mind either by questioning oneself about it or by being questioned by another ; and above all it must be used as an instrument in acquiring further knowledge or in solving a problem. There is too the obvious point that it is only by such unremitting testing that the teacher can be sure that what he is saying is being really grasped (as distinct from the too-ready " Yes, sir " which is liable to answer the fairly useless question " Do you understand that ?"). These forms of examining are entirely good, in the sense that in their absence you get bad teaching, just as a life lived without some form of self-questioning is, as Socrates said in the *Apologia*, " a life not worth living ".

EXAMINING IS TEACHING

There are a number of attributes about these " internal " examinations which, in the present context, it is important to note. The first is the fact that they are an integral part of one continuous teaching and learning act. The teacher knows exactly what he has taught and how and why he has taught it ; presuming, that is, intelligent teaching, of which the essential is that a man knows the relevance of what he is at the moment teaching to the final aim of the education of the pupils he has before him. He will in consequence direct his questioning and testing to the end that, now from one side now from another, his pupils' view of the matter will be more comprehensive, their penetration of it will be deeper, so that each of them will (in so far as his native ability permits) become aware for himself of the relationships that exist between this new knowledge and what he has already learnt either in that subject

or in others. That is to say, the quality of the examining is determined by the aim of the teacher and by what he has taught. We shall see later that the fundamental defect of any external examination is that it determines, limits both the teacher's aim and what he teaches.

He will naturally be concerned too that his questioning will help to impress the matter on the pupil's memory. But only secondarily, only as a consequence of his primary aim. He will know that to understand a fact is a much surer guarantee that it will be remembered than any amount of sheer repetition which may be, and often is, largely unintelligent. It is but one more instance of a truth we have already seen, that to concentrate one's energies on an immediate aim to the exclusion of a more remote one may be to dissipate energy, that the utilitarian man is in fact not utilitarian enough. An example may help to make this clear. Many language teachers are only too familiar with the strange fact that their pupils can combine a word-perfect knowledge of paradigms of nouns, adjectives and verbs with an apparent ignorance of the same knowledge when it comes to written work. " Carelessness " and "forgetfulness" may be a partial explanation but the real reason is much simpler. There has not been any " knowledge " in all this pounding in of paradigms which too many teachers still regard as an essential introduction to a language. There has been unintelligent learning by heart of matter that is largely unintelligible simply because of its isolation from any rational context, because of the absence of relationships between it and what the pupil already knows. Such things as paradigms or mathematical and scientific formulae or grammatical rules or catechism answers have an undoubted place in learning, but that place is at the end, not at the beginning. They are useful as summing up in a handy form what has previously been thoroughly understood.

There is another aspect of the fact that the teacher's examining is continuous with his classwork. He knows his pupils, knows them as no external examiner can. Not that his knowledge is infallible or fully objective : his natural likes and dislikes will inevitably colour his judgments. But this defect is, I believe, more than compensated for by the deep knowledge he has gained by long and intimate acquaintance with his pupils. He knows the quick but shallow mind, the slow starter, the dull plodder, the one who is easily discouraged by difficulties and so on. He knows then how to suit his questions to each, so that each may best benefit by them ; and he knows, most important of all, how to evaluate their answers. Not that he should have a sliding scale of marking (which might be unjust), but that he will understand the answer much better than someone else miles away who is bound to give his verdict on what is written down before him. We are concerned ultimately with human beings, not with the solution of a problem in Algebra, for instance. What

is important is not that a problem be answered, but how one particular person, with individual talents, goes about the solving of that problem. School is not the place for answering little questions on History or Science or Literature. There are more reliable sources for that information if we are looking for it. School is a place where the attempt to answer these questions is a help to the pupil himself in learning and to the teacher in knowing how his pupil is growing in mental stature.

The Teacher's Verdict

That brings us to the second quality of internal examining. The teacher's verdict on the answer is given either straight away or very soon after, and in the presence of the pupil. The present public examinations entail a period of about two months before the pupil hears the results of his answering. Even then the result is given merely as the total of marks on each paper. Now the experienced teacher knows that one of the most valuable parts of examining is what follows the answering. It may be commendation for a job of work done to the best of the workman's (possibly limited) abilities ; it may be a necessary reprimand to the lazy or thoughtless worker; finally, it may be a discussion of mistakes made and of how to correct them. It is an odd fact, but one which has been fairly well established by experiment, that we seem to learn more thoroughly and more permanently from our mistakes than from correct work, *provided* (and it is a big proviso) that, either through our own work or under the guidance of another, we see clearly why they are mistakes and why something else is the correct method or version. I am aware that there are some who regard much of " correction " work as a waste of time on the ground that no matter how often they correct a mistake it will keep on re-appearing. Some pupils are, of course, culpably careless, but it is more probable that an explanation is to be found either in that initial unintelligent learning to which I have already referred or, simply, in methods of correction which do not, to put it mildly, sufficiently advert to the need for the pupil to grasp the " why ? " of the correct version. These three advantages then are to be found in internal examining : an absence of that agonizing or at any rate uncomfortable wait for the judge's verdict ; a verdict which takes into account both the person and his work ; that review of the work done which can have such fruitful results. And all three are totally absent in the external examination.

Short Answer or Long ?

Apart from the more formal examinations which take place once or twice a year, and apart also from that questionable form of homework called " essays " in Irish and English, by far the greater part of class

examining and homework takes the shape of short questions which ask, particularly in class questioning, for the performance of a single clear-cut mental operation. Even where a more complicated problem is being solved the good teacher will usually frame his questions so as to break it up into its elements, in solving a rider in Geometry, for example, or in translating a complex sentence in Latin.

This method of questioning has a number of advantages which are possibly not usually recognized. The first is that the pupil is quite clear (or as clear at any rate as it is in the teacher's power to make him) about the problem to be solved. He knows just what he has to do, and surely it is no small gain to be in such a position at the beginning of any piece of work. Even though he may in fact have quite a difficult and intricate piece of work to do, yet if it has been resolved into units of manageable size, he will have the confidence necessary to tackle it. Nor should all this be too readily called " spoon-feeding ". If at the end the teacher reviews what has been done and makes it clear to the class that such a policy of *divide et impera* reduces what initially looked quite beyond their powers to a series of relatively simple operations, then his teaching is excellent, for he is training them how to go about a piece of work, how to study for themselves precisely without perpetual spoon-feeding.

The second advantage is that even within the limits of the small question pupils may be trained in mental operations for the performance of which the use of the long answer is commonly justified. One such operation is that called " the organization of knowledge ", the bringing together, the ordering of diverse items or elements of knowledge to solve a problem in, for example, History. It is believed that the " essay-type " of answer is the only way to test this power. The fact is that short questions can be and have been composed precisely to do this. An analysis of the apparently simple questions which appear in the various forms of Intelligence and other tests will show that many of them require a high degree of this ability to organize knowledge or to transfer knowledge to the solution of a cognate but not identical problem. It might be further objected that the essay-type answer demands this power in much higher degree. But the very word " degree " does away with that objection. It is not a difference of kind, only of degree, and if the pupil has been trained in the operation in its essentials so that he has become thoroughly familiar with them, is it not reasonable to suppose that he will apply or transfer that training to where the same operation is called for, only on a larger scale? Is there not greater hope there than when his only training is in material which is unwieldy because of its extent, and discouraging because of its apparent complexity?

In this connection another point of view may be mentioned which defends the long answer against the short one. It is said that the long

answer is a testing of the candidate's power of " sustained effort " or " prolonged attention ". This is the sort of thing which once defended " long tots " in Arithmetic, and of which the results continue to appear in textbooks of that subject in the form of long and laborious variations of the four rules, signifying nothing. There is of course no such thing as a faculty of " prolonged " attention. This error is but one more of the foolish remarks that stem from talking about education in a language that is clotted with abstractions. There is no such thing as " attention ", long or short. There is a pupil attending to his work for some motive that is real to him, no matter what that motive is—fear, or hope of some reward, or an interest in the work itself. The only way you can make him attend for a longer period is to prolong the motive itself. There is no greater intrinsic merit in attending for a long time than there is in looking for a long time : it depends on what you are looking at and why. This sort of nonsense, masquerading under a woolly cloak of moral improvement, has been responsible for a vast amount of sheer wasteful drudgery in schools.

It is in its third advantage that the short question and answer show best pre-eminence over the long answer. Where the question is of a type that admits of only one correct answer (whatever be the shape of that answer), there is very little or no difficulty in marking it, when it is a matter of awarding marks. Something definite is being looked for, some particular ability is being tested, and into the examiner's judgment no irrevelant factors need enter. But when we come to the answer that may extend to a page or two of the answer-book then immediately all sorts of factors tend to make themselves felt which should have nothing to do with what is being tested. What happens is that instead of marking on the student's grasp of, let us say, History, the examiner is, even if unconsciously, taking into account the handwriting, the grammar, the spelling, the general neatness and so on. But these things are not the student's historical knowledge. It may be right that they should be tested, but the results should not appear as a judgment of something quite different.

Not to delay on the matter, it has been proved over and over again in various forms of experiment that the marking of essays or essay-type answers with any close approximation to objectivity is impossible, or impossible so far at all events. This may well seem an exaggerated statement and a strange one, in addition, to come from one who every year decides the fate of students in a university examination largely on the basis of their essay-type answers. Nevertheless the facts are there. To give one example from many : the same essay has been submitted to a number of experienced examiners and has received every mark on a five-point scale. Even more, the same essays have, after a period of time,

been submitted to the same examiner who formerly marked them, and his second set of marks has varied appreciably from the first.

The trouble apparently is that no two people seem to be able to agree on what a good essay is. Most people have prejudices in the matter, a result probably of their own tastes, and these are liable to show themselves in the marking ; so that an essay or an essay-type answer written, for instance, in a florid style may be at a real and objectively unfair disadvantage at the hands of an examiner who prefers Attic simplicity.

Extern Examinations Examined

Thus far we have been considering the place that examinations should have in the work of education, both teaching and learning. We have seen their merits as evidenced in internal examinations of all kinds and it has been stated, but not proved, that those merits are not to be found in the external type. It remains therefore to prove that.

The first point was that examining should be determined by what was taught, that its aim should be to extend the scope of the pupil's knowledge, to stress those aspects of what he is learning which contribute most to his mental development. But the effect of the external tests is to a large extent precisely the opposite of that. Though those who established them had and undoubtedly have the intention that they should be a help to learning, it is a fact of history that wherever they have been set up their invariable result has been to limit teaching, to distort it. (I have mentioned this point briefly in my first article, but a fuller treatment is necessary here.) They have tended to depress certain aspects of a subject and to exalt other aspects of it. And the tragedy is that it is just those aspects which are of greater value that they tend to depress, to drive out of the teaching, while they stress unduly what is at best valuable only as a foundation to true learning. The evil is not as prominent in some subjects as it is in others, but the strange thing is that it is in those subjects that have traditionally been regarded as the core of a liberal, cultural education that it shows itself most virulently. I mean, in the study of languages and specifically in the vernacular.

There are certain parts in the learning of a subject like literature which are not susceptible to formal examination. And they are the most valuable parts of it. I refer of course to a growing appreciation of style, to a maturing of mind that reaches out with deepening understanding for the great thoughts and noble ideas that are our cultural heritage, in brief to those parts of the study of literature that make the full man. Now how can such things be examined ? The good teacher can see the evidence of them in the free choices his pupils make in their reading, and to some extent in their writing. But he cannot examine them directly, and neither can the extern examiner. There was a time when it was thought that the

latter could ; but the speedy appearance in the answer-books of blocks of twenty or thirty " appreciations " of an author's style peculiarly alike in sentiment and in phrasing soon put an end to most of that. And then in desperation (one may presume) somebody said, " Well, we can see if they have at least read the authors ". So now we have English papers and Irish papers where the large bulk of the questions is simply a test, in one shape or another, of how much the pupil remembers.[1]

The natural and quite understandable result is that the teacher who wants his pupils to do well in the examination concentrates, especially with the weaker ones, on their getting the stuff (Shakespeare, Milton and company) off by heart. Concentrates, because there is so much to be learned off, and so little time to do it, that there is time for nothing else. We may bewail the loss, we may talk of short-sightedness, but the inescapable fact is that the pupils must " get " their " exam ". And the only way to get it is this. Ergo. Concentrate on the corpse, the spirit can't be examined.

The second point was that in internal examining the after-effects are of great value to the pupil. The first of these, the short interval between the test and its result, is not such a serious matter that its lack produces any very harmful results. To have to wait for two months for a judgment that may well decide one's future life is not the greatest of catastrophes, but it can be a great misery to the person concerned, especially if he suspects that he may not have succeeded. There seems to be no way of avoiding this delay. I understand that it is in part due to the difficulty the Department experiences in finding sufficient examiners, and that this in turn is a result of the low scale of remuneration which is all the Department finds itself able to give for what can be very distasteful drudgery.

The next of the after-effects is indeed one which the defenders of the external examination hold up as a defect in the internal test, the fact namely that it is the teacher himself who gives the verdict. As this point will recur when we are discussing what is called the objectivity of external examining we may leave it till then.

The last effect was that a review of the answering conducted between teacher and pupil was of very great advantage to both. It is obvious that such a procedure is out of the question when the pupil never sees his answer-book again and the teacher has never seen it. True, teachers do sometimes go over the papers with their students after the examination ; but this is a very different thing from the sort of review we talked about earlier : its sole aim is to try to arrive at a forecast of the result, there is no question of learning from mistakes.

[1] It is true that recent honours papers in Leaving Certificate English have re-introduced a question or two (with a number of alternatives in each) on literary criticism. But in every choice that is given the sting is in the tail : "Quote freely in support of the points you make." Freely ?

If we accept, as apparently we must, that the essay and essay-type answer are most difficult to assess, then the present form of the Certificate papers is very hard to defend. First, the essay. This appears, of course, on both the Irish and English papers. It also appears, though less ambitiously, on the modern language papers. Now it seems to me that of all literary prose forms the essay is one of the most difficult. It demands a high standard of literary excellence combined with a rare gift of disciplined compression, so that the writer achieves unity and completeness in the short space normally associated with this form. Where unessentials must be pruned, pleasing bye-ways ignored and irrelevancies rejected, it is clear that plenty of time is of the essence of such work. Yet the essay is but one of six or seven questions that have to be answered in two and a half hours.[1] It is no reply to say that the examiners do not demand perfection. Why pick precisely that method of testing the power to write "good English" in which the candidate is least likely to approach perfection? If those who set the papers believe that it is important to test a pupil's power of setting out his thoughts in logical order on a prescribed topic, why not be satisfied with a plan which will give in fair detail the sequence of the points he would make? He could then be asked to write half a page at most on one of the points so that his ability to write Irish or English might be tested. But surely there are plenty of occasions in his answering of the other questions on the paper to test that ability?

Finally, I have yet to hear a satisfactory defence of the examination essay in the light of the fact that the essay, as a literary form, has virtually disappeared.

Apart from the Irish and English papers, the essay-type answer is called for widely. It is the only form in the History paper; it is prominent in Geography except where Mathematics has intruded, and a study of the various Science papers will show that questions beginning with the word "Describe" or its equivalent occur very frequently indeed. As I have said before, what is really being examined and marked here is the student's knowledge conditioned by all sorts of things that are not knowledge. The mere fact, for instance, that one pupil can write faster than another may gain him higher marks, irrespective of their relative knowledge. The intelligent student who has been taught to reduce his thoughts to order before writing them may suffer compared with one who has learnt the answer off by heart because his master "tipped" the question. I take it that the examiner is bound to mark on what is before him, so that if one of those blocks of identical answers turns up he must mark them as if each were the work of one candidate

[1] There are two papers in Leaving Certificate Honours in both Irish and English.

and not the parrot-work that they are. And he may have to give them higher marks than the personal work of a pupil whose teacher doesn't believe in that sort of thing. It is hard to have much confidence in a test into the marking of which so many irrelevant factors may enter.

In the final article of this series I intend to discuss the merits that are usually cited in favour of the external examination, and to propose an alternative to the present system.

(TO BE CONCLUDED)

Historical Achievement

by H. F. KEARNEY

IT is curious how much of the best English history has been written by non-English hands. Ranke's *History of England,* Lecky's *History of England in the eighteenth century,* Petit-Dutaillis's *Feudal Monarchy,* Halevy's *History of the English People*—these, and other works were written by historians outside the main stream of English scholarship. The recent publication of *Essays presented to Sir Lewis Namier*[1] is a reminder that the tradition has been continued in our own day by the son of a Galician landowner. Few purely English historians have been as influential as Namier, even though he did not take up an academic teaching career in England until he was over forty years old. And though he spent his years as an undergraduate at Balliol, he was never able to return to the charmed circle of Oxford and Cambridge. He spent two decades as a professor at Manchester, and it was from this somewhat grimy provincial retreat that he made his influence felt.

In 1929, Namier, who had passed his years since Balliol partly in the Foreign Office, partly in business and partly as political secretary of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, published a most remarkable book, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III,* followed in 1930 by a complementary study, *England in the Age of the American Revolution.* He has written prolifically since then, but never anything which had the impact of his first books. And yet it is difficult to explain in what precisely their originality consisted. What is most striking perhaps is the maturity of approach which Namier showed. There was a confidence in his writing and a willingness to generalize and to throw off *obiter dicta,* qualities lacking in his cautious academic contemporaries. There was also great learning and a feeling for the eighteenth century which, when combined as it was with a first hand knowledge of modern politics, made the period come to life. A typical passage may serve to illustrate this appreciation of the ' historical comedy ', as he termed it.

> At an astronomical distance, and provided the stars are taken for granted, historical events acquire some sense, and present movements impressive and monotonous. But when watched at close quarters, the actions of men are in no way correlated in weight and value to the results they produce. The same men have to decide things big and small and their decisions are reached by the same processes and reactions . . . History of infinite weight was to be made in the absurd beginnings of a reign which was to witness the elimination of those who had hitherto governed England, the lunacy of the man meant to be King, the ruin of the life and achievements of the greatest statesman of the age, the break-up of an Empire such as the world had not seen since the disruption of the Roman Empire—history was to be started in ridiculous beginnings while small men did things both infinitely smaller and infinitely greater than they knew.

There followed a detailed study of the relations between politicians, in which personal factors counted for much, and ' whig ' and ' tory ' principles for very little.

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[1] Edited by Richard Pares and A. J. P. Taylor. MacMillan. Pp. viii, 542. 36s. net.

In these books Namier reminded historians that they were writing about human beings. He may not have said this baldly, but his whole approach was that of a man fascinated by the way human beings behaved. He escaped from the bonds of party labels which Lecky seemed to have tied for ever to eighteenth-century politicians, and pointed, in a refreshingly detached way, to the existence of other than ideological factors in history. He refused to be taken in by political abstractions and looked instead to personal quirks, family relationships, commercial interests and other mundane factors. He looked beyond the microcosm of Parliament to the society from which it was derived. And he treated his material with a delightfully ironic detachment which is reminiscent of the century itself. In short, Namier brought a human quality into historical writing which was absent from the normal run of university scholarship, while on the other hand he combined with his humanity a zeal for technical exactness which was equally absent from the pages of the popular biographers.

Such a combination of qualities could hardly be expected to remain in a state of equilibrium. Namier began to turn his attention towards contemporary history, and as he drew near to the world of the present, so his detachment and irony vanished. The toleration which had been lavished upon Newcastle, Bute and their contemporaries of the eighteenth century vanished when it came to their successors of the twentieth. Namier's patience with the foibles and frailties of human nature disappeared when he wrote about Munich and Neville Chamberlain. A style which had its moments of savage indignation replaced the elegant, humorous style in which the earlier books had been written. Namier, who had found the historical comedy of the eighteenth century amusing, was a sharp critic of the tragedy of his own times.

In truth, the methods which had served him so well in the placid shallows of 1760 proved to be of less value in the disturbed waters of a century earlier or a century and a half later. When politics are a game, as they have been for long stretches in the history of most countries, then a Namier-like approach may provide a static picture which is near to historical truth. In times of revolution and violent change, however, when a Cromwell replaces a Charles I, or a Connolly a John Redmond, then the *Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* proves to be a less reliable guide for the historian. It is for this reason that attempts to rewrite, à la Namier, the history of the English Civil War, for example, have been unsuccessful. And though two recent studies of the Long Parliament have brought together a good deal of new material relating to the five hundred odd members of the lower house, they have not in effect introduced a radical change of emphasis in the traditional picture.

There is one aspect of Namier's teaching however that is worth stressing and which emerges clearly from this volume presented to him, namely his fundamental opposition to the Marxist interpretation of history. Namier's emphasis upon personal and accidental factors as against those of ideology may have led many of his followers into undue depreciation of the importance of principles and ideals in history, but it has also prevented them from falling into Marxist over-simplification. The orthodox Marxist interpretation of history leaves little room for the rôle played by individual prejudice, indecision or eccentricity. As Engels expressed it in 1883 :

> the basic thought . . . [of the Communist Manifesto is] . . . that economic production and the structure of society of every historical epoch necessarily arising therefrom constitute the foundation for the political and intellectual history of that epoch ; that consequently (ever since the dissolution of the primeval communal ownership of land) all history has been the history of class struggles . . .

Irish readers who are acquainted with James Connolly's *Labour in Irish History* will not underestimate the superficial appeal of the simple Marxist thesis expounded by a writer of eloquence and learning. Nevertheless, through circumstances in England during the nineteen thirties favoured the rise of a Marxist school of historians, in fact, things turned out somewhat differently. The formative influence in English historical writing was that of Namier whose approach was at the other extreme from the Marxist point of view. Namier emphasized the importance of human idiosyncrasy where the Marxists stressed the background of class conflict. And the result of his influence was to push Marxist history into a backwater from which it has never really emerged. During these years, the nearest approach to an influential book which used Marxist categories to any extent was R. H. Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism,* but though Tawney was a socialist, he was also a Christian and he did not in fact fall in with the Marxist view that Protestantism was the religious expression of Capitalism. Indeed the historian who came nearest to this was Belloc who throughout his writings tended not only to over-simplify in a way analogous to that of the Marxists, but also to exaggerate the extent to which the Reformation was an affair of loot and commercial interest.

Namier provided a rich historical feast in his writings at a crucial moment. The details of human behaviour and misbehaviour, upon which he lavished such attention were in marked contrast to the bare generalities of the Marxists. George III in fact was George III in Namier's writings and not merely the symbol of an outmoded social system, destined to be overthrown in the course of time. Namier restored the irrationality of human life to human history, where the Marxists, following Hegel, had only been able to see the rational working out of the historical process. Even at its best, as in the writings of James Connolly, Eric Strauss, Christopher Hill and Maurice Dobbs, Marxist history tends to be predictable. There are no surprises in it. *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* on the other hand is full of surprises.

Unfortunately, however, many of those historians who have taken over Namier as a model have become as rigid as any Marxist in their interpretation of an historical problem. A certain American professor, reading a paper recently to a conference of historians, boasted of his elaborate card index in which, by a series of sixty-four punched holes he was able to tell within a matter of seconds the grouping of the particular parliament in which he happened to be interested—how many were brewers, how many had large estates and so on. He did not seem to realize that he had reduced the delicacy and subtlety of *The Structure of Politics* to the level of a crude mechanical approach. It is small wonder therefore that the word ' Namierisation ' has been coined as a term of abuse aimed at historians who reduce history to the monotonous dance of pressure groups and family relationships alone.

The authors of this volume, however, either here, or in their own books, have never fallen into excessive imitation of Namier's methods. It is the subjects with which they have chosen to deal, rather than any particular method of approach, that mark this book as a tribute to Sir Lewis Namier, and not to any other leading historian. Half the essays are in fact devoted to English parliamentary history, largely of the eighteenth century. Pitt's Letters to Bute, the influence of the City of London in eighteenth-century politics, changes in parliamentary procedure, 1880–82 (shadow of Parnell !)—these are the kind of topics which are discussed. The second half of the book consists of six essays in international history, mainly of the nineteenth century—a compliment to Namier's interest in the European history of that period which produced a notable book on *1848 : Revolution of the Intellectuals*. By comparison with most collections of this kind this is indeed a stimulating assemblage of essays.

The limitations of the collection, however, also bear witness to the limitations of Namier's own talents. The ' classical ' periods of European history are omitted. There is little trace of the great theological struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with one exception—Trevor Roper's ' Oliver Cromwell and His Parliaments ', a provocative *ballon d'essai*. The Middle Ages are not mentioned, nor is the French Revolution.

It would be going too far to stress this too much. Nevertheless, it is true to say that Namier's influence has on the whole been thrown upon the peripheral questions of history. No doubt there are ' interests ' and ' pressure groups ' in the United States Congress, in the English Parliament and in the Congress of the Soviet Union. But the precise differences between the workings of these groups will throw only a limited amount of light upon the qualitative distinctions between these three societies. The College of Cardinals and the Politbureau may resemble each other from certain angles, but in matters of belief and doctrine they are poles apart. It is this all important sphere which Namier's influence has tended to set at a discount. A Namieresque treatment of the Counter-reformation might well begin and end with a description of the various ' pressure groups ' at the Council of Trent. But while these legitimately form part of a complex story, the religious revival which differentiated this period from other centuries is the essential part of the story and yet the least susceptible of historical treatment. The politics of the College of Cardinals under Alexander VI and under Pius V were not unsimilar ; it was the climate of belief which had changed, and it is precisely here that the attitudes of a historian trained in the study of the politics of George III's reign will betray him and lead him to disaster.

In the final analysis, perhaps, the view of man which is implied in *The Structure of Politics* is as materialist, though less avowedly, as that of *The Communist Manifesto*. Neither of them, however, can be ignored by a Catholic historian. Marx exaggerated the importance of economic factors which are none the less part of the story. Similarly, Namier exaggerated the influence of other, less definable personal factors, and sinned by minimizing the action of idealism. Nonetheless, *The Structure of Politics* remains a work of profound historical importance, which will always repay study by the student of any period, not least the structure of Irish politics, 1956.

Reviews

HISTORY, SCIENCE AND RELIGION

AN HISTORIAN'S APPROACH TO RELIGION. By Arnold Toynbee. London: Oxford University Press. 1956. 316 pp. 21s.

THERE is a German word which might have been invented for Dr Toynbee : *Weltanschauung*. Few men can claim a view of the world as panoramic both in space and time as Dr Toynbee's. In his attempts to describe and explain that panorama (for he holds that every historian must ask what is the nature of the universe), he has been crossed so constantly by the phenomenon of religion that he has at last attempted to come to terms with it in a separate work.

The sifting of Dr Toynbee's gospel must begin with the title, *An Historian's Approach to Religion*. The history of religions cannot reveal what is the essence of religion any more than a comparison of the doctrines of, say, Archimedes, Albert the Great, Newton and Planck could teach us what is the essence of physics. Both religion and physics deal, though in analogous ways, with realities independent of human judgments. One can pronounce on the essence of physics only if one starts with its object—matter and motion ; and on the essence of religion only if one starts with God. A historian as such cannot approach religion, only religions ; and this book is a conflation of a historian's approach to religions and Dr Toynbee's approach to God.

Dr Toynbee approaching God is in difficulties at once. Religious truths are for him the object not of the conscious intellect but of the sub-conscious psyche. It is presumably (one can only presume, for the rough work is not shown) from his sub-conscious that he has formed his concept of God, as a Being absolute, ubiquitous and perfect, and indeterminate in all respects except one : that He is certainly too perfect to denature Himself by incarnation. Nobody can explain to Dr Toynbee how God became man ; at most one could show that it is not impossible that He should become man, and that He who claimed to be God made man vindicated his claim by very remarkable arguments and proofs (this is not merely belief, but history). But the Incarnation remains a mystery ; and it is no reflection on Dr Toynbee's intelligence that his main assumption in this book is based on failure to understand or accept a mystery. It merely means that he is not yet one of those who, as Christ told St Thomas, are blessed because they have not seen and yet have believed. Chesterton's description of the scientific critic catches perfectly the attitude of Toynbee to the Incarnation : " He laboriously explains the difficulty which we have always defiantly and almost derisively exaggerated; and mildly condemns as improbable something that we have almost madly exalted as incredible ; as something that would be much too good to be true, except that it is true ".

This fundamental assumption, that the incarnation of God is impossible, has affected almost every page of the book, but especially it has blurred Dr Toynbee's vision of the higher religions. Having worked six religions into the category of ' Higher ', he prefers to overlook their dissimilarities, and so

has missed the fact that Christ's claim is unique. Christ, as the Gospels and before them the epistles of St Paul describe Him, claimed to be the immediate and unique self-revelation of God, and He demanded that men should make a decision as to His Person. The history of the higher religions can offer no parallel to his claim. Before its unique and crystalline clarity all comparisons crumble. Other religions show prophets speaking for God. Christ is God speaking for Himself, and demanding that men say 'Yes' or 'No' to *Him,* risk their lives for *His* sake, and preach *Him.* It is hard to invite Dr Toynbee into this tyrannous noon of revelation from what C.S. Lewis has called " the cool evening twilight of Higher Thought, where there is nothing to be obeyed, nothing to be believed, except what is either comforting or exciting ". But it is an unworthy retreat for one who claims to be a historian, a hard-headed impresario of facts.

Dr Toynbee condemns as self-centred, and therefore improbable, any claim, whether by church, synagogue, or other institution, to exclusive possession of the truth and the means of salvation. In fact he credits the Church with an inordinately narrow view. According to Catholic teaching, visible membership of the Catholic Church is the necessary means to salvation only for those who recognize the Church as the one institution of salvation established by Christ, and for those who, through no fault of their own, do not recognize this, there are other ways of being saved. Moreover her claim does not exclude from salvation any other possible beings on other planets or galaxies. The Church has an open mind on the matter, and has never decried the possibility of God still walking in the evening air with unfallen Martians.

In fact Dr Toynbee's bent for generalizations, and his reduction of all the higher religions to the two intuitions of an extremely general ethical character, have weakened his historical sense. It is unhistorical of him to say that the light of these two intuitions has been the cause of the higher religions' historic success p. 263. One could almost say that the opposite is true, and that when men began to water down religions from their original precision to the vagueness of one or two natural truths, then they lost their appeal and their grip on men. *La religione è precisa. La religiosità è vaga,* said Croce. And the true religion is so precise that it has been well likened to a key ; it is a thing that depends entirely upon keeping its shape ; and it has a fantastic, because to some extent an arbitrary shape ; it is no use resenting its complicated shape, and wishing, as Dr Toynbee wishes, that it were simpler. There is only one thing simple about the true religion as about the right key : it works ; it opens the door.

Despite all this and very much besides, it is a special sort of education to read Dr Toynbee, to think for a while on a global scale, and to enjoy the easy range of his learning over continents and centuries, and his evident sincerity and solicitude for the world today. But in order to appreciate how little of his thesis is new, and how much he leaves unsaid, one should follow up this book with Chesterton's *The Everlasting Man* or at least with the chapter entitled 'The God in the Cave'.

PAUL ANDREWS

CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND NATURAL SCIENCE, SOME QUESTIONS ON THEIR RELATIONS. The Bampton Lectures, 1956. By E. L. Mascall. London : Longmans, Green. 1956.

THESE lectures are on selected topics of science in which the theologian is professionally interested. The author is an Anglican with a deep understanding of thomistic philosophy ; moreover, he is a mathematician and a lecturer in the philosophy of religion at Oxford. With such qualifications what he has to say on scientific questions in theology or on theological questions in science is well worth hearing. He does not seek to cover the whole field of scientific thought but confines his range to " the small number of scientific questions of which I have anything but the scrappiest knowledge ". Yet his small number includes relativity, quantum physics, genetics and astronomy, to mention but a few of his subjects ; and the depth of his knowledge may be gauged by his well chosen references to classical and contemporary work in these fields. As a theologian he writes on creation, providence, the Virgin Birth, the End of Man, and is at most times orthodox. I must, however, disagree with some interpretations which do not square with traditional Catholic teaching.

The central thesis running through these lectures is that science and theology are autonomous disciplines, that neither need accept the conclusions of the other, but that there are a number of regions in which they can make contact and in which important things about that contact can be said. The emphasis is undoubtedly on the autonomy of theology whose freedom from the dogmatic statements of scientists is largely due to the better understanding of scientific theory itself. No longer, as the author makes clear, do the scientists claim that all they say must be taken as literal and exhaustive descriptions of the real constitution of the world.

Chapters on contingency, creation and indeterminancy form the major portion of this book. The first question asked is whether this present existing universe is a necessary one. The theological answer is undoubtedly " no " : God need not have created anything or could have created a very different universe. But noted cosmologists, such as Eddington and Milne, have sought to derive the properties of the material universe from " epistemological considerations ". Dr Mascall gives a summary of the position that they reach. " To prove the necessity of the actual universe two things must be done. First, certain fundamental cosmological principles must be shown to be necessary. Secondly, it must be shown that the world that actually exists follows with logical necessity from them." For Eddington the fundamental characteristic of the physical world was that it should be measurable, for Milne that it should be one in which communication is possible. Neither succeeded in proving his position, and their success in deducing the actual universe (their cosmology) is here of secondary importance. De facto, according to most commentators, they failed.

The concept of " creation " in theology and science is the subject of the next lecture. Dr Mascall finds no particular relation between the concepts in the two disciplines though they use the same word. Whilst it is true that almost any cosmological theory on creation can be interpreted religiously, it is certain

that some are more easily so interpreted than others. Cosmological theories that point to a beginning of the world in time and space are evidently in agreement with the creation of the world by Almighty God. Theories postulating an infinite age for the universe, even though they demand continuous creation and thereby a conservation in existence by Almighty God, need to be modified if they are to agree with our belief in the beginning of the world.

The opinions of theologians, philosophers and scientists are divided on the meaning of the principle of indeterminancy which has become so fundamental in modern scientific thought. Is it a confession of ignorance? Is it true that we do not (and maybe cannot) know sufficient about the elementary particles of nature to determine their precise relation to events and must be content with probability? Or does this principle affirm that the law of causality is invalid in the microcosmic world? For large scale phenomena certainty and causality, as we know them, are attained. Dr Mascall is willing to interpret in terms of causes at all stages.

> If the standpoint of classical physics is accepted with its deterministic outlook, the theist will see every physical event as the effect of secondary causality of finite agents. He will not deny that the primary causality of God is involved . . . If now we abandon the classical standpoint . . . we cannot give a complete account, even on the physical level, simply in terms of finite causes . . . God has reserved to Himself the final decision as to whether a specified event occurs or not. To the secondary cause it belongs to determine that there is a certain probability of the event occurring, and even this it does only by its conservation by the primary cause which is God. To the primary cause it belongs to determine whether the event shall occur, and when, and where . . . whether an event occurs or not depends in the last resort upon His choice and upon it alone.

The final lectures of this series are: The Body and the Soul, Man's Origin and Ancestry and the Purpose of Creation. The speculations on Original Sin and the unity of the human race are not compatible with Catholic doctrine. But in the final pages the author writes on the Mystical Body of Christ in a manner acceptable to all readers.

> Whether man will, by the grace and mercy of God, subdue to his own true interests the tremendous physical power that now lies in his grasp or will use it for his own destruction we do not know. The recent advances in infra-atomic physics have led more than one Christian writer or speaker to suggest that the 'solvet saeclum in favilla' of the medieval hymnodist may be realised by nuclear fusion or fission. However the end may be attained, about the end itself there is for the Christian no doubt at all. God has become man in Christ, in order that in Christ men may become the sons of God.

Our need today is to rejoice in the consistent conclusions reached independently by saint or scholar, theologian, philosopher or scientist. That is the spirit of recent papal allocutions to scientists. Again, from the doctrines of faith which we hold firmly some conclusions can be drawn which bear on science and its relation to theology. A failure to understand this point leads

the author to a failure to appreciate the importance of papal allocutions to scientists. In such addresses the Holy Father rejoices that science and scientific theory, which he reviews, are so much in harmony with the teaching of the Church and calls on scientists to continue their seeking of Truth which is always one.

RICHARD E. INGRAM

THE LATEST FACE IN POETRY

NEW LINES. An Anthology. Edited by Robert Conquest. London : Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1956. 12s. 6d.

" LATEST face, so effortless . . ." writes Philip Larkin. It is impossible to mirror the very latest face of poetry in an anthology because the accent is constantly being moved from one feature to another if the poetry is alive. Yet, although the picture of poetry must be an ever-changing one, Mr Conquest has cut the film at an opportune moment and his " still " represents a real stage in the development.

The poets in this collection began to appear in print in the late 1940's and the early 1950's. Kingsley Amis, Robert Conquest, Donald Davie, D. J. Enright, Thom Gunn, John Holloway, Elizabeth Jennings, Philip Larkin and John Wain ; their names are known to readers of the Fantasy Press pamphlets, the P.E.N. anthologies of new poems, various periodicals including the *London Magazine* and Mr George Hartley's *Listen.* They are not a clique or cabal belonging to a doctrinaire school. And yet, as *New Lines* shows clearly, they have reached, by their different paths, a real agreement about what poetry is and how it should be written. If it must be labelled, their poetry could be called neo-classical : having its roots in the past, careful about form and, still, very much of its own time.

If the latest face seems to be, on first inspection, quite effortless, it is because these poems are written, almost without exception, with a high regard for craftsmanship and a sure mastery of technique. Only in some of D. J. Enright's poems (*Evening in the Khamsin, Baie des Anges, Nice.*) did it seem to me that a luxuriant sensuousness had made the poem shapeless. But this may be deliberate. Luxuriance is often apparently shapeless :

> While orange crowds out lemon, the vine creeps when and
> where it may . . .

At any rate, these writers certainly agree about the importance of form in poetry. Their poems are based on a rational rhythmical structure very often strengthened by rhyme. They insist on a recurrent pattern bearing so closely on what is said as to make the whole poem, words and structure, one conventional-natural sign ; the form obliquely shades the words and raises the expression to a level that prose cannot reach. By these means they strive to catch a suggestion of the absolute and the timeless in what is essentially relative and transient. In poetry of this kind deviations from strict form are deliberate devices purposefully used.

What should give the common reader much heart is that these poems are reasonably easy to read. The poetry of esoteric symbolism (so satisfying in Eliot), in which obscurity was bound to prevail over all else, is gone. Gone too is the surrealist verse of the sub-conscious or the *Id,* with its plethora of images from Freud or Jung which, under the influence of Dylan Thomas, flourished too long.

But it would be wrong to think that these poems can be read well if they are read carelessly. The reader must pay attention to the technical devices of rhythm and rhyme if he is to bring away the complete sense. The forms are very firm. John Wain has a preference for *Terza Rima.* Thom Gunn writes an impeccable sonnet on a true sonnet subject, deftly criss-crossing thoughts on the paradoxes of death (*Lerici*). Again, he writes in stanzas rhyming in the most intricate way: abaccddb, ababbcc, ababcdcd (*On the Move, Merlin in the Cave, A Plan of Self-Subjection*). The metre is iambic, with a regular number of stresses in the line, against which the rhythms move easily and the rhymes are pure and correct. The greater part of the poems in the book are constructed in the same meticulous way. And not merely are the forms integral parts of the poems but the deviations from strictness, as I hinted above, are significant. For instance, Robert Conquest writing of the nature of poetry in *Anthéor,* sustains strict pentameters in blank verse as long as he is discussing what has been said or can be said, but allows the verse, still under the strict control of a pattern, to tail off into shorter lines when he attempts to say the unsayable. Donald Davie in *The Fountain* takes the opposite course. The first stanza begins :

> Feathers up fast, steeples, and then in clods
> Thuds into its first basin . . .

Here we have sprung rhythm, instressed to match the inscape of the fountain (although without the bursting immediacy of Hopkins). Once the picture is well set, Dr Davie moves into iambic pentameters, more in accord with the philosophic mood that now takes over (the poem is about Berkeley).

Rhyme is used in a way that is most interesting. Once the writers have convinced us, so to speak, that they can indeed rhyme correctly, they ring the changes on the impure rhyme, the half-rhyme, the apparent rhyme, the concealed rhyme and even the missing rhyme. With this in mind, Miss Elizabeth Jennings's polished, crystalline little poems should be read carefully. Using the knowledge that the *ll* at the end of an English word carries with it an almost imperceptible *u* sound, she can write (of the effect of light)

> Makes churches move once still
> Rocking in light as music rocks the bell.

And the short *e* sound is appropriate after the numbness of *still.* She uses this device again in *Song at the Beginning of Autumn* and uses it with a difference:

> The ambiguity of this . . .
> Proving that autumn gropes for us.

Here, the half-heard *u* gropes, like autumn, in the thick and wandering rhyme. In *Music and Words* and *Not in the Guide-Books* the rhyme flickers and fades in the most fascinating way in sympathy with the uncertain mood. Mr Larkin

can do the same kind of thing. In *Lines on a Young Lady's Photograph Album* he rhymes *records, frauds,* and *boards* having first shown us that he knows when a rhyme is right. Here he is speaking of the unreliability of snap-shots, reminding one of the original but not quite a likeness.

A great number of these poems deal with the problem of poetry : what it is and what it should do. Some are concerned with the more general problem of perception itself. In spite of these being legitimate, time-honoured and satisfactory subjects for poetry it is surprising how many people would ban them. It seems to be a presumption that never being self-conscious is always a virtue. Uncompromisingly, Mr Conquest calls his first, neat poem *Epistemology of Poetry.* In *Anthéor* he sets forth his ideas more fully. " What can a poem do with a landscape ? " he asks. What

> Extract that pure philosophies cannot ?
> Express the universe in terms of parts
> Chosen to illustrate all time and space,
> Deducing then beyond those images
> The general essence of all human hearts
> And the most transitory look
> On a face ?

No, this will not do. It is too like *Tintern Abbey* to be acceptable. Nature is too much for words although seeing exactly what is in front of him and forcing words to fit reality is the first duty of a poet. It is Eliot's " raid on the inarticulate ".

> How can they seize precisely on that bird's
> White spiral past the bastion of red rock ?
> Even the redness is too subtle for
> The inexact impressions of a phrase . . .

There is nothing new here. But what is said is worth saying again and is well said. In order to show that he is not daunted by the fearful task of seeking the one image that is " its own interpretation of that hieroglyph " (nature) Mr Conquest writes a poem of the tundra and succeeds with it (*Near Jakobselv*). Miss Jennings and Mr Kingsley Amis (*Against Romanticism*) deal with similar problems. Mr Enright deals once and for all with those critics " for whom the outside is a dreadful bore " and who cannot, as a result of their pedantry, see the poet's wood for their own trees. Finally, *in Remembering the Thirties,* Dr Davie writes, with wit and a certain pathos, of fashions in poetry :

> It dawns upon the veterans after all
> That what for them were agonies, to us
> Are high-brow thrillers . . .
> . . . a deprecating air
> Disarmed, they thought, the jeers of later schools ;

Who influenced these writers ? Mr Conquest puts Yeats, the great poet of the century, in the first place. Robert Graves and Edwin Muir, he thinks, have given a lead in objective observation as well as in questions of technique. Mr William Empson's insistence that a poem must have an " intellectual

skeleton " has had its effect. " Auden, too", says Mr Conquest, " casts an obvious shadow here and there : who can escape that large and rational talent ? " The influence of Eliot and Auden is clearly to be seen in the deliberate vulgarity like a slap in the face or, better still, in the deliberate banality, a device these two poets invented for conveying the wry shrug of the shoulders at a hopeless state of affairs. Older influences are there too. Browning has more than a little to do with the dramatic monologues of Mr John Holloway and Mr Larkin (*Epitaph for a Man, Church Going*). Donne could have written Miss Jennings's *A Way of Looking* or *Identity*:

> When I decide I shall assemble you
> Or, more precisely, when I decide which thoughts
> Of mine about you fit most easily together . . .

Then of course there is the influence of the age we live in. Honestly concerned with holding the mirror up to their own time and environment, at a time when an anxious uncertainty is the rule and an absolute philosophy the exception, these poets are often in doubt and, occasionally, in something like despair. Donald Davie writes in *Too Late for Satire* :

> . . . In a tragic age
> We share the hatred but we lack the hope.

But what, you may well ask, of the poetry. Is there anywhere a touch of magic, a murmuring of spells ? Are these young poets, as Mr John Wain writes in *Who Speaks My Language,* " Coaxing the wind to touch strategic reeds " ? The answer depends somewhat on what is meant by magic but, at least, there is a wide choice. One might take Dr Davie :

> Over the shadows and through the clear
> Cushion-soft wooing of the ear
> From two meadows away, by the dove—

Or John Holloway in *The Shell*:

> . . . breathes the small
> Chord it intones all day ; queer,
> Aloof, almost ironical.

Some may prefer more minute observation. Mr Holloway, again, writes of dunlin and sanderling:

> So sharp their pulse
> Trills, and their dram of blood burns up so clear.

But, when reading dramatic monologues, semi-satirical studies of the foibles of men and women, the magic is of a different kind. Mr Larkin is good at this kind of spell (*Church Going*):

> Some ruin-bibber, randy for antique.

So is Mr Amis. In *Wrong Words* he writes of those pitiable people (young, old, poets and *prosateurs*) whose terrible lack of confidence is betrayed by an immense volubility:

> Careening now, they blazed, while none would look,
> The distress signals of their superlatives.

There are so many kinds of magic. A very nice white kind makes one laugh and it may be learned from Auden or, perhaps, Ogden Nash:

> Should poets bicycle-pump the human heart
> Or squash it flat?
> Man's love is of man's life a thing apart
> Girls aren't like that.

Once magic is not excluded it is sure to keep breaking out. But Dr Davie writes a warning in *Remembering the Thirties:*

> And yet it may be better, if we must,
> To find the stance impressive and absurd
> Than not to see the hero for the dust.

JOHN C. KELLY

REVOLUTION IN PHILOSOPHY

ESSAYS IN CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS. Selected and edited by Professor Antony Flew. London: Macmillan. 1956. 18s.

THE REVOLUTION IN PHILOSOPHY. By A. J. Ayer, W. C. Kneale, and others, with an introduction by Gilbert Ryle. London: Macmillan. 1956. 10s. 6d.

THESE two works are indispensable to anyone who wishes to keep abreast of contemporary English-speaking philosophy. Up to recently, the key papers on which such radical changes in the fashions of thought depended were available only to the initiated in journals and periodicals, such as *Mind* or the *Journal of Philosophy* or the *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*. This was only natural, and in fact is the normal situation in the sciences. But it was probably inevitable that at least the important and lasting papers would find a more permanent home than a paper-bound periodical. This was the more desirable in as much as undergraduates found that many of the papers they were most anxious to consult were in copies of the issue of the journal which had disappeared, or alternatively that while the issue was there the relevant article had disappeared. The two works listed above represent the anthology idea. There have been others like them. Flew for instance has already edited two similar volumes which he called *Logic and Language* (vols. 1 and 2). The second work under review has its prototype in Laslett's edition of the Third Programme Series on the relation of mind and body. It is a Third Programme Series.

The present position of English philosophy is extraordinarily difficult to assess. Almost the only thing one can say about it with certainty is that it has given rise to great exaggerations about its importance, about its revolutionary character, and about its possible effects on the history of philosophy. One still finds this body of philosophical speculation occasionally referred to as "logical positivism", and most people would find it extremely difficult to explain the difference between for instance Moore's analysis, logical analysis of Russell, and logical positivism. There are still people who think that Logical

Positivism is the name for a particular philosophical doctrine or set of philosophical doctrines, and yet Russell as long ago as 1949 stated that " logical positivism is a name for a method, not for a certain kind of result ". It is amusing to note that whereas Joad had contended that " Logical Positivism tends to undermine rational and to encourage irrational beliefs " particularly Fascism, Ayer goes out of his way in the second of the volumes under review to make it quite clear that Fascism was antagonistic to Logical Positivism and to castigate as "ignorant and irresponsible journalists" those who thought otherwise ; while Warnock of Oxford in the last essay in the collection is at pains to state that he himself is not a logical positivist " nor is any philosopher of my acquaintance ". This is comforting, since presumably Ayer is an acquaintance of his, together with all the other philosophers whose work is represented here.

Reading contemporary English-speaking philosophy, one is constantly reminded of the number of angels who could stand on a pin. It seems that there is an inherent dialectic in the history of philosophy (would that the authors under consideration here knew a little more about the history of their subject) in accordance with which the peaks of philosophical speculation are followed by dreary valleys of scepticism and verbalism. The Stoic preoccupation with implication and language has its parallel in the medieval *grammatica speculativa* and doctrine of consequence, while both are paralleled by contemporary verbal analysis and the doctrine of material implication. The parallel phenomena, which we can call for short a preoccupation with language, follow in each case a period of the very highest achievements of human thought.

Perhaps the best-known aspect of Logical Positivism was its curious and almost paranoid attitude to metaphysics. The propositions of metaphysics were said to be " meaningless " ; the adjective " metaphysical " became a term of abuse ; and the suggestion was firmly implanted in the student mind of Europe (and of Britain) that at last we were free from the shackles of an outworn superstition. I think it fair to say that even if Ayer was not a logical positivist, these statements represent also his mind of some years ago. It is therefore amusing to find Ayer saying that the "Vienna Circle, as a movement is a thing of the past. So, in a way, is logical positivism " (p. 73) ; while Pears on pp. 46–47 calls the Logical Atomism of Russell, Wittgenstein and Moore " a metaphysical theory " and says : " We must not be misled by the way in which empiricists publicly denounce metaphysics. Such denunciations certainly reflect their intentions, but in spite of these intentions, many empiricists are philosophical visionaries, just like metaphysicians ". Was it Claude Bernard who said " Man makes metaphysics as he breathes " ?

There seems to me no doubt that *The Revolution in Philosophy* is a most important work—almost a " source-book " for the history of a philosophy written by the men who made it.

With regard to Flew's volume, one has doubts. It is rather like listening in as a stranger to the private discussions of a closed and rather esoteric group. The first essay, by Flew himself, is not very important, and is not even amusing, which is one merit a great deal of this sort of philosophizing has. But Strawson

on " Referring " is an important essay. One had come to look upon the existential import problem as somehow finally solved by Russell's ingenious devices, but here it is quite clear that most philosophers had fallen into rather silly and simple traps. Again, Warnock on " Metaphysics in Logic " is valuable from many points of view, but one can see little reason for including Brotman's " Could space be four dimensional ? " With Herbst's " The nature of facts " we are back again to the angels on a pin, and Toulmin on probability reminds one of the decay of scholasticism. It was Russell who suggested that the danger before the contemporary philosopher was that of falling into (and of course he used the word as a term of abuse) a new scholasticism : by this he meant getting involved in lengthy and unending disputes about the meanings and uses of words, over-subtle distinctions, and shallow (or callow) avoidance of real problems.

E. F. O'Doherty

HUMAN ACTION DEBATED

DIALECTIQUE DE L'AGIR. Par André Marc, S.J. Ouvrage publié avec le concours du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Paris : Emmanuel Vitte, 10, rue Jean-Bart (6). Pp. 588. Price : 2,400 francs.

This is the third work of a trilogy which the author declares to be now complete. The previous two books were *Psychologie Réflexive* (reviewed, *Studies,* March 1951) and *Dialectique de l'Affirmation* (reviewed, *Studies,* Autumn 1954) ; the former is a treatise on rational psychology, the latter on ontology. The book now under review treats of general ethical theory. Together these three works form an impressive contribution to modern scholastic philosophy. They are the fruit of many years' teaching, reading and reflection by a mind thoroughly at home in the very stratosphere of metaphysical speculation. Though accepting most of the conclusions of modern Thomism, they are far from being just another series of textbooks of neo-scholasticism for use in colleges and universities. They are, in their own right, a notable piece of philosophical writing and, while remaining securely within the framework of orthodox scholasticism, display considerable originality of thought and method.

In *Dialectique de l'Agir* the originality of thought arises from Fr Marc's remarkable knowledge and sympathetic understanding of most of the modern non-scholastic philosophers (especially, of course, the French ones) who touch upon his selected themes. The analysis, objective and painstaking, of their doctrines takes up a large part of his book.

His originality of method is suggested by the use of the word *dialectique* in the title of two works of the trilogy. The terminology of Hegel (and of Marx) has familiarized us with that process by which understanding grows through clash of opposites, thesis and antithesis resolving into synthesis. In plain language, when thoughtful minds ponder upon any complex reality, some are apt to seize upon a partial aspect of it as explaining the whole, while others concentrate upon the aspect which appears directly contrary. Thus, since reality is consistent, the reflective analysis of the thinker is stimulated to

the effort of reconciling the apparent antinomy. Success brings not only the satisfaction of solving a problem, but a far deeper understanding of the reality in question. That is Fr Marc's method. He juxtaposes contradictory solutions of the same philosophical problem and, helped by the suggestions of Thomism, winnows the good grain from the chaff in each of the opposed viewpoints, thus harmonizing them in a synthesis which is richer than either. He himself is the chairman of the debate ; on the platform are all the important figures of modern philosophy ; each is given ample scope to say his say ; and, at the end of each section the chairman sums up, commending what he considers well said, acutely uncovering flaws in the argumentation, appraising all from the thomist standpoint and thus adding colour, life, warmth and topicality to the austere outlines of the *philosophia perennis*.

In the opinion of the present reviewer, Fr Marc is much more interested in conducting his keen but friendly dialogue with non-scholastics than in expounding the scholastic system for the enlightenment of those within the Schools. A glance at the index of proper names gives some idea of the extraordinary extent of his reading, and that this was neither cursory nor superficial his exposition shows. Amongst the moderns, in addition to Kant, most extensive treatment is allotted to René Le Senne, Blondel, Gabriel Marcel, Boutroux, Hamelin and Fouillée.

He begins by calling attention to that quality of the deliberate, human act which is called, in technical language, its " intentionality ". This means that the act is aimed at something other than itself. In fact, the very essence of a deliberate act is to be consciously and expressly performed in view of an end to be attained or realized. Fastening upon that characteristic, Fr Marc spins out an elaborate web of argument. Stated baldly, his conclusions are not new, but the reasoning process which establishes them is subtle and often original. Of its nature, the deliberate act is directed not merely to an end but to a final end, a *summum bonum ;* this can only be Beatitude, and Beatitude, objectively speaking, can only be God. Thus from the finalism of the deliberate act, Fr Marc furnishes a proof of God's existence. The human spirit lays hold of God primarily through an act of knowledge ; and the thirst for knowledge is unslaked till the object is apprehended in itself and not merely in its effects or shadows. Hence the logical development of man's desire to know is a longing for the vision of God. These chapters are among the most interesting in the book. They contain a lengthy disquisition on the vexed question of a natural desire for the vision of God. They issue in the firm conclusion that the craving for happiness is unassuaged till the soul sees God face to face. There is no such thing as a naturally-attainable beatitude which fully satisfies our desire for knowledge and love.

This is, in many ways, a satisfactory conclusion but one which opens up perplexing problems. How preserve the vital distinction between natural and supernatural ? Is it not incompatible with divine wisdom to create a being whose natural yearnings overleap his natural powers of attainment ? I shall not attempt to express in a line or two a solution to which Fr Marc devotes scores of pages. Suffice it to say that the solution proceeds along the line suggested by St Thomas in that passage of the *Summa* (I.II, q.5, a.5, ad 1)

where it is said that a man's capabilities are not to be measured just by his unaided powers, but also by what he can accomplish when aided by friends on whom he may safely count. Now God is man's friend, at least in the sense that man exists only because God has known and loved him. Man's very existence and life are an invitation to him to reciprocate the divine knowledge and love. And if man's very nature impels him to lift his eyes to heights beyond his ability to scale, may he not regard this as a suggestion not to limit unduly his expectations from that infinitely-generous Source Whose bountiful initiative he already enjoys? The purely philosophical analysis of man's inherent finalism, Fr Marc believes, leads the enquirer to the conviction that it is possible that God has specially intervened in human history to supplement man's shortcomings. And is not history full of rumours of that intervention? To one who reasons like this, the duty appears of searching the records to find if these rumours be well founded. Thus philosophy, raising questions which itself is unable to answer, leads the conscientious and persevering enquirer to the threshold of supernatural theology.

Book One, from prolonged consideration of the human act as "intentional," determines man's destiny; Book Two studies the order to be imposed on human activity in order to bring man to that destiny. Its main themes are, therefore, Morality and Obligation. Here we have the very heart of ethical enquiry, nay, its *sole* subject-matter, according to certain contemporary, English-speaking ethicians. It was therefore disappointing to find Fr Marc less satisfying in this part of his book than in the first part. At least, that was my experience. In his treatment of morality (notion and norm) he debates brilliantly and *in extenso* with his non-scholastic *interlocuteurs;* but when he comes to his own positive *exposé,* he gives me the impression of being somewhat sketchy and casual, as one who, having adequately dealt with the views of those outside the Schools, has forthwith lost interest in the subject, or unwarrantedly assumed that all is now clear to those within. And, alas, to one reader, at least, all is not clear.

The treatment of obligation perplexed me. This may not be, probably is not, the author's fault. What I could not fully grasp was how he understands the *imperative* of duty. Is it a motive distinct from goodness (as some affirm) or is it reducible to terms of goodness, as, I fancy, a scholastic would hold? (Is not goodness the formal object of the will?) I confess that Fr Marc left me uncertain as to which view he held. The crux of the matter here is to explain why the moral imperative is categorical or absolute. I find that, after more than one reading, I cannot say how Fr Marc understands "absolute" in this connection. And his explanation of the origin of the categorical imperative, based on the human spirit's need to act, so far eludes me.

Book Three deals with the act of conscience, the *rôle* of the emotions and virtues in the moral life, and finally, the moral personality as an end in itself and a supreme value under God.

This it is a profound and valuable work, and a long period may elapse before it is assessed at its just worth. The many and varied philosophies over which it ranges, the numerous passages of exalted speculation and the moving eloquence of many of its pages make it altogether notable. For full

understanding, however, the reader requires not merely a considerable grasp of metaphysics, but also some acquaintance with Fr Marc's very personal approach to scholastic ontology and psychology, as developed in the two previous works to which allusion has been made above. Fr Arthur Little, whose untimely death in 1949 robbed *Studies* of one of its most versatile contributors, used to say that Ethics was the least metaphysical of all the philosophical disciplines. As I read Fr Marc's pages, I frequently found myself wondering whether Fr Arthur would have changed his mind if the Lord had spared him long enough to read *Dialectique de l'Agir*.

MICHAEL CONNOLLY

SCRIPTURE STUDIES

THE BOOK OF PSALMS. Vol. II : Pss 73–150. Translated from a critically revised text with a commentary by Mgr Edward J. Kissane. Dublin : Browne and Nolan. Pp. vi+336. 30s.

DURING the last fifty years or so there has been a notable increase of interest in the Book of Psalms, marked by the appearance of a number of commentaries and translations into modern languages. This interest was further stimulated by the new Latin translation of 1946. The Latin translation which had been in use before that date was not completely satisfactory. It had been made in the fourth century, not directly from the original Hebrew text, but from a Greek translation of that original. Translations of translations are seldom successful. The words of our Latin Psalter did not always render the sense of the original with accuracy and in some cases, be it admitted, did not give any clear sense at all. The appearance of this new translation, then, greatly intensified the already existing interest; and a considerable number of studies of the Book of Psalms have been published during the past ten years. Mgr Kissane's two volumes are clearly the fruit of many years of study and lecturing and now hold an honoured place among recent publications.*

The Book of Psalms is a collection of religious songs composed by King David and various later inspired hymn-writers and used originally in the Israelite synagogue and temple services. When the early Christian liturgical forms were being evolved the men of those days, were influenced by the religious services of the Old Law, and imitated them to the extent of introducing readings from Scripture and the recitation of the Psalms as the setting in which the celebration of the Blessed Eucharist was enshrined.

All genuine religious hymns must reflect the theology of the religion they serve. Hence the necessity of the procedure so successfully followed out by Mgr Kissane of incorporating into his commentary a great many references to the Old Testament. This is done not as a display of erudition, but because the Psalms can be properly understood only if they be read against the background of the Old Testament writings which provide the theological themes developed in each Psalm.

Mgr Kissane's translations are based on his commentary. They are apt and accurate, and printed in a way which brings out the rhythmic and strophic arrangement of the original poetic text.

*The first volume of Mgr Kissane's work was reviewed by the late Fr Edmund Power, S.J., in *Studies*, Summer, 1953, p. 227.

One of the greatest difficulties in composing a commentary on the Book of Psalms must be the fact that in a number of places the original text has not been transmitted to us with complete accuracy in our existing Hebrew manuscripts. This need not surprise us because our oldest Hebrew manuscripts date from the ninth century A.D. whereas the earliest Psalms were composed about 1000 B.C. Hence in a number of cases the Hebrew text has to be restored by the translator. Sometimes this can be done from variant readings of the manuscripts themselves, sometimes from ancient translations which make it possible to see the text which the ancient translator had before him ; and finally by conjecture. This last is a delicate and dangerous process, requiring erudition, judgment and a certain religious and literary intuition, and above all a great sense of restraint. A great number of textual emendations have been suggested during the past 100 years ; the more important of them have been incorporated in Kittel-Kahle's Biblia Hebraica. It is quite clear that Mgr Kissane has weighed and considered each of these emendations with the greatest care. He has accepted some and rejected others, and on some rare occasions has offered conjectures of his own. It is these personal decisions and conclusions which will be of greatest interest to the critical reader of this commentary. For example in Ps 110 (109), v. 3, Mgr Kissane, by suggesting a change in three or four consonants of the Hebrew text, has brought order out of chaos and offered a clear and appropriate meaning for a verse, the text of which was in disorder when the Greek translation was made more than two thousand years ago.

Each Psalm is preceded by a short introduction in which Mgr Kissane endeavours to establish the approximate date at which it was composed and to define as accurately as possible the literary form the inspired writer was using to formulate his thought. This is an extremely useful book of which both author and printer have every reason to be proud.

PATRICK SIMPSON

A NEW TESTAMENT COMMENTARY FOR ENGLISH READERS. By Ronald A. Knox. Vol. III. The Later Epistles, The Apocalypse. London : Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1956. Pp. x+244. 21s.

MGR KNOX describes his commentary on the New Testament as the footnotes he would have liked to add to his translation. This third and last volume contains his notes to St Paul's Epistles to Philemon, Titus and Timothy, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the seven Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse of St John. To include so much matter in 230 pages is a great achievement and it means that the commentary on each book is brief ; but brevity has been achieved not by sacrificing clarity and elegance but by the simpler method of omitting to discuss a number of minor points, however interesting these may be in themselves. The notes on individual passages are nearly always thoughtful, general and nontechnical and seem to contain less controversial matter than the notes in volumes I and II of this commentary. Who can estimate the debt we owe to Mgr Knox for the immense labours he has undertaken in order to bring the Bible to the people and the people to the Bible ?

PATRICK SIMPSON

JESUS IN HIS TIME. By Daniel-Rops. Translated from the French by R. W. Millar. London : Eyre and Spottiswoode in association with Burns and Oates. 1955. Pp. 492. 30s.

THERE will never be a definitive life of Christ. The revelation of God in Christ Jesus is for all men and for all times. The words of life must be ever re-stated in an idiom corresponding to the current taste and usage. The story of Jesus will be ever and ever re-told—the story of Beauty ever ancient, ever new.

The quite phenomenal success of M. Daniel-Rops's *Jésus en son Temps* is perhaps itself a witness to this truth. In 1945 there were, especially in French, many lives of Christ ; but none had any success comparable to this. The latest French edition of M. Daniel-Rops's work, that of 1955, bears on its title-page the legend : 488e *édition,* and on a fly-leaf it carries already an advertisement for the 500th edition. The book in its French editions has sold more copies than any work of non-fiction since the war. It has already been translated into fifteen languages. Judged then by the standard of readability or popularity, it clearly is remarkable.

Daniel-Rops de l'Académie Française, it may first be said, writes well ; his style is facile, fluent and pleasing, and it has that quality which, I think, Matthew Arnold first called architectonic. He tells a story well, and here he has, one may say with reverence, the greatest of all stories to tell. He has a well-developed sense for the dramatic, and he holds something in reserve for his finest chapters, those which tell of the last days of Jesus, of his suffering and of his death. But he is too, in the best sense of the word, a journalist, skilled in his trade of giving his readers what he knows they will want. In a word he has a notable charism for popularization. His work has all the excellences of the modern art of *haute vulgarisation.*

To these good qualities M. Daniel-Rops brings also a large fund of energy, enthusiasm and diligence. In his determination to fill up the background of his subject, he has cast his net wide, too wide at times. Apart from some tiresome digressions, he includes at least once what good sense, if not good taste, should have excluded (p. 206). Geography, social history, the customs and traditions of Palestine he uses to good purpose. From religious and profane writers, from art, old and new, from the Apocrypha and similar writings, from the statuary and glass of the medieval cathedrals he draws much and often very happily.

But, most of all and most happily, as I am sure he would be pleased to admit, he has drawn from the rich mine of the French, especially French Catholic writers who in recent times have studied the Gospels and have written of the life and times of Jesus. M. Daniel-Rops was fortunate in having to hand this splendid material, already quarried and sifted and purified. The English edition does not include the *Indications Bibliographiques* which appears in the French edition at page 643. That is no accident, for in fact nearly all the books cited are French or in French translations. Yet it is indeed good to reflect that through the pen of Daniel-Rops, in France and in the world generally, the splendid work of Lagrange, de Grandmaison, Prat, Lebreton, etc. is given in a new form to the multitude and becomes a best-seller.

A price, however, has to be paid for popularity, and M. Daniel-Rops

cannot escape the attentions of this tax-gatherer. He must pay his due for slickness in the coin of superficiality, and he must stretch his scholarship so much that at times it is very thin indeed. In the English version of his book the translator's note tells us " the quotations from the Bible in this translation, save where otherwise noted, are from the Authorized Version as being most familiar to readers of English ". That looks like the decision of a sales-manager, and the Catholic reader must pay the price. There are other tolls of a similar kind ; one is paid on page 370 where we read with reference to the words of consecration at the Last Supper : " No Christian can read these words without feeling the presence of Christ living. However they may be interpreted, in the Real Presence according to the Catholic Church, or as a solemn Commemoration, as is believed by the majority of the Reformed churches, they represent the highest level of the Christian mystery, one we all feel the need to contemplate and to adore in silence ".[1] I shall refer later to the defects of this translation ; no doubt the gesture of " comprehension" is generous, but is it not also ridiculous ?

The most common coin in which the price of this popularity is paid is in loss of reverence. M. Daniel-Rops, we are happy to say, pays nothing here. His deep and evident sincerity and his vivid faith preserve him from this too common defect of popular religious writing.

This book is written for lay folk, but it will be read by many who have studied theology. The latter will have not a few unquiet moments, for M. Daniel-Rops writes theology as many Frenchmen drive their cars. There is dash and élan and near-recklessness ; speed and the split second decision are the very stuff of life. There is the last-minute screech of brakes and disaster just avoided. Yet one is not afraid. The driver, seemingly unaware of theological precipices and hazards, is competent, alert and madly intent ; and his car is of excellent make, a Prat-Lagrange in fact. In the end, always, breathless but unscathed, *on arrive.*

Finally, one last questioning word : should not Renan be left to the obscurity which is his due ? Daniel-Rops seems to be fascinated by him. Renan's *Vie de Jésus* must surely be the poorest, most worthless life of Christ that was ever written. It has not even the doubtful merit of being openly hostile. It is a horrible mess of sickly sentiment and the so-called higher criticism. In the Index to the English edition of M. Daniel-Rops's book Lebreton and Prat get one reference each ; Renan has twenty.

The English translation of *Jésus en son Temps* is not good. The translator allows himself quite considerable liberty—rearranging sentences, adding, omitting, incorporating footnotes in the text, changing often, whether by design or not I do not know, the emphasis and direction of whole sentences. The section on the Eucharist already cited in English and French may serve as an example. The first English sentence there is of considerable consequence ;

[1] I cite the original here. " Devant ces quelques lignes où s'exprime le suprême message de Jésus vivant, est-il un croyant qui ne se sente pris par le désir unique du silence et de l'adoration ? Quelle que soit l'interprétation qu'on en donne, celle de la présence réelle selon les catholiques, celle du symbole et de la commémoration selon le plupart des sectes de la Réforme, il n'en reste pas moins qu'elles marquent le moment le plus haut de la vie du Christ . . . "

but it is an invention : it certainly does not correspond to anything in the original. The rest of the paragraph cited can only be described as slovenly and inexact translation.

In some places the translation is so bad that the result is sheer nonsense ; for example we read on page 285: "The missionary lost in the heart of the jungle, devoting himself to a horde of savages, knows the cost of the divine love. The solitary contemplative in his cell, torn from all human tenderness and consumption, follows out in silence the supernatural task of reversion ".

Sometimes we may have a degree of sympathy with the translator, as, for instance, when he boldly prints : " The equilibrium between the perspectives of the immanent and the transcendent is difficult " (p. 249), where the French of course has : " L'équilibre est difficile à garder entre les deux perspectives, entre l'immanent et le transcendant " (p. 322).

In turning from French into English extreme care is ever needed. The mere rendering of French words by their linguistic twins in English can be ludicrous. To the category of such schoolboy blunders surely belongs the misrendering of the French word *malice* on page 246 : " But Christ can show tenderness . . . ; he can show malice, as when in the famous ' Render to Caesar . . .' ".

The most outstanding excellence of M. Daniel-Rops's life of Christ is its style, its literary flavour. It is regrettable that little of that has survived the delicate operation of translation.

FRANCIS SHAW

THE EARLY CHURCH

THE EARLY CHURCH ; Historical and Theological Studies. By Oscar Cullmann. (Translated from the German.) Edited by A. J. B. Higgins. London : SCM Press, 1956. xii and 216 pp. 25s.

DR CULLMANN is best known by his study of St Peter, where this Calvinist theologian surprised many readers, not familiar with trends of modern orthodox German Protestantism, by asserting the primacy, doctrinal and juridical, of the apostle. He did not, to be sure, allow that primacy much practical bearing on the life of the Church, nor even to persist to the end of the apostle's life. But the question of the continuance of the apostolic authority was clearly posed, and the question of Church tradition, where it persists according to Catholic doctrine, became acute for Dr Cullmann. The centre-piece therefore of this collection of essays is " the exegetical, historical and theological problem of tradition ". The enquiry reaches a result very like the one arrived at for St Peter. Just as St Peter at a certain date abdicated his primacy, so the Church tradition, which preceded the New Testament and held undisputed sway for some time after it, abdicated in the middle of the second century in favour of the newly-formed canon of scripture. Dr Cullmann does not like the word " abdicate ". But since in his view tradition had the supreme authority to fix the canon and so the faith, and after doing so was for ever subordinated to the scripture, his position is unmistakeable.

Dr Cullmann's arguments are partly *a priori* and partly historical. His speculative principles are not new. With the passing of the Apostles and their unique authority, the apostolic tradition was bound to deteriorate and be obscured by human error, unless it was fixed once and for all in definitive writings. He is quite sure that there can be no authoritative tradition guarded from error by the Holy Spirit. The " inner witness of the Holy Spirit " is available to the faithful individual reading the Bible, but not to the Church as a teaching body. Dr Cullmann sees well enough that the mere fixing of the apostolic doctrine in writing is not enough to preserve it from misinterpretation. But he thinks that the true meaning is more readily gained when one reads the Bible " with the healthy *naiveté* of the catechumen seeking to hear the apostles speak ", than from the reading of commentaries—" which we should force ourselves to forget "—or from solemn definitions of the Church.

This raises at once the ghost of what Dr Cullmann himself calls " the sects ". But we are not told the principle on which he decides that their reading of the New Testament does not qualify them to be part of what he calls " the Church ". Dr Cullmann holds very " Catholic " views on the sacramental nature of baptism and the eucharist. Many of the " sects ", and even many of the Protestant Churches, would challenge him on scriptural grounds, and claim that they had " confronted Christ " as immediately as he while reading the Bible. In other words, the mere fixation of the canon, so far from being necessary, is not even adequate to preserve the faith. But apart from these consequences, the principle itself is invalid. No one can prove that God had to use writings to prevent revelation being obscured by human traditions. There was always grace, collective or individual.

The historical argument is even weaker. Tradition, according to Dr Cullmann, preceded the New Testament and was richer in content than it. How does he prove that the Church gave up the authority which she had while creating the New Testament, and that she (presumably) dropped the original apostolic traditions which were outside the written word? His proof is the very fixing of the canon in the second century. That can only mean, he thinks, that the Church then recognized her inability to cope with the multiplicity of human traditions, renounced all claim to be the supreme teacher and wisely tied herself once and for all to the original apostolic writings. This deduction is unwarranted. First, the act of defining the canon need not mean this at all. It need only mean that certain books were admitted as particularly sacred, in fact as inspired by God and therefore having a special place in the use and veneration of the Church. That it implied renunciation of the right to interpret them authoritatively or the right to teach independently does not follow. Secondly, that in point of fact the definition of the canon was not an admission of bankruptcy on the part of the Church is a clear fact of history. Never in any age did the Church doubt her divine mission, and never was she so serenely conscious of her God-given power than when, as at Nicaea or Chalcedon, she condemned heresy, not by an appeal to the scriptures but by her own faith. The worst enemies of the Church have never accused her of misgivings about her own authority.

The period where Dr Cullmann sees the collapse of Church tradition

shows on the contrary an emphatic assertion of its rights. This was the time when Irenaeus, pointing out that the Ebionites based their heresy on Matthew's gospel, the Docetes on Mark's, the Marcionites on Luke's, the Gnostics on John's, affirmed that the true faith was to be learned only from the official tradition. The readiest and surest source was the Roman See : " for it is with this Church, on account of its superior authority, that all the Churches, wherein is preserved the apostolic tradition, must agree ". This was of divine right : " for with the succession, the episcopacy has received the infallible charism of truth, by the will of the Father ". " For where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and all grace : but the Spirit is truth ". The Catholic principle could not be stated more vigorously, and it is frankly impossible to understand how Dr Cullmann can see here the Church's moment of despair. The principle of " the bible alone " was not uttered for over a thousand years, and how far it was from the mind of the Church in the early days is demonstrable. Not long after Irenaeus, Pope Stephen I dismissed the elegant " scriptural " arguments of Cyprian with the calm assurance of the *cathedra Petri*, the authoritative custodian of tradition : " There are to be no changes. One thing only : what has been handed down ". It was courageous of Dr Cullmann to admit the primacy of St Peter. Now he appeals to the Church for her verdict on her own tradition. He has a tiger by the tail.

The other essays are perhaps less stimulating, but more informative, such as the scholarly essay on how December 25 was fixed as Christmas. But why does Dr Cullmann feel that he has to defend the celebration of the Christmas feast ? Is it because the old puritan spirit is still at work in Geneva ? Or because, as he maintains, it was the Roman Church that first imposed this feast on the rest of the world ?

KEVIN SMYTH

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE ORIGINALITY OF CHRIST. By Geoffrey Graystone. London : Sheed and Ward. 1956. 117 pp. 8s. 6d. THE ancient Hebrew manuscripts discovered in the Judaean desert since 1947 have been accorded varying degrees of value for the study of the New Testament. Some authors have read into them an Incarnation story, others a suffering Saviour story, others the fundamental and universal charity of Christianity. Qualified scholars have been content to look in the scrolls for the literary background and the cultural milieu which would fill out our picture of New Testament times. Fr Graystone, S.M., tells briefly of the finding of the scrolls, describes their contents in part (the Psalms and the War Document were among the items not fully available when he wrote) and compares their customs and doctrines with possible parallels in the New Testament.

He finds that their ablutions, community repasts, common property and general organization have nothing essential in common with similar Christian institutions. The central and specific doctrines of Christianity have no counterparts at all in the scrolls. Their religious terminology may be used to illustrate certain Christian ways of speaking. His work is sound and instructive, especially in his recall of the Old Testament to point to the possible common

source of moral laws, discipline and language which are found in the scrolls and the New Testament.

On the radical difference between the spirit and hopes of the sect of the scrolls and Christianity there can be no debate. The assessment of the contacts in language and religious custom is a more delicate matter, and much work remains to be done before firm conclusions can be reached. Fr Graystone affirms perhaps too readily the existence of monastic " poverty " and celibacy at Qumran. And one has the impression that at times he is not meeting his adversaries on their own ground, since he assumes throughout the full historicity of the New Testament, which is the point precisely that they are attacking. Their idea is that if they can show that specifically Christian doctrines were formulated before Christ, the presence of these in the gospels reflects not the unique history of Christ but the common development of ideas. The conclusion would be illegitimate, since the question " by what authority ? " would remain. But Fr Graystone provides in his brief study sufficient matter to refute even the premises : the existence of such doctrines in the Qumran sect. He deals courteously and ably with the extravagances of Mr Wilson and Professor Dupont-Sommer. But he should have added a comment to his quotation from Professor Albright—" the new knowledge derived from the scrolls bids fair to revolutionize our approach to the beginnings of Christianity ". Dr Albright was thinking chiefly of literary analysis, especially of the fourth gospel. It has been the modern custom to explain the peculiar terminology of St John from Hellenistic or Gnostic sources. The scrolls confirm what has been held on other grounds, that the background of St John's thought is Palestinian. The revolution of which Dr Albright speaks would affect only certain " liberal " scholars, and has little to do with the real history of Christian origins. Fr Graystone's quick and courageous response to the challenge of some ill-advised commentators commands our best thanks.

KEVIN SMYTH

ANGLICANA

OLD PRIEST AND NEW PRESBYTER. By Norman Sykes. London : Cambridge University Press. Pp. viii+261. 27s. 6d.

ANGLICAN ORDERS AND DEFECT OF INTENTION. By Francis Clarke. London : Longmans. Pp. xx+202. 25s.

DR SYKES's book, beautifully produced as we expect from the Cambridge University Press, has grown out of the Gunning Lectures which he delivered at Edinburgh, 1953-4, and the Edward Cadbury Lectures, given at Birmingham in the following year. It purports to give the ' Anglican tradition ', in the period since the Reformation, with regard to episcopacy. In this Dr Sykes has succeeded brilliantly, and he shows clearly that the Tractarian view of episcopacy is not consistent with the main current of Anglican thought.

Whatever particular criticisms might be offered of his judgment regarding different episodes in the development of that tradition, the main theme emerges clearly enough.

In the opening chapter, ' The Godly Prince and the Godly Bishop ', we find Whitgift declaring : " I condemn no churches that have appointed any order for the electing of their pastors which they think to be agreeable to their state, and more profitable for them ; for therefore I say that no certain manner or form of electing ministers is prescribed in the scripture, because every church may do therein as it shall seem to be most expedient for the same ". For Hooker, episcopacy is at least of apostolic authority : but this was very different from the claim that it is the exclusive form of ministry prescribed by the Scriptures. And the divines of that age are at one in following Jerome—as they thought—in equating presbyters to bishops. Nonetheless, the insistence on episcopacy as the better thing is made very plain. From Samuel Johnson, Dr Sykes quotes a typical assertion on this theme : " Why, Sir, as it was an apostolical institution, I think it is dangerous to be without it ". As developed by many writers, this idea means that episcopacy, while admitted to be of the *bene* or *plene esse* of the Church, is not held to be absolutely of the *esse* of the Church. Naturally, in such a Church, there were extremists, but even Jeremy Taylor, who insisted so much on the episcopacy, admits the orders of non-episcopal bodies.

Equipped with this doctrine, the Church of England is thus enabled to found her attitude towards re-union with the other reformed churches on her own tradition. And so, while in no way condemning the orders of such churches, she can claim that for the *plene esse* of the other churches, non-episcopal *ex hypothesi,* episcopal ordination is requisite—irrespective of the belief of ministers of the non-episcopal churches as to whether this ordination means anything or not. It may be hard for most readers to grasp the peculiar logic of all this, but that such is the position of Anglican tradition on the episcopacy, Dr Sykes has shown. It seems that a certain development has taken place, innate in the doctrine of the earliest Anglican divines, so that the episcopacy approximates to the office of the same name in the Lutheran churches, denoting, as compared with the presbyter, not a difference of order, but merely a difference of function. The latest decisions of Convocation in regard to the South India Scheme are in full accord with Anglican tradition. Thus, from a long chain of witnesses are the Tractarians refuted. Whatever might be said of the truth of their doctrine on episcopacy, it is not in the Anglican tradition.

Unfortunately, when dealing with the Tractarian position, Dr Sykes sees fit to change his theme. Instead of resting content in his achievement, namely, a demonstration of the inaccuracy of their claim to give the " tradition " of the Anglican Church, he proceeds (pp. 238–245) to an attack on the " unhistorical approach " of those who hold that the episcopacy is of the *esse* of the Church. Here, too, a partisan spirit animates the writing, as it does also in the account of Sancta Clara's attitude towards Anglican Orders, and the very brief account of the conference at Malines. Lightfoot's ' presbyter-episcopos ' makes his expected appearance ; the succession-lists of bishops

given by Irenaeus and Hegesippus show " no trace of the idea of a continuous series of ordinations ". Why should they ? The object of Irenaeus was to show a succession of witnesses to the truth right back to the Apostles. This section is based on an article by Molland in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, April, 1950, and Molland himself admits, of a parallel appeal (by a Danish theologian) to a succession of bishops as witnesses to the truth that " Martensen is surely thinking, in the first place, of the ordained holders of the teaching office " (*l.c.* p. 15). It is not formally a question of orders that is being discussed by Irenaeus. Molland's view of Irenaeus's consecration by the presbyters of Lugdunum is purely an hypothesis, and offers no grounds for the calm assumptions made by Dr Sykes. Curiously enough at the end of this section in Dr Sykes's last chapter, he feels bound to remark : " Moreover the temerarious procedure of going beyond the historical evidence and imposing dogmatic premisses upon insecure foundations may lead as easily and logically to the papal claims as to those of an episcopal apostolic succession ". The implied comment is certainly out of place in this chapter, and may express a greater degree of awareness of the connection between the episcopacy in history and the papacy than Dr Sykes intended. But these remarks do not bear on the main bulk and theme of the book, which is a valuable contribution to an understanding of the Anglican attitude to re-union with other churches, and is, moreover, most interesting and entertaining reading.

Father Clarke's book on Anglican Orders is concerned with the defence of *Apostolicae Curae* against the charges of inconsistency with even Roman Catholic teaching, which are made against it. He concentrates on the ' Defect of Intention ', which is singled out by the Pope as well as the main defect of Form. It should be noted that chapter nine of this book is, for various reasons, a brief treatment of the defect of Form, and it is an able summary of what is meant by defect of Form, and how this defect is found in Anglican Orders.

Because of the great confusion which has arisen owing to different interpretations of the meaning of ' intention ' in the Bull, Father Clarke sets out and discusses the various theories, proposing the usual difficulties against them. The ' intention ' which is envisaged by the Pope is, he maintains, true, inner ministerial intention ; and the question is raised not with regard to all who used the Ordinal in subsequent times, but only with regard to the consecrators of Parker, from whom the Anglican bishops all descend ' sacramentally '. For others, there would be in any event the defect of form, but in Parker's consecrators there was present both the defect of form and the defect of inner, ministerial intention. The usual objection proposed by Anglicans at this point is that the consecrators of Parker had all at least the intention " to do what Christ did ", and the mistaken views they held, even the particular heretical intention which actuated them while they consecrated, could not prevent the prevalence of their general ' Christian ' intention—otherwise, it would argue to a scarcely credible degree of malice in these men. Franzelin is cited to support this position.

It is in the answer to this difficulty that the value of Father Clarke's work lies. He points out that it is not a question of concomitant error in the intellect,

but of two mutually opposed intentions—a general intention " to do as Christ instituted ", and a particular personal intention destructive of the sacrament. " It is not merely in the heretical doctrines of Barlow known from other sources that the conclusive proof of defective sacramental intention is to be found. It is also in the fact that he and his associates, while deliberately adhering to a faction that was heretical on the sacrament of Order, used, in the very act of ordaining, a changed ritual which had been substituted for the Catholic ritual ; one whose clear significance, in its historical context, was to exclude the conferring of the Catholic sacrificial priesthood, and which had already been rejected by the Church (during the Marian restoration)—it is this that makes it morally certain that they had a personal ministerial intention destructive of the sacrament." That such was the intention of Parker's consecrator and co-consecrators is established from this extrinsic circumstance, the evidence of their heretical allegiance and their subsequent acts. That is, the inner, ministerial intention is deduced from extrinsic evidence.

The Anglicans appealed from *Apostolicae Curae* to Catholic theologians : very well, says Father Clarke, let them hear the teaching of Catholic theologians. In what follows in chapters six and seven, Father Clarke makes a valuable contribution not merely to discussion on Anglican Orders, but also to the history of the development of principles now clear in the Church's practice and the teaching of Catholic theologians. It would be out of place here to do more than indicate that the question concerns simultaneous contrary intentions in the minister of a sacrament, and that the solution is based on the principle of positive exclusion. These are technical terms, but it was the Anglicans who asked for such a demonstration. Post-tridentine theologians are examined, and Franzelin is explained and clarified, by showing that he is dependent on Suarez and Lugo, and does not contradict them. In fact he is shown to agree with them. The application of these principles in practice is shown in the history of the Rota decisions with regard to matrimony. Here Father Clarke undoubtedly establishes his position firmly. Chapter eight shows how all the relevant theories and explanations invoked were well known in Rome during the discussions on Anglican Orders in 1895–6.

To say no more, this book is a highly competent presentation of the case for *Apostolicae Curae*. The technical language of the Bull is clearly explained, and the contribution of chapters six and seven to Catholic theology is undoubted. And the book as a whole, it may be said, is a dreadful warning against the ' theological habit ' of citing authors in favour of an opinion, without sufficient examination of the actual statements of these authors in their context. A word of criticism—of form, not of matter. I have the impression that this book, however valuable, has been published too hurriedly : a further period of re-ordering the contents and of reducing the technical jargon to fluent English would have been rewarding for the reader. For the fact is that this is a book for the specialist, and without theological training it will be extremely difficult to interpret correctly.

PATRICK O'CONNELL

UNDERSTANDING PROTESTANTISM

THE CATHOLIC APPROACH TO PROTESTANTISM. By George H. Tavard. Pp. 160. New York: Harper. 1955.

FATHER TAVARD is a French priest, a member of the Augustinians of the Assumption. He was for three years professor of theology in England and is now Parish Priest of Our Lady of Guadalupe in New York. This book was first published in France; the translation in excellent English is by the author himself. He is the author of several other books and of many articles in several languages. His first task in this book is to introduce Catholics to the life, doctrines and worship of Protestants, Lutheran, Calvinist and Anglican. This he does in a manner so appreciative of the sincere faith and deep piety of Protestants that he finds it necessary to warn his readers at the outset that he does not mean to endorse the opinions of non-Catholic theologians. He describes in some detail the varieties and schools of thought in Protestantism and the extent to which they have deviated from the teachings of their founders. Useful for this purpose is *Our Separated Brethren* by Father David Woodward (Catholic Truth Society, 1956). Chapter III deals with "basic doctrines" common to most Protestant bodies, doctrines about faith, the Bible, the Eucharist, tradition, the Church, moral matters. A still greater obstacle to reunion with the Church viz. anti-Roman prejudices and misconceptions are dealt with in ch. iv. Two chapters are devoted to the Ecumenical Movement and two others to Catholic attitudes to it. Fr Tavard criticizes severely such Catholic apologists as Paul Glenn, and castigates Father E. F. Hanahoe's *Catholic Ecumenism*. Further back he sees a wrong and harmful approach in the writings of Balmes, Cardinal Wiseman, Hilaire Belloc, Louis Veuillot, de Maistre, and others. The Papal approach is dealt with in ch. VIII. The author praises its prudence and caution and shows the present Holy Father as warmly sympathetic to the movement for reunion both within and outside the Church (p. 109).

Ch. IX outlines the efforts made by Catholics since the Reformation to effect reconciliation and reunion of Protestants with the Church. The facts presented in this chapter are, I believe, little known. There is a word of praise for the Malines conference which was misunderstood as an attempt at reunion, whereas it was simply an effort towards mutual understanding. As such it was a success. Ch. X, "Prudence Today", is a survey and appraisal of ecumenical efforts at present and in the recent past. Here Fr Tavard mentions six factors that have contributed to hopeful though realistic ecumenism in the twentieth century. He is fully alive to the obstacles, less doctrinal than traditional and psychological, that impede the movement, and to the mountain of prejudice yet to be surmounted. As late as 1931, a brief statement of the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran church still maintained that the Pope is Antichrist, and there was the pamphlet *Infallible Fallacies* sponsored by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Catholics, the author rightly maintains, are nearly as ignorant of Protestantism as its followers are of us.

STEPHEN J. BROWN

THE SPIRIT AND FORMS OF PROTESTANTISM. By Louis Bouyer. Translated by A. V. Littledale. London : The Harvill Press. 1956. Pp. xii+234.

THE author of this work was formerly a Protestant minister in France. He found his way, he tells us, step by step to the Catholic Church and is now a Catholic priest. Gradually he discovered " the absolute incompatibility between Protestantism as a genuinely spiritual movement stemming from the teachings of the Gospels, and Protestantism as an institution, or rather complex of institutions, hostile to one another as well as to the Catholic Church ". (Introduction) In the course of this long and closely reasoned book he endeavours to show first that the essence of the original movement of the Reformation lay not in any negation but in certain great positive assertions of Christianity, He considers that these assertions, properly understood, are authentically and essentially Christian and in the Catholic tradition, but that even at the outset there were inserted certain negative elements—extrinsic justification, the worthlessness for salvation of men's good works, the rejection of tradition and of the Church. These elements had no intrinsic connection with the original positive affirmations but were chiefly due to the false philosophy of Nominalism, as represented by Occam, which was widely accepted and followed at the time.

In working out this thesis the author quotes freely from Protestant as well as Catholic literature. Of the former he clearly has a very comprehensive knowledge as well as of the history of Protestantism with all its ever changing forms and varieties.

He shows that Protestantism in many of its forms, and despite well-meant and zealous revival movements, has largely ended by reaching conclusions that are the very reverse of the principles of the original reformers. Chapter X bears the title, surprising to any Catholic who has not read what goes before, " The Catholic Church Necessary to the Full Flowering of the Principles of the Reformation". This, and the Conclusion which follows it, is a fine piece of Catholic apologetic and a refutation of such modern Protestant apologists as Karl Barth.

Father G. de Broglie, S.J. contributes a prefatory letter and a note on the Primacy of the Argument from Scripture in Theology. He emphasizes the particular value of this work as an eirenic contribution to Ecumenism. He does not put forward any adverse criticism of Fr Bouyer's work and the present reviewer does not feel called upon to do so. One point, however, he will query. Why is there no clear statement of what Luther meant by the term ' faith ' and on the other hand of what Catholic theologians mean by it ?

STEPHEN J. BROWN

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